

St Helena Letters to England 1759-1766

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

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-2-10>.

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

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

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

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

Pagination: The pagination is unconventional, appearing sequentially only at the bottom left of each verso (left-hand) page, while the recto (right-hand) pages are left unmarked. In other words, each side of the page have the same number. This pagination system has therefore been ignored.

The records begin on film No. 11, and this has been assumed to be page 1. It is then further assumed that the page numbers continue sequentially through to the end of the volume.

Dates: The earliest date recorded in this volume is a letter sent on 24 March 1759, and the latest is a letter sent on 4 March 1766. All these letters were sent to England during the administrations of Charles Hutchinson (1747-1764) and John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

Note: For much of the period covered here the Julian calendar was in use and the legal year began on 25 March. Dates falling between 1 January and 24 March are therefore given in slash form, showing the old-style year first and the modern year second, so that 27 January 1760 appears as 27 January 1759/60; dates between 25 March and 31 December take the plain form. The clerks who kept these letters occasionally erred, and where a stated year is contradicted by a regnal year in the same entry or by the order of the correspondence the modern reckoning has been followed and the corrected date given in the same slash form. By the later years of the record the reformed calendar, with the year beginning on 1 January, had come into use, so the latest letters run plainly across the turn of each year and no slash form arises. Where an exact day is not stated the month and year are given, or at least the year, the original letters having always been written in chronological order. Ship names are shown in italics, and monetary sums are given in pounds, shillings and pence. St Helena lies in the southern hemisphere, so its seasons run opposite to those of England; seasons are therefore given as months or calendar periods rather than by name.

This narrative consolidates a continuous run of correspondence sent by the Governor and Council of St Helena to the Court of Directors of the East India Company between 20 August 1758 and 4 March 1765/66. The island was a small fortified Company possession near the middle of the South Atlantic, valued above all as a place where homeward ships could water and take on fresh provisions before the long passage to England. Almost every entry is a Council letter, a packet list or an account taken down from an arriving captain, so the record speaks in the measured official voice of men writing to masters a year away, and its whole importance lay in serving ships that were bound somewhere else. [Film No. 11–12, 311–364]

Because the source is one side of a controlled exchange, it must be read with care. The Council wrote to justify its conduct and to satisfy its employers, who judged the settlement by its economy, its accounts and its obedience, so its account of its own diligence, economy and loyalty cannot be taken at face value. The letters record what London was meant to see: witnessed handovers of cargo, careful indents and firm discipline. What they obscure is harder to recover, chiefly the lives of the slaves counted as Company property, the soldiers absorbed against the Council's private judgement and the prisoners held at the island's charge. Read against the wider history of the Company and its wars, the correspondence still yields a detailed picture of how a remote outpost was governed at the range of the sea. [Film No. 19–20, 179–180, 364]

The period spans the Seven Years War from its Indian climax to the peace of 1763, the widening of the conflict against Spain, and the Company's transformation after 1764 from a trading concern into the territorial ruler of Bengal. Throughout, St Helena stood on the sea road home and gathered news of distant victories from every captain who anchored in its road, relaying it to London months ahead of any official dispatch. Yet the island's own concerns remained narrower and more constant, turning above all on rain, cattle, the manning of the garrison and the provisioning of the fleet. [Film No. 34, 211, 357–358]

Governance and administration

The island was governed entirely on written authority carried from London, and the machinery of that authority is set out plainly in a letter of about January 1759. Orders from Laurence Sullivan as Chairman of the Court, Roger Drake as Deputy, and Christopher Burrow, Nathaniel Newnham and Henry Plant, or from any three of them, would be exactly obeyed. This working quorum let a handful of directors bind the settlement without the full Court assembling, a practical device for keeping authority moving across the months of delay that separated the capital from the island. [Film No. 13]

Governor Hutchinson drew a sharp line between general Company orders and those of the Secret Committee, which he singled out for exact obedience in a letter of about January 1759. This small inner body handled military and diplomatic matters too sensitive for the wider Court, and a governor marking its orders out for special observance shows where real strategic authority lay in wartime. The distinction recurs through the later letters, the Council pledging in about June 1762 to obey the committee's orders and, on the same occasion, to thank Admiral Cornish, Colonel Coote, Colonel Monson and Mr Pigot for the reduction of Pondicherry should any call at the island. [Film No. 12, 180]

The Board was constituted wholly from home, and a single packet could remake it overnight. When the *Delaware*, Captain Larkins, reached the island on 8 June 1759 with a sealed commission, John Skottowe and Matthew Purling took their Council seats the moment it was opened, while Mr John Adamson and Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick were dismissed the same day and took passage for England. Mr Adamson, sent for to witness the opening, pleaded illness and stayed away, and the care to record his excuse shows that opening the Court's letters was a controlled act of trust. Governor Hutchinson and Mr Purling returned formal thanks, the language of humble duty framing a transfer of power decided wholly in London. [Film No. 21–22]

The correspondence itself was governed as strictly as the men. Every commander carried written orders to forward the Court's packet from the first port he reached, and the Council was greatly surprised in October 1758 that dispatches had not moved as expected, since Captain Poole had been directed to speed the packet on. To guard against loss it sent duplicates by separate vessels, and in a letter of 26 May 1761 proposed that under naval convoy a duplicate be placed with the senior escort captain, a change it feared might displease the King's captains by whose ships the packets had always gone. Security became a live concern, and in a letter of about April 1763 the Council deliberately omitted the sailing of six Company ships under convoy of the *Assistance* for fear a captured letter should betray them. [Film No. 16, 29, 111–112, 226]

Much administrative effort went into appointing and binding the Company's servants. The Council reported with satisfaction in about May 1761 that its appointment of Matthew Bazett and David Alcock had met approval and that the writers' covenants were executed, each man naming two gentlemen in England as security, a device that bound a junior clerk to good conduct across an ocean. The system disadvantaged island-born men: in a letter of about April 1763 the writer Britannicus Wright, born on St Helena with no friends outside it, had to find two sureties on the island, and in a letter of 7 April 1765 Jonathan Dowton and John Goodwin likewise wrote home for backers. The office was stretched thin, and in about August 1762 the Governor took Robert Law as clerk at £40 0s 0d a year and appointed Wright, son of a servant lately dead leaving his family poor, to the crowded Secretary's office. [Film No. 120, 201, 232, 315]

The governing Board renewed itself by prescribed succession rather than local choice. When Captain John Clark resigned for his health and sailed home aboard the *Neptune* in about April 1762, Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick succeeded him following the Court's standing directions, his name replacing Clark's from 17 May 1762. Through the war years the signatures remained those of Charles Hutchinson as Governor with Skottowe, Curling and Kirkpatrick. A new commission establishing John Shottowe as Governor, Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant-Governor and Purling and Kirkpatrick to the Council took effect and was recorded in a letter of 7 April 1765, the change effected smoothly through the machinery of the Court's written orders. [Film No. 172, 175, 177, 214, 315]

The island served as a standing staging point where officials of every rank broke their voyage. Colonel Eyre Coote, among the most prominent commanders of the Company's wars in Bengal and the Carnatic, reached the island aboard the *Godolphin* and was granted passage home in the *Admiral Watson* in a letter of 6 March 1763, accommodated in the best manner possible. The Council also bent instructions where a small station required it, allowing Corporal William Hebert in a letter of 7 April 1765 to remain in the garrison despite the Court's order for his discharge, a trained man willing to stay being worth more than strict compliance. [Film No. 216, 218, 315]

Military affairs, defence and fortifications

The war reached the island first as news and anxiety. In a letter begun on 27 January 1759 the Council recorded its satisfaction that the British navy had done well and French sea power been much reduced, and its hope that the French land forces under D'Estrées and Lally would be unable to mount a serious campaign. It read the naval war as a race of reinforcement: four large French ships were reported fitting out at Île de France, said to be joined by seven or eight more, which the Council expected to be matched ship for ship by a Royal Navy squadron, the point at which a trading company's defence had become a matter of national war. [Film No. 11–12]

With enemy cruisers a real threat, the island improvised its own naval intelligence. On 5 August 1758 three ships hovered to windward for two days, giving reason to suspect French cruisers, and Governor Hutchinson proposed fitting out one of the Court's longboats to scout, Robert Bendy undertaking to command her at £40 0s 0d a year. The Council could have waited behind its guns, but the record entered in the consultation of 28 July 1758 shows the safe default set aside for active reconnaissance, an island that lived by early warning refusing to sit still. [Film No. 16–17]

The Council hardened the fabric of its defence throughout the wars. By 11 September 1759 it had built a bomb-proof magazine for powder at Ruperts and was at work on another at the Fort, and in a letter of 5 July 1760 it reported the Court's approval of the Ruperts magazine and the completion of that at the Main Fort. In a letter of 26 May 1761 it assured the Court that the fortifications were kept in as good repair as their construction allowed and that powder and everything needful was disposed at every battery to be got at without confusion. [Film No. 41, 79, 119]

Discipline within the small garrison rested on officers upholding their rank. In August 1758 Lieutenant Samuel Price allowed himself to be insulted at the head of his guard and failed to confine the man, and the Council suspended him for two months, punishing the lapse in command rather than the insult since the greater danger lay in authority going unenforced. Public disgrace served as well as ordinary punishment: in a letter of about May 1762 Giles German, a disorderly soldier, was sentenced by a court martial held on 1, 2 and 3 February 1761/62 to be drummed out of the garrison with a halter about his neck, signifying that he had deserved hanging and was spared it only by expulsion. [Film No. 17, 175]

Manpower was a chronic weakness, and recruits never arrived intact. Out of 10 sent by the *Delaware* in 1759, William King had deserted and Thomas Penson died; in about April 1760 Richard Mickley died on the voyage out of 30 men. The Council received only 25 of 30 recruits asked in a letter of 26 May 1761, and having lately discharged near 40 who would not re-enlist, asked for 40 more, a demand it raised to 60 by 9 September 1761 as mortality thinned the ranks. The pattern held: only 53 of 56 by the *Royal Charlotte* in about July 1762, only 30 of 34 by the *Egmont* in about April 1763, and only 33 of 42 by the *Crittenden* in a letter of 13 June 1763, nine having been lost before the ship left England. [Film No. 24, 60, 120–121, 147, 191, 232, 243]

The recruits that arrived were often unfit, and the Council complained in about August 1762 that the men sent by the *Royal Charlotte* were poor, some very old and others mere boys who would be returning to England by the time they were fit for service. To hold experienced men it devised cheap inducements drawn from the soldiers' own money, proposing in about August 1762 a small re-enlistment premium deducted from the £10 0s 0d bounty already due, by which it engaged upwards of 30 men, and repeating the device with the Court's approval in about April 1763. Individual discharges were granted only on terms that preserved numbers, Henry Johnson being allowed his in about August 1762 once he had found another man to serve five years. [Film No. 199, 232]

The rolls were also shadowed by private service and quietly padded. Thomas Davis, named as a recruit by the *Earl of Holderness*, was struck off the list in 1759 once it appeared he had been sent out as Mr Adamson's servant. Unfit soldiers were shed onto the homeward fleet the same way, eight being invalided home aboard the *Admiral Watson* in August 1759 under a surgeon's certificate naming each man and his disorder, and the practice recurred with almost every departing vessel through the following years. [Film No. 23, 35, 163]

The garrison was organised into four companies, and the Council managed its strength with care. In a letter of 14 April 1760 it added a sergeant and corporal to each company and, following the Court's directions, promoted the four senior lieutenants to captain at 10s a day. Vacancies were filled with an eye to economy: two captaincies falling vacant in 1761 through the deaths of Oswald Beale and William Kennedy went to Lieutenants Henry Bazett and Robert Beale, the Council deliberately passing over the senior Samuel Price and Charles Gossing and putting them on half pay. When Clark's seat fell in about May 1762 the reversion to advancement by seniority reasserted itself, Lieutenant John Howard, the oldest lieutenant, taking the vacant company. [Film No. 61, 125–126, 175, 187]

The artillery was strengthened as the arm best suited to a fortified island. In a letter of 5 July 1760 the Council added 10 men to bring the company to 70, the strength of the others, and asked for 10 more suits of Matross clothes. The master gunner Thomas Hall pressed in about August 1762 for the standing the infantry had lately received, artillery elsewhere being commanded by a captain and lieutenant, and the Council asked that Hall be made captain with a lieutenant added. Hall was appointed on the arrival of the *Crittenden* in about June 1763, and the Council pressed the Governor's scheme to commission Sampell by long service and Welch on the Court's recommendation without increase of expense. [Film No. 81, 198, 241]

Manning was made harder because soldiers served fixed terms whose expiry could not be foreseen. In a letter of 5 July 1760 the Council explained that the contracted service of the Court's military would expire the next year, that it had taken 19 men out of the *Royal Duke* and retained 17 from a Bengal draft willing to remain, and that it still wanted 30 recruits, undertaking to forward any surplus to the settlements the ships were bound for. The small vessels attached to the island were reckoned essential to its defence: in a letter of 13 June 1763 the *Fly Cutter* was valued for giving early warning to the Court's ships and the *Mercury* snow for bringing cattle and flour from the Cape, so the Council meant to keep both a longer time. [Film No. 81–82, 244]

The most substantial military undertaking of the whole period was the survey and reform of the fortifications under a newly arrived engineer. In a letter of 7 April 1765 the Council recorded the arrival of Captain Mitchell and directed him to survey the works, take plans and report the cost and a survey of stores and ammunition, which it feared would prove very deficient. His completed plans were forwarded in a letter of 17 August 1765, commended for consulting economy as well as strength, his Sandy Bay design adapting the existing work; the Council agreed on rebuilding Bank's, Rupert's Bay and Munden's, whose foundations were entirely bad and which commanded the leeward approaches by interlocking fields of fire. It guarded the drawings closely, deferring a duplicate lest the plans fall into other hands. [Film No. 314, 346–347]

The island's military establishment was managed to the last detail of stores and clothing. In a letter of about June 1765 the Council indented for extra shirts, stockings and shoes for the appearance of the military and asked that an inconsistency in the artillery clothing be corrected, the gunners' coats being laced and the inferior bombardiers' left plain. It pressed for a dedicated officer to superintend the considerable ordnance stores dispersed among the works, and reported that the powder left by the Court's ships was so bad as to require constant inspection, the matter compounded when captains refused the customary charge for what they deposited. [Film No. 329–330, 332–333]

The Company's wars and wider events

The island's position on the sea road made it a clearing house for news of the eastern war, forwarded to London months ahead of any dispatch. In a letter of about February 1759 Captain Poole of the *Latham* reported that Fort St David had been taken by the French with a fleet of about 28 ships, that two French ships had been lost on the Maldives, and that Lally had been defeated by the King of Travancore with the loss of 300 men, the fighting in southern India swinging both ways. Better news followed in June 1759, when the commanders of the *London* and *Egmont* reported that early in December 1758 Colonel Forde had routed the French in Golconda, defeating them in half an hour for the loss of 20 Europeans while taking 130 prisoners and 22 guns. [Film No. 17, 21]

The relief of Madras was reported in the letter of 8 August 1759. The French had begun their siege on 14 November 1758, but Admiral Pocock's convoyed reinforcements forced Lally to abandon the assault on 17 February 1759 so hurriedly that he left his cannon and stores, the English said to have lost near 900 men and the French 1,500. The letters of September 1759 carried a long narrative of the Carnatic campaign, which turned on manoeuvre and the taking of country forts; the storming of Conjeeveram on 16 April 1759, where the unpaid and badly fed French then began to dissolve and about 80 German hussars crossed to the English, showed how pay and provisions decided the loyalty of armies in India. [Film No. 34, 44–45]

The northern campaign was completed by Major Forde's storming of Masulipatam in April 1759, reported at the island in September, which broke French power in the Northern Circars. Intelligence travelled as captured paper as well as rumour: the letter of 8 August 1759 forwarded an intercepted letter from Lally to De Leyrit, Governor of Pondicherry, and a vessel taken by the *Royal George* in about September 1759, the *Fanchte*, proved a packet bound for Mauritius carrying two French colonels and reckoned worth 40,000 rupees. Captain Wilson of the *Pitt* added in about November 1759 that a large Dutch force had sailed from Batavia for Bengal, its backers boasting that success would leave no Englishman alive there, the war widening beyond France to draw in Dutch ambition. [Film No. 36, 43, 46–47]

The most sustained news the correspondence carries is the account of that Dutch attempt on Bengal, relayed by the captains of the *Calcutta* and *Hardwicke*, which reached St Helena on 10 April 1760, having left Bengal on 7 January 1759/60. In the middle of July 1759 a Dutch ship carrying European and Malay troops entered the Hooghly, and the Nabob at once forbade Mr Bisdorn, director of the Dutch factory, to land them, turning to Colonel Clive for help, which reveals how far real power in Bengal had shifted after Plassey. By the latter end of September 1759 the rest of the Dutch fleet had arrived in Balasore Road, while Bisdorn pressed a story that his ships were bound for Negapatam and driven in by weather. Acting under the Nabob's colours as his ally, the Company erected two batteries and stationed sepoy to turn back any boats carrying troops. [Film No. 63–64]

In October 1759 the Nabob ordered Bisdorn to send the ships away, and the director promised under his seal to do so, but the instant the Nabob left the Dutch tried to smuggle their men ashore, every attempt being detected. At last they threw off the mask and fired on the *Leopard*, a Company sloop carrying dispatches for Admiral Cornish, and on English sloops at Culpee. The Company treated this as a declaration of war, and by 23 November 1759 had ordered its ships up and directed Colonel Forde to cut off the landed troops from their factory while Captain Wilson demanded restitution. The fighting on 24 and 25 November 1759 broke Dutch ambition in a single stroke: Forde routed near 600 Europeans and as many Buginese with only 250 Europeans and seven or eight hundred sepoy, near 200 of the enemy being killed or wounded and most of the rest taken. [Film No. 65–67]

The peace that followed, settled by commissioners, reduced the Dutch to impotence in Bengal. They disavowed their commanders' conduct as done without orders, offered a public apology and agreed to make good all loss, while the Company delivered up their ships and obtained their pardon from the Nabob on their binding themselves never to bring warships into the river, never to fortify Chinsurah, to keep no more than 125 Europeans in all their factories and to raise no country troops. The disavowal was a diplomatic fiction that let both sides settle, and the Company's mediation for the pardon shows how it turned its alliance to advantage twice, first to justify the war and then to dictate the peace. [Film No. 68]

The greater struggle with France reached its climax in southern India, reported through arriving captains. On 7 May 1760 the *Royal George* brought word, carried by a sloop that reached Bengal from Madras on 14 February 1759/60, that about the latter end of January 1759/60 Colonel Coote had won a great victory over the French at Wandiwash, Lally being wounded, Bussy and Colonel Murphy taken prisoner and 22 guns captured for the loss of Major Brereton. The capture of Bussy, long the ablest French agent in India, weighed as heavily as the defeat of an army. Fresh success followed within weeks, Captain Allen reporting in a letter of 5 July 1760 that Major Caillaud had defeated Shah Alam near Patna, an English army of almost 1,500 beating about 10,000 with very few losses. [Film No. 73, 83]

The war did not run all one way, for the French struck hard at the Company's pepper posts on the west coast of Sumatra. On 27 July 1760 the *Ajax* brought word, gathered at Mocha, that a French ship of 64 guns and a frigate with about 500 land forces had taken Natal on 7 February 1759/60, Tappanooly on 15 February 1759/60 and Fort Marlborough on 1 April 1760, the *Denham* being burnt to keep her from the enemy. In a letter of 30 July 1761 the Council reported, on a passenger's word, that the French had entirely destroyed Fort Marlborough about April 1761, burning the stores and carrying off several Chinese with their wives and children in irons to make them slaves, before abandoning the place for Mauritius, being sickly and harassed by the Malays. [Film No. 90, 137]

The final collapse of French power on the mainland was reported in stages. In a letter of 24 February 1760/1 the Council relayed that all the enemy's outworks at Pondicherry were in the Company's possession and the French closely shut up, and confirmation came in a letter of 13 May 1761, when Captain Baker of the snow *London*, who had left Pondicherry on 11 February 1760/1, brought word of its reduction on 17 January 1760/1. By a letter of 9 September 1761 the Council learned that Pondicherry was entirely demolished and its stores carried to Madras, and that the French settlement of Mahé had been taken about the middle of February 1761. The war's final phase turned to the French island bases, the *Plassey* snow being dispatched to reconnoitre Mauritius and Bourbon and burning a French ship at Diego Rais. [Film No. 102, 108, 130, 151–152]

The same letter of 13 May 1761 carried a reminder that nature could rival battle, Captain Baker reporting that on the night of 1 January 1760/1 a violent storm in Pondicherry Road had destroyed His Majesty's ships the *Duke of Aquitaine*, *Sunderland*, *Newcastle* and *Queenborough* with the Company's ships *Protector* and *Duke*, the fleet that had reduced the settlement shattered by weather at the moment of victory. [Film No. 108]

The most senior captives of the war moved home through St Helena, subsisted on English credit. In a letter of 29 June 1761 the Council recorded that General Lally, whose surrender at Pondicherry in January 1761 had ended French power in the Carnatic, was among the prisoners, and advanced him £100 0s 0d against a bill drawn on the French East India Company in Paris. Captured officers were maintained on a scale reflecting rank, running from six rupees a day for a lieutenant colonel down to three for a lieutenant, and later from 15s for Colonel De Mesme to nine for a captain, the total across three prizes exceeding £205 0s 0d 0d. Bussy himself, taken at Wandiwash, sailed home aboard the *Ajax* on his parole in a letter of 18 December 1760, and the deposed governors of Mahé and Pondicherry, Sicut and De Leyrit, followed the same route. [Film No. 97, 131, 133, 144, 147–148]

The keeping of ordinary prisoners fell on the island as a fresh charge. The *Worcester*, *Prince George* and *Bombay Castle* brought 42 French prisoners put ashore sick in August 1759, the Council granting them 4s 6d each, matching the rate Bengal had paid, the whole to be repaid through Mr Bourge, the French Company's agent in London. When ships from Madras carried prisoners in numbers in a letter of 29 June 1761, the Council asked for at least 100 casks more than it had indented, every extra captive adding mouths it had not provisioned for. Its dealings hardened when Lally's bill went unpaid: on learning this in about June 1762 it resolved to make no further advances to the French nation and to let none come ashore save the sick, though it landed 19 weak prisoners from the *Calcutta* in about October 1762 since the Court would be at no expense. [Film No. 37–38, 131–132, 188, 208]

The accession of a new king reached the island only slowly. News of the death of George II in October 1760 arrived only by early April 1761, and on 7 April 1761, the day after it came, the Council proclaimed King George III with the garrison under arms and a discharge of artillery, allowing a single day's delay to the *Prince Henry* for the ceremony. The war then widened, and in a letter of about June 1762 the Council proclaimed His Majesty's declaration of war against Spain with the usual solemnities. It watched the great eastern expedition of the new war through its shipping, recording in a letter of 9 February 1762/63 that Admiral Cornish had sailed from Madras on 1 August 1762 with about 2,130 land forces under General Draper and taken Manila, the Spanish capital in the Philippines, on 6 October 1762, Mr Drake being left as governor. [Film No. 112, 124–125, 188, 211]

The peace was reported as it reached the island. In a letter of about April 1763 the Council recorded its pleasure at learning that preliminary articles had been concluded in November 1762 between the British, French and Spanish crowns, and set out how it would handle the six-month interval before hostilities ceased, arming captains with the King's proclamation. The definitive Treaty of Paris, signed on 10 February 1762/63, was learned from the Court's letter of 22 February 1762/63. Yet news travelled slowly and Company ships still fought: Captain Howe in the *Winchelsea* engaged a French frigate of 28 guns for two hours in about June 1763, months after the treaty, showing that word of peace could not outrun the ships it was meant to protect. [Film No. 228, 237, 241–242]

The gravest alarm of the peace's approach was a direct threat to the island. In a letter of about 27 March 1763 the Council relayed word from Captain Harrold of the *Mercury* snow, kept in at the Cape by a French squadron provisioned to supply the French islands, that these ships had schemed to cruise off St Helena or attack it outright, the sudden death of the French commander Monsieur St George perhaps turning the danger aside. The Council understood the deeper danger to be not invasion but the slow strangling of its supplies, and closed the letter not on its defences but on the shortage of flour and the awaited store ship, since an enemy stationed to intercept vessels could starve the island without landing a man. [Film No. 223–224]

After the peace the correspondence carried home the Company's rise to territorial power in India. Word of the victory at Buxar, won by Major Munro over Shuja-ud-Daula on 23 October 1764, reached the island in a letter of 25 March 1765. In a letter of about June 1765 the Council relayed that Sir Robert Fletcher had laid siege to Chunar and nearly beaten up Shuja-ud-Daula's quarters, and reported the death of the Nabob Mir Jaffer and the succession of his son; the fort of Allahabad surrendered by a letter of 2 September 1765. The decisive moment came in a letter of 3 February 1765/66, which relayed the settlement Lord Clive had imposed at Allahabad, by which Shuja-ud-Daula was restored to Oudh and engaged to pay 50 lakhs of rupees, while the King granted the Company the diwani, the right to collect the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, transforming a trading concern into the effective ruler of the richest provinces of India. [Film No. 307, 335, 350, 357–358]

The reduction of the country powers of the south was likewise reported through the island. In a letter of 4 March 1765/66 the Council relayed that the Company's troops were in their cold-season quarters after conquering the Poligars, the fortified chieftains who held their lands by arms, and that affairs on the Coast were in perfect peace. The island lay too on the road by which the Company's most senior servants returned to answer for their conduct, and in a letter of 31 May 1765 it recorded among the passengers of the warships Henry Vansittart, lately governor of Bengal, together with Warren Hastings, whose passage marks the island's place on the road home for the men who had directed a power grown from trader to ruler of provinces. [Film No. 327, 361]

Settlement, land, agriculture and the cattle

The settlement lived close to the edge of its own food supply, and its fortunes rose and fell with the weather. As early as 24 March 1759 the Council reported that unless the pastures came on there would be very little grass for the cattle. Through the middle of 1759 the anxiety deepened: by 8 August 1759 the rains had failed and the grass was very short, by 26 December 1759 several beasts had died, and on 27 January 1759/60 the Council reported that the expected rains of about the middle of the year had entirely failed. Relief came slowly, some favourable rain falling by 28 March 1760, enough after months of loss to lift the prospect of the place and show how narrowly the island lived within the margins of its own climate. [Film No. 18, 35, 47, 51, 53]

The herds were then struck by a distemper that ran through several years and defied every remedy. First reported by the *Ajax*, the disease still continued in a letter of 30 July 1761, the Council flattering itself that by changing the beasts' food and bleeding them plentifully it might save most. That hope proved misplaced: by a letter of 25 January 1761/62 the returns showed 50 dead since 1 January 1761, chiefly breeding cattle, the milt decayed on opening and the beasts staling blood. The plague persisted through 1762, the Council reporting in about May 1762 that no relief or cure could be found, and weighing causes with care, rejecting the Guinea grass the Court had sent because the beasts died all over the island where none of it grew. [Film No. 140, 145, 155–156, 173, 186]

Unable to breed or cure enough beasts, the Council turned to the Cape for replacements, undertaking in about May 1762 to send there at every opportunity. The affliction at last began to ease by about October 1762, and in a letter of 9 February 1762/63 the Council reported the sickness entirely ceased, repeating the relief in about May and June 1763 amid fine pastures. Yet in a letter of 4 September 1763 it was in great fear the distemper was returning, some beasts having lately died of the same disorder, and it turned to remedies sent by the *Egmont* and to a resident skilled in cattle, who supplied a drench of stale beer, geneva, grains and aniseed to be given after bleeding. [Film No. 186, 214, 241, 253–254]

A second and distinct danger appeared amid plenty rather than drought. In the account carried by the letter of 5 July 1760 the Council reported that many of the Court's cattle had died, not from want of food, for there was plenty of grass in the Long Wood, but from a disorder contracted by eating a grass called canary. It pursued the matter by deliberate experiment, penning a healthy young beast and feeding it entirely on the grass; about eight days later the animal was seized with trembling and lost the use of its limbs, but recovered when its food was changed and it was bled. The Council then set several slaves to grub the grass out of the Long Wood, hoping, since it was an annual, to root it out before its seed could spread. [Film No. 93–94]

The settlers persisted in trying to establish better pasture and new crops against the loss of their herds. Guinea grass and the fodder the island called canary were both raised and tested, the Council sending home a sample of the canary grass in about October 1762 and asking for eight cases of it. The Court pressed the island to grow more of its own needs, and in a letter of about April 1763 the Council undertook to cultivate angelica and sesame following Mr Miller's dictionary. Later trials met the hard limits of the soil: in letters of 2 April 1765 and about June 1765 lucerne seed failed repeatedly and the hay and wire grass proved unsuited to the climate, while the Lieutenant-Governor asked for blackthorn to enclose the pasture and serve for fuel. [Film No. 207, 231, 313, 330]

Natural disasters twice disturbed the island in 1763. In a letter of about June 1763 the Council recorded a violent earthquake felt on 21 May 1763 about five in the morning, strong enough in the south to shake china from the shelves though no damage followed, and great floods that had lately damaged the fortification at Lemon Valley, the garden wall at Plantation House and several plantations, some almost entirely destroyed. The care taken to record so brief a tremor reflects its rarity. The island's buildings pressed hard on the administration in the 1760s: in a letter of 8 July 1764 the new Plantation House was found to leak continually, and the Council sent home a plan to raise the back rooms a storey and pitch the roof on a single span, laying the failures to the mistakes of Mr Bland and placing the castle's needed reroofing under John Robinson, carpenter. [Film No. 242–243]

The vermin and wants of a remote station were fought by whatever the annual indent could supply. In a letter of about June 1765 the Council noted that the surgeon had indented for oatmeal and nux vomica, the strychnine-bearing seed of an Asian tree, as ingredients in a receipt for destroying the rats that consumed and fouled its provisions. Even the defensive fabric of the island had to come from home: the Council asked in its letter of 19 August 1758 for timber for a new drawbridge, lacking suitable wood of its own, and unserviceable water engines were shipped to England in August 1759 to be repaired, since even essential apparatus could not be mended on the spot but had to make the round voyage. [Film No. 30, 35, 332]

Supply and provisioning

Provisioning was managed with a careful eye against waste and a year's anticipation, since the round voyage to London gave no room to correct a shortfall quickly. The Council declined in 1759 to indent for salt provisions when it had near two years' stock, and ordered medicines for 1760 well in advance. Its dependence on passing ships to victual themselves was a source of continual friction: despite the Court's orders that commanders supply themselves fully in India, many arrived much in want, obliging the island to draw down its own stores, as the Council complained in a letter of 26 May 1761. It drew a careful distinction, noting that salt provisions did nothing to reduce the demand for fresh food, since vessels left port already stocked with salted meat and sought at St Helena only the fresh provisions to restore crews weakened by months at sea. [Film No. 24, 26, 113, 115]

The drain on the island's wood was especially serious on a treeless station, and the Council proposed in a letter of 26 May 1761 that the Court send coal yearly so captains might be furnished with it instead of wood for their homeward fuel, experience having shown there was no relying on ships to victual themselves with wood. Timber for building had likewise to come by sea: in a letter of about June 1762 the stock of deals had dwindled to barely enough to make coffins for the year, halting all repair. The failure of the annual store ship to arrive brought real alarm, the Council reporting in about May 1762 that it would shortly be in great want of salt provisions, flour and every other necessary. [Film No. 114, 176, 184]

When the *Royal Charlotte* at last arrived she found the stocks all but exhausted, only 12 barrels of flour and 39 casks of salt provisions remaining, and the Council pressed in about June 1762 for a full year's reserve

to be kept in advance, about 300 barrels of flour and near as many casks of salt provisions. It tied the plea directly to the survival of the cattle, arguing that should a store ship be lost a great part of the herds would have to be slaughtered to feed the garrison, leaving few for the ships, so that the island's twin functions rested on the same fragile lifeline. The whole supply cycle could be thrown out by a single late vessel, the lists of remaining stores having to be closed before the indents could be framed. [Film No. 183–184]

The quality of what arrived was often poor, and the Council recorded its complaints against the day of reckoning. Camlet received by the *Falmouth* in 1759 was so shoddy it could not be sold and by about March 1760 had become moth-eaten, and tiles by the *Prince Henry* were condemned by the masons in a letter of 26 May 1761 as too soft to last. The salt provisions received in about October 1762 were worse than usual and short of weight, many beef pieces being shoulder blades of no more than 2 lb with a third of that bone, and the soldiers, who bought their ration at 2d a pound, were charged full price for food that would not sustain them, the Council fearing the discontent of underfed troops. It bought by the piece rather than by weight, since it retailed the meat by tale, and was convinced it could not be imposed upon that way. [Film No. 23, 59, 116, 206]

The coming of peace changed the whole logic of provisioning. In a letter of about April 1763 the Council explained that in wartime it had held large stocks of salt provisions against the risk of ships failing to arrive, but that with the Court's ships no longer detained it would run those stores down, use the least durable barrels first and indent only for English meat in future, the Irish pork sent by the *Royal Charlotte* having proved very poor. It rewarded services its isolation made valuable, making Captain Hautfene of the Dutch ship *Amaar* a present of 10 dozen of beer, six turkeys and three quarters of a bullock in about April 1763 for bringing word of Captain Harrold's situation at the Cape. [Film No. 229, 233]

The dominant crisis of the last year was a severe and prolonged shortage of salt provisions. In a letter of 1 August 1765 the Council reported that many ships had wanted supplies where at other times they had replenished the island, so that it had struck the allowance from the Court's slaves and let soldiers forgo their ration for fresh meat; with only 110 casks of beef and pork and 158 of flour remaining, the stock would last only until the end of January. It was forced into extraordinary purchases, buying four casks from Captain Renou at £13 6s 8d each in a letter of 2 September 1765 and justifying the high price at length, and in a letter of 13 October 1765 furnishing a large quantity to the *Bute* to enable her to reach Europe with any safety despite having declared it could supply no more. [Film No. 340, 350, 353]

By the start of 1765/66 the reserves had failed entirely. In a letter of 3 February 1765/66 the Council reported its salt provisions and flour expended, so that it employed the Court's boats to fish for the garrison, the year's return of cattle being only 20 head. It spared the live cattle for passing shipping and allowed each man three drams of arrack a week to help him support a fish diet. The flour from home proved as troublesome as the meat was scarce, all lately received in about June 1765 being what was commonly called grown corn, sprouted before milling, and scarcely eatable, a physical sample being sent home. The Council also pressed a wider ambition in a letter of 1 August 1765, asking that canvas, cordage, pitch and tar and a spare mast be kept so the island might refit a crippled ship rather than merely refresh her. [Film No. 332, 341, 343, 358–359]

Trade and shipping

The island's daily business was to turn ships round quickly and speed them on their way within the charter-party time, beyond which penalties fell on the hirer. When the *Moldeness* reached the island in early 1759 the Council undertook to dispatch her to Fort Marlborough within that window, and it held the same discipline throughout, giving Captain Mears of the *Egmont* an order to sail on the last permitted day in about April 1763. Ships bound east served distant settlements, chiefly the pepper posts at Bencoolen and Fort Marlborough, and a steady procession of Indiamen touched the island homeward from Bengal, Bombay, Madras and China, each recorded by name as it came and went. [Film No. 12–13, 33, 227, 234]

The great annual convergence of the homeward fleets fell in distinct waves and marked the peak of the island's work. The Canton fleet gathered about the middle of the year, the Council registering the *Suffolk* and *Valentine* on 27 May and the *Pocock* and *Oxford* on 6 June in a letter of 29 June 1761, followed by a wave of Bombay and Malabar shipping in August. The peak fell about April in some years, the Council registering

the near-simultaneous arrival of the *Neptune*, *Pitt*, *Duke of Richmond*, *Princess Augusta*, *Norfolk*, *Prince Henry* and *Triton* from Canton in a letter of about April 1762, on which season the provisioning burden fell most heavily. [Film No. 129, 142, 172]

The sea road past the island carried the shipping of every European power, and the island watched it all. On 23 and 26 February 1759/60 two Danish East Indiamen homeward from Canton, the *Crown Prince of Denmark* and the *King of Denmark*, called, the Council recording their tonnage, guns and cargoes of tea, and noting that 11 English ships had lain at Canton that season alongside Dutch, Danish, Swedish and French vessels. Through the following years Danish, Prussian and Dutch traders passed continually, among them the *Count Mitch* and *Vrede Steyn* in 1761, the *King of Prussia* and *Schoonzigt* in 1762, and Dutch ships laden with tea, pepper, tin, japan ware, cinnamon and linen in 1763, Canton being the shared terminus of a global commerce. [Film No. 53, 127, 136, 171–172, 196, 223, 225]

The anchorage was a clearing house for shipping intelligence gathered from every flag, which the island pieced into a running account of the Company's scattered fleet. In a letter of about May 1765 captains reported where they had spoken other vessels at precise latitudes, one having met the *Kent* and *Prince of Wales* and another the *Pitt* in the Straits of Sunda, giving London a picture of ship movements no single observer could assemble. The Council also questioned the masters of calling vessels to tally how many Danish, Swedish, Dutch and French ships had traded in China each season, its value as a listening post lying in the very traffic it served. [Film No. 311, 320]

The hazards of the trade were recorded in the losses the Council reported. The *Streatham* was lost going up the River of Bengal in October 1759, though the greater part of the cargo was saved; the *Earl Temple* was lost off Manila with every soul aboard, reported in a letter of 25 April 1764; and the *Winchelsea* was wrecked coming down the river of Bengal on 20 March 1764, though all her people were saved. The *Elizabeth* was burnt off the Bocca Tigris on 8 January 1763, her mates and 25 others perishing, the accident striking at the very gateway of the China trade. War made every unknown sail a possible enemy, Captain Beamish crowding on sail rather than close with a stranger showing English colours on 8 April 1760. [Film No. 69, 73, 234, 275, 292]

Careful accounting governed damaged and short-delivered cargo. In a letter of 18 May 1760 the Council surveyed the goods that came by the *Triton* and shipped the damaged goods home aboard the *Royal George* as evidence, noting the same agreement with the owners of the *Norfolk* as with the *Triton*. The island worked as a relay in the wider network, receiving two sets of millstones from China for Fort Marlborough in a letter of 26 May 1761 and forwarding them with invoice and bill of lading. The Company guarded its cargoes against private trade, a strict search of the *Delaware* in about August 1759 finding no illicit goods, and from 1760 required every passenger to sign an instrument renouncing any claim on the owners for having helped navigate the ship. [Film No. 33, 57, 74, 78, 116]

Economy, currency, finance and accounting

The island's provisioning ran on a deliberate cross-subsidy the Council set out in about July 1759. Beef and pork were issued to the garrison at 2s a piece, a price fixed by Mr Duncan and Council in 1743 well below prime cost, producing a yearly loss the Council held would be counterbalanced by the profit made on flour taken for the garrison, the two commodities balanced within a single account. Price also sorted the island's people by status: meat sold to the planters was charged at 40 per cent advance while the Company's servants had long paid 10 per cent, and when the servants complained in about 1758 the Council let them have meat at the garrison's flat rate, a concession the Court later approved. The same graduated pricing governed spirits, prize brandy invoiced in 1760 at 5s 3d a gallon standing too dear for the island. [Film No. 31, 58–59]

The island financed itself largely on paper rather than shipped coin. A man could hand silver into the Company's local cash and take a bill of exchange payable in England 90 days after sight, as Governor Hutchinson did with £300 0s 0d and John Adamson with £54 0s 0d in 1759. This was the everyday mechanism throughout: in a letter of 26 May 1761 Captain Pigou paid in £100 0s 0d, Captain Kirkpatrick £200 0s 0d and Lieutenant St Maurice £50 0s 0d, and larger sums followed, a bill of £2,000 0s 0d to Captain Clark in a letter of 30 July 1761 and one of £1,500 0s 0d to the departing Clark in about May 1762 converting

a career's earnings into a remittance home. Bills were flexible enough to direct a debt to whatever party would bear it, King's captains drawing on the navy's victualling commissioners while merchant captains drew on the Court. [Film No. 17–18, 126, 138, 173]

The island served as a link in the Company's flow of silver to China, where the tea trade was bought largely with coin. Rather than hold a fixed reserve, the Council forwarded consigned treasure to the supercargoes at Canton and met its local costs by drawing bills, sending two chests in a letter of 26 May 1761 and one chest of 4,000 dollars taken from the *Egmont* in about June 1763. When the market for bills was thin it needed physical silver, warning in about August 1762 that it would want at least three chests of treasure, preferably in dollars, the Spanish dollar being the common coin of the eastern trade. The service extended to foreign merchants, Dutch officers paying £760 0s 0d into the cash in a letter of 26 August 1765, and to the Crown, the Council advancing Major Munro £570 0s 0d for the 89th Regiment in about October 1765. [Film No. 115, 200, 233, 243, 349, 352]

The exchange turned on the discount that coin suffered at the Cape, from which the island bought cattle. In a letter of about October 1762 Captain Harrold reported that 10 per cent was lost on the dollar and upwards of 20 on other coin carried to the Cape, while a bill drawn on the Company cost only eight per cent and was preferred by the Dutch sellers, so the Council directed him to draw bills in future, choosing the cheaper instrument on the arithmetic. It regulated the island's petty currency as routine, lowering the small coins called cash-keerees from five to four to a given value in about August 1763, and noting in a letter of 3 February 1765/66 German crowns that would not pass at the Cape without a loss of 25 per cent, reckoning its cash not by face but by what it would fetch. [Film No. 207, 250–251, 358]

The Council answered to the Court for every allowance written off, undertaking in about April 1763 not to write off any sum for leakage or wastage beyond what appeared reasonable, and noting the previous year's wastage well below the year before. It managed the liquor supply as a lever of both revenue and discipline, raising the price of Persia brandy above the usual rate in a letter of 26 May 1761 to clear the stock at a small profit. The property of servants who died far from home was administered through the same machinery, the surgeon Samuel Falconer's effects being sold in 1759 and the balance of £372 19s 10d held on the books until his brother's attorney could claim it, and the small estate of Charles Horner, £8 11s 3d, reckoned to the penny in about August 1762. [Film No. 38, 116, 201, 231]

Judiciary, crime and punishment

The settlement referred its gravest justice back to London for much of the period. In about July 1759 the Council asked the Court for directions on the punishment of criminals and undertook to send prisoners to England with a full account of their crimes, lacking the power or the wish to punish serious offenders itself. Smaller legal matters were settled on the island through formal instruments: when John Morgan, a slave left by Captain Grant, died in the Court's hospital in 1758, his estate of £1 7s 0d was divided under a recognised will between two soldiers, who signed a written instrument entered in the consultation of 28 July 1758, the record extending a settled legal form to a man the same system held as property. [Film No. 16–17, 31]

The affair of Mr Adamson's papers, running through the letters of July 1759, shows how a dismissed officer could carry off the settlement's institutional memory. Adamson left without surrendering his transcripts, and the secretary Wrangham declared he had copied general letters enough to fill a book of two quires or more, while Thomas Dunn admitted copying parts of consultations. Adamson also sold as his own a bell-metal mortar, pewter inkstands, bolts and iron the Council claimed for the Court, the surgeon Barclay recovering the mortar only by showing he had lent it. The Council gathered these declarations to build a documented case, and by about March 1760 tightened its controls so that no registers were released and no effects held without a receipt. [Film No. 32, 60]

The reservation of capital matters to a distant authority shaped the island's dealings with the gravest crimes. When the persistent offender Stephen Willoughby broke into a house on 24 August 1761 the Council resolved in a letter of 9 September 1761 to send him to England aboard the *London*, paying Captain Webb £5 0s 0d and transmitting the depositions. Two heinous crimes by slaves show the same reservation: in a letter of 25 January 1761/62 a slave of the planter Samuel Snipe had ravished and infected two of his master's young children, and the Council, judging the crime to deserve death, put the man in irons to await

directions rather than inflict a corporal penalty within its own power. Lesser breaches could be tempered by the value of the offender, the mason John Bland, who had struck the surgeon and abused Captain Clark, being dismissed but restored at Clark's intercession. [Film No. 146, 153, 156–157]

The year 1762 opened with a killing that laid bare the want of any means to confine the mentally ill. On 11 February 1761/62 John Huffman, a matross deranged for some time, murdered William Weatherby, a soldier afflicted with the same disorder, and the Council could only ship the killer to England aboard the *Warwick*, paying £5 0s 0d and directing that he be kept confined until the Court's orders came. The case fell only months before the most significant legal development of the period. [Film No. 162–163]

In a letter of about May 1762 the Council acknowledged the Court's orders investing it with power to hold civil and criminal courts and that of oyer and terminer, which conferred the right to try the gravest offences and addressed the limitation that had long forced the island to ship capital cases home. The grant meant little without personnel, and the Council reported that neither the Secretary nor any servant could act as clerk, asking the Court to send a person qualified in the forms of such proceedings. It also found the practical obstacles real, asking in about October 1762 whether a deposition sworn before a local justice could stand once the deponent had sailed, since robberies were often committed just before the ships left, and confessing itself unsure whether it held any power to pardon after condemnation. [Film No. 185–186, 205–206]

The Court declined to send a trained legal officer, and the Council bound itself the more tightly to known forms. In a letter of about April 1763 it undertook to govern itself by the laws of England, to see justice administered impartially and to discourage vexatious suits, and it forwarded the proceedings of its general quarter sessions and courts martial in packet after packet, sessions being held on dates including 12 October 1762, 11 January 1763 and 6 April 1763, and a run of court martial proceedings from 21 June 1762 to 18 July 1763 sent home in about August 1763. The whole apparatus was reported to the Court as a single body of evidence, each judgement preserved for scrutiny at the seat of authority. [Film No. 150, 215, 220, 231, 252]

Slavery and coerced labour

The island's heavy works rested on slaves, whom the Company counted as a standing asset and reported to London as regularly as its stores and garrison. The packet sent aboard the *Latham* on 23 March 1759 enclosed a separate list of blacks alongside the list of families, and the same divided enumeration recurs in the returns of 11 October 1759, of 30 September 1761 sent with the letter of 25 January 1761/62, and of 30 September 1763 and 1764 in the later packets, a human population held in bondage folded into the ordinary bookkeeping of the station. The estate of the slave John Morgan, appraised and bequeathed under a will in 1758, sits in stark contradiction with this accounting, the same system that entered slaves on an inventory also recognising one as a man with property to leave. [Film No. 19, 48, 159, 261, 306]

The constant traffic of shipping offered slaves a route out of bondage, and the Council mounted an elaborate operation to prevent it. Ofsix went missing when the last ships sailed in 1759, believed to have escaped aboard the *Bombay Castle*. For some days before the ships sailed, as a letter of 26 May 1761 describes, the Governor's orders closed Port Liberty, posted sentinels at the watering place and set guard boats rowing about the bay, the rolls being called three times a day and any missing man triggering an immediate search. The Council pursued escaped slaves as recoverable property across the whole span of the trade, demanding the slave Essex from Captain Fowler and, in a letter of 6 March 1763, tracing the same Essex, who had deserted in the *Bombay Castle* and run again from the ship at Manila. [Film No. 41, 121–122, 219]

The Council's handling of runaways exposes the property logic on which the settlement worked. In a letter of 5 July 1760 it reported that despite a strict watch, two of the Court's man slaves, Grewen and Joe, and a slave of Torbet the cooper had got away aboard the departing fleet on 7 July 1760, and it valued their recovery not only to reclaim them but to show others that flight was futile. It rejected the Court's prescribed penalty of imprisonment on a scanty diet in a letter of 26 May 1761, arguing not that it was cruel but that it removed a slave from his master's work, and characterising the slaves as naturally indolent. It sought to shift both the burden and cost of control onto the slaveholders, proposing that deserters be shipped back at their owners' expense. [Film No. 91, 119, 123]

The Council pressed London hard for the power to execute slaves, judging lesser penalties useless. In a letter of 5 July 1760 it quoted the island's old bye laws, under which a slave convicted of burglary or felony was whipped and branded on the forehead with the letter R for a first offence, made to wear a chain and clog for a second, and for a third put to death at the discretion of the Governor and Council, the slave to be valued and the master repaid by a levy on all the inhabitants. It urged that a second conviction should suffice for execution, framing the harsher penalty as protection for the industrious, the effect being to bring its slaves to the gallows sooner. Yet the same slaves were the labour on which survival depended, several being set to grub the poisonous canary grass out of the Long Wood. [Film No. 92–94]

The deepest fear beneath the apparatus of control was collective revolt. On 22 August 1761 the Governor was told by Pompey, a slave of the widow Mary Burnham, that all the slaves intended an insurrection and to murder their masters, naming three Malay slaves, Canton, Tom and Minnis, who had offered a collection of money for his silence and said the design had been talked of for upwards of three years. The Council could come at no proof, the accused flatly denying the charge, and by a letter of 25 January 1761/62 had heard nothing more, hoping the methods taken would deter others; the affair faded not through resolution but through the absence of fresh alarm. The disclosure through an informer shows the Council's dependence on division within the enslaved community to police it. [Film No. 145–146, 153]

The case of the slave Grewer shows how far the Council feared the ideas a returning man might carry. In a letter of 26 May 1761 it reported that Grewer, a skilled mason returned by the *Prince Henry* after deserting, had been pardoned by the Court and went unpunished, and was said to boast of the indulgence, to spread among his fellows a notion of the great liberty allowed in England, and to appear in a dress very unbecoming a slave. The Council feared his talk might encourage desertion more than ever and wished he had been sent out in irons, and it refused to part with skilled slaves who were stonemasons, treating the trained craft embodied in particular men as a scarce capital asset. [Film No. 121–122]

By 1763 the Council found its enslaved labour worn down. In a letter of 13 June 1763 it reported that many of the Court's slaves were quite worn out and unfit for work, so it intended to send the *Mercury* snow to Madagascar for more, planning the voyage as a barter of goods for captives against the quantity the ship had carried before. It disposed of resistant slaves by the same accounting logic, shipping off Joachim Josee, a Portuguese transported from Bombay to serve for life, in a letter of 4 September 1763 because he would not work and was a dead expense, and filling his place with a crewman the ship needed. The Court also intended in a letter of 11 April 1764 to send African slaves through the island to Sumatra, a plan the Council stood ready to serve until it was altered. [Film No. 244, 254, 272, 281]

The Madagascar venture returned meagre and bloody. In a letter of 5 March 1765 the Council reported that the *Mercury* snow and *Fly Cutter*, dispatched together in a letter of 17 June 1764, had returned on 4 January 1765 with only 60 slaves and two boys, and that Captain Hurdle had been murdered in a rising among the slaves aboard his vessel on 29 November 1764, the resistance of the enslaved breaking through the Council's dry account. The island later served as a transit point in the Company's African slave trade, the *Royal George* arriving from the coast of Angola in a letter of 31 May 1765 with 156 slaves, of whom 130 were forwarded to Sumatra and the rest kept for the island. The Council developed its younger slaves as skilled artificers to take the soldiers off the fortification works, and considered converting the *Fly Cutter* into a schooner to fetch slaves from Cabinda. [Film No. 287, 304, 327, 331, 347]

Social order, science and health

The island served as a southern observing station for one of the great scientific undertakings of the age. In a letter of about June 1761 the Council recorded that it would accommodate the astronomer Nevil Maskelyne and his assistant Robert Waddington at the Company's expense, sent by the Royal Society to observe the transit of Venus of 1761, building an observatory in the country and providing materials, workmen and a homeward passage. Maskelyne returned home aboard the *Warwick* in about February 1761/62, the Council ordering Captain Dewar to receive him with his instruments at the Company's charge. Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, redirected to the Cape for the observation, returned through St Helena aboard the *Mercury* snow on 16 October 1761, the Council paying each £15 0s 0d for their keep since the captains would not accommodate them at their tables. [Film No. 123–124, 155, 162]

A remote community refreshed by crews from across the world was vulnerable to the diseases they brought. In a letter of 30 July 1761 the Council reported that for the past month inflammatory colds had raged so that most inhabitants had been severely afflicted, two of the Court's men slaves dying and many others falling ill, the Council counting the loss of enslaved labourers as a loss of property. The care of stranded and destitute seamen and invalids was a recurring charge discharged with exact bookkeeping and pressed back onto the ships responsible. Two invalid soldiers from Bengal, both named William Brown, were left out of the *Latham* in a letter of 30 July 1761, and the Council kept precise account even of men it maintained only to their graves, subsistence being paid to the naval invalids William Borden and William Brown at 7d a day up to the time of their deaths. [Film No. 138–139, 155]

The care of stranded people fell as an unwanted charge throughout the period, logged to the responsible party. Daniel Jackson, a seaman pressed aboard His Majesty's ship *Chatham* and discharged destitute, was advanced three months' wages against the £24 0s 0d due to him in a letter of about September 1763, and Thomas Creil, left at Delagoa out of the *Clive*, was paid on producing his ticket, the written certificate of pay that followed a man across the world. Sarah Douglass, left out of the *Salisbury* without means, was given passage aboard the *Pocock* for £5 0s 0d in a letter of about April 1765, the cost to be repaid by the owners. A larger hospital was built in about June 1762, the old one being too small even for the garrison's sick, and the Council turned it to account by charging captains for the seamen it could now take. [Film No. 189, 253, 318–319]

The loyalty of the garrison was a standing concern, and passing agitators provoked real alarm. In a letter of about June 1765 the Council recorded a man named Blanche, who had stayed behind from a French ship and offered to enlist but proved a deserter from His Majesty's artillery at Manila, and who had written a letter urging the garrison to be traitors to their king, intercepted by the Lieutenant-Governor before it reached the men. Desertion aboard homeward ships remained the most persistent threat, the Council taking depositions in a letter of 4 March 1765/66 concerning six of the Court's military who deserted aboard the *Admiral Stevens* with the apparent connivance of her officers, and resolving strictly to enforce the orders against ships sailing by night. [Film No. 330–331, 361]

A rare voice from outside the governing circle survives in a forwarded petition. In a letter of 5 December 1763 the Council recorded that Daughlook Pochullum, the Malay prisoner, had presented a petition he earnestly begged the Council to send to the Court, its content now lost but its appearance marking the presence on the island of captives from the Company's eastern conflicts and the narrow channel through which such a man might reach the authority that held his fate. The Council also managed the progression of its civil servants through the fixed grades, Richard Law being placed on the establishment of a factor on completing his years as a writer in about July 1763, and it used salary to retain scarce tradesmen, raising the carpenter John Robinson to £100 0s 0d a year in about July 1765. [Film No. 248, 259, 340]

Personalities

Governor Hutchinson stands out in the earliest letters as a man inclined to act, pressing the Council in August 1758 to send a longboat to windward rather than wait behind the guns, and paying £300 0s 0d of his own into the Court's cash against a bill. Mr John Adamson is the most vivid figure of the early period, dismissed on 8 June 1759, pleading illness to avoid witnessing the new commission, then departing without surrendering his transcripts and selling Company effects as his own. Robert Bendy, the mate turned reconnaissance commander hired at £40 0s 0d a year, embodies the island's improvised defence and its hazards, mistaking French cruisers for friendly ships on 17 April 1759 and being taken before he could undo the error, later exchanged at the Bay of All Saints. [Film No. 12, 16–17, 21, 32, 50]

Among the slaves, the mason Grewer is the most vivid, a man returned from England pardoned and unrepentant whose talk of liberty the Council in a letter of 26 May 1761 feared more than his flight, and Pompey his counterpart, the informer whose disclosure of the alleged insurrection the Council depended upon yet could not corroborate. The murdered Captain Hurdle stands for the human cost of the trade the island pursued, killed in the rising aboard his vessel on 29 November 1764. Among the Europeans the captured General Lally is the figure of greatest weight, the French commander whose surrender ended

French power in the Carnatic and who passed through as a subsidised prisoner in a letter of 29 June 1761. [Film No. 121–122, 131, 145–146, 304]

The correspondence registers the turnover of the island's own administration through the names at the foot of its letters. Captain John Clark, long one of the four councillors, resigned for his health and sailed home aboard the *Neptune* in about April 1762 with a bill of £1,500 0s 0d, setting off a chain of prescribed promotions and yielding his seat to Captain Kirkpatrick. The Reverend Mr Maskelyne gives the year 1762 its most distinguished visitor, his quiet departure through the ordinary machinery of Company orders closing a chapter far removed from trade and war. The Company's care for officers who served well appears in Captain Onesiphorus Beale, kept on the books at his salary while he sailed for his health in a letter of 5 July 1760, and its provision for dependents in the £50 0s 0d a year settled on the widow Mrs Godwin. [Film No. 80, 82, 162, 172–173]

The later years bring their own distinctive figures. Richard Law, the factor lost to drink, is the most sharply drawn of the island's failures, recorded in a letter of 8 August 1764 as totally lost to all good advice and replaced by the sober Jonathan Doveton, his death on 17 February 1764/65 later noted. Mr Bland, whose mismanagement of Plantation House drew censure in a letter of 8 July 1764, is remembered for his blunders, and Richard Braby, the judge-advocate who also taught the island's youths for a small salary, appears in a letter of about June 1765 as an instance of how thinly capable men were spread. The governorship passed in these years from Charles Hutchinson, through John Skottowe, to the new commission under John Shottowe with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant-Governor. [Film No. 290, 296, 315, 335]

Conclusion

Across the whole run, from 20 August 1758 to 4 March 1765/66, St Helena appears as an island whose importance was wholly borrowed from the ships it served. It was a staging post, a magazine, a relief station, a financial exchange and a listening post, valued for turning vessels round within their charter time, for forwarding the Court's packet and for catching news of the eastern world from arriving captains and relaying it home months ahead of any official word. Its own affairs, however carefully governed, mattered to London chiefly in so far as they kept the sea road to India open, and the Company governed it at the extreme range of the sea, remaking the Board by a single packet, financing the station on paper credit and hard dollars by turns, and forecasting its wants a year ahead because nothing could be corrected quickly. [Film No. 11, 28, 161, 172]

The period carried the settlement from the Indian climax of the Seven Years War, through the Dutch defeat at Chinsurah in November 1759, the French collapse at Wandiwash in January 1759/60 and the fall of Pondicherry in January 1760/1, into the peace of 1763 and the widening war against Spain that took Manila, and on to the Company's transformation after Buxar in 1764 into the territorial ruler of Bengal by the grant of the diwani in 1765. Through all of it the island held on through wartime drought and a cattle distemper that killed its herds, through an enemy that scattered its shipping to Brazil and a French squadron that schemed against it from the Cape, and through the recurring shortages that reduced its garrison at last to a fish diet, sustained by the same fragile lifeline of ships that it existed to serve. [Film No. 67, 73, 102, 211, 357–358]

The official record is nonetheless partial, and its silences are as telling as its detail. It dwells on witnessed handovers, careful indents and firm discipline, while the slaves counted on their separate roll appear mainly as assets to be enumerated, controlled, pursued across the ocean and, when worn out, replaced by a slaving voyage; the French prisoners appear chiefly as a question of expense; and the inner lives of both surface only in the fears the Council recorded, in Grewer's defiance, in the plot Pompey disclosed and no one could prove, and in the Malay prisoner's forwarded petition whose words are lost. What the Council chose to record measures its diligence to its masters; what it passed over measures the distance between the paper and the place. Read with due caution, and set beside the wider history of the Company, its wars and the oceans it spanned, this consolidated correspondence opens a detailed window onto a single small settlement at the meeting point of empire and trade across eight years of war, peace and transformation. [Film No. 19, 145–146, 259, 364]

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and interpretation
<u>1</u>		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Letters To England 1759 - 1766 Photographer Shelley Date photographed 07 March 2022 Additional comments	
<u>2</u>		Book cover	
<u>3</u>		Blank page	
<u>4</u>		Blank page	
<u>5</u>		Letter Book to England N 1759 to 1766	
<u>6</u>		Blank page	
<u>7</u>		Blank page	
<u>8</u>		Blank page	
<u>9</u>		Letter Book to England N 1759 to 1766	
<u>10</u>		Blank page	
<u>11</u>	1	To the Honoble the Court &c. § §Honorable Sir & Sirs. § §1 We wrote last to your by youre Ship the § §Prince Edwards Captain James Haldane that sailed from § §Mence on the 20 August 1758 § §2 On the 27 January arrived youre Ship the § §Latham Captain John Pool from Bombay § §3 On the 13 Instant arrived youre Ship the § §Holdernesse Captain Robert Preache from England by whom we § §received youre Packet and are Sorry to find by your Letters therein § §Enclosed, that youre Honors have not received any advice from us § §to a later date than the 21th May by Lieutenant Blewmed. § §4 The directions in your Letter we have received § §by the Holdernesse shall be strictly attended to as likewise those further § §ones we may receive by youre Ship the Delaware which we hope will § §soon Arrive § §5 It is great Satisfaction to us to hear of the § §Success of the British Navy And that of France as well as their § §Commerce to be so much reduced, from which as well as they great § §Loss, your Honors Informe us, their Land Forces have met with § §under the Command of Ms. D'Estrées and Sully we hope they will § §not be Able to make any considerable requisitions or do much damage §	To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sir and Sirs. 1: The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Prince Edward</i>, Captain James Haldane, which sailed from the island on 20 August 1758. 2: On 27 January the <i>Latham</i>, Captain John Poole, arrived from Bombay. 3: On the 13th of this month the <i>Moldeness</i>, Captain Robert Bootle, arrived from England, bringing the packet. The letters enclosed with it showed, to the Council's regret, that the Court had received no word from the island dated later than 21 May, sent by Lieutenant Blewman. 4: The instructions in the Court's letter carried by the <i>Moldeness</i> would be followed exactly, along with any further orders that might come aboard the <i>Delaware</i>, whose safe arrival the Council hoped for soon. 5: News that the British navy had done so well, and that both the trade and the sea power of France had been so far reduced, gave great satisfaction on the island. The Court had also reported that the French land forces under Monsieur D'Estrées and Lally had suffered heavily, and the Council hoped these forces would prove unable to mount any serious campaign or do much damage. Interpretations The letters name three East India Company ships in quick succession, each tying St Helena into a wider wartime network. The island sat on the return route from Bombay, so the <i>Latham</i> calling there after an Indian voyage and the <i>Moldeness</i> arriving from England with the Company packet show its fixed role as a staging and communication point rather than a destination in its own right. The reference to no advice being received later than 21 May points to how slow and fragile communication was. A gap of roughly eight months between the island's last dispatch and the Court's knowledge of it meant orders and reports crossed at sea, and the Council had to act on instructions that were already months old by the time they arrived. The French commanders named were figures in the wider Seven Years War. D'Estrées and Lally led French operations in the Indian Ocean and on the Coromandel Coast, and their setbacks mattered directly to a Company outpost whose security depended on French naval and land power being held in check.
<u>12</u>	2	to your Settlements or trade in India; And we also hope that the § §four large French Ships you had advice of waiting at	The Council also hoped these forces would prove unable to harm the Company's settlements or trade in India. The four large French ships reported fitting out

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		Isle§ §Grande to be Joyned by 7 more to proceed to India will be timely§ §oppned by the reinforcement of Ships, your Honors have good§ §reason to expect from his Majesty to Joyne those who are already§ §in India.§ §6 We beg leave to Assure youre Honors that all§ §the precaution that could be thought of have been taken for the§ §Security and defence of this your Island, and youre Shipping§ §and we will Continue to be in readiness to make the most Deffence§ §in Case of being attacked.§ §7 The Governor begs leave to Assure youre Honors§ §that all orders he may receive from the Honorable the Secret§ §Committee shall be punctually Complied with.§ §8 We observe by youre Letter that you have taken§ §up 21 Ships upon Freight to Carey on your trade this Season§ §which we hope will be Successfull also the Royal George which§ §you have built in the Companys Account with the Prince Henry§ §Packet, the Speeer and diligent Sloops, will in all respects answer§ §the Purpose you intend them for, the latter of which we observe§ §by your Letter was under dispatch from Bombay.§ §9 It is a pleasure to us to find youre Honors§ §intend to send the Delaware, with the remaining part of the Stores§ §necessary for this use of this Island and Princes Isle which youre§ §Ship the Holdernesse Could not take in, and you may depend§ §upon our giving the Commanders of both these Ships all the§ §Assistance we can in unloading them in order for their Proceeding§ §as soon as possible on their Voyage to the West Coast of Sumatra.§	at Île de France, said to be joined by seven or eight more bound for India, would be more than matched by the reinforcement of ships the Court had good reason to expect His Majesty to send to join those already in India. 6: The Council assured the Court that every precaution that could be thought of had been taken for the security and defence of the island. Its shipping would be kept ready to make the strongest resistance if the island came under attack. 7: Governor Hutchinson assured the Court that all orders received from the Secret Committee would be carried out exactly. 8: The Court's letter showed that 21 ships had been taken up on freight for the Company's trade. The Council was confident these vessels, along with the <i>Royal George</i> built at the Company's own charge, together with the <i>Prince Henry</i> packet, the <i>Syren</i> and the various other ships, would in every way serve the purpose intended. The letter naming the last of these had come by dispatch from Bombay. 9: The Council was glad to learn that the Court intended to send the <i>Delaware</i>, along with the remaining part of the stores needed for the island's use, and the <i>Princess Louisa</i>, which the <i>Moldeness</i> could not take in. The Council would give the commanders of both ships all the help it could in unloading them, so they might continue their voyage to the west coast of Sumatra as soon as possible. Interpretations The naval arithmetic in paragraph five turns on a race of reinforcement. Île de France, the modern Mauritius, was the main French base in the Indian Ocean, and the Council read the fitting out of ships there as a threat to be answered ship for ship by a Royal Navy squadron. The confidence rests on the Crown, rather than the Company, being expected to supply the counterweight, marking the point where a trading company's defence had become a matter of national war. The distinction drawn in paragraph seven between general Company orders and those of the Secret Committee reflects how the Company ran its wartime affairs. The Secret Committee was a small inner body that handled military and diplomatic matters too sensitive for the wider Court of Directors, and a governor singling out its orders for exact obedience shows where real strategic authority lay. The ships bound for the west coast of Sumatra were serving the Company's pepper settlements there, chiefly Bencoolen. St Helena's function in paragraph nine was to turn the vessels round quickly, unloading island stores so the ships could press on east, which shows the island valued as a service station on a long chain of supply rather than as an end point.
13	3	10 As you have thought proper to send your Ships§ §Consigned to Surat directly to that place without touching at this§ §Island, we shall therefore Expect only your Ship the Delaware to bring§ §any further Supply this season§ §11 We hope the precautions you have taken with regard§ §to your Shipping, will in all respects answer your Intentions, and that§ §they will be successfull.§ §12 Your Ship the Holdernesse has had and shall§ §have, all the Assistance we can give in unloading her; We shall give§ §the Commander orders to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough§ §and dispatch her from hence within the shortest possible time.§	10: Since the Court had chosen to send its ships bound for Surat straight there without calling at the island, the Council expected only the <i>Delaware</i> to bring any further supply this season. 11: The Council hoped the precautions the Court had taken over its shipping would answer its intentions in every way and prove successful. 12: The <i>Moldeness</i> had been given all the help the Council could offer in unloading her, and would be given more. Her commander would be free to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough, and she would be dispatched from the island within the charter party time. 13: The Council would likewise take care to be ready to unload the <i>Delaware</i> and dispatch her as soon as possible. 14: The Council thanked the Court for the arrival and dispatch of its shipping, and for the packet certified by its secretary.

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		§13 We shall also take Care to be in readiness to unload the§ §Delaware and dispatch her as soon as possible.§ §14 We thank your Honors for the Arrival and dispatches§ §of your Shipping which we receive in your packet Certified by your§ §Secretary§ §15 All orders that may be received from Lawrence Sullivan§ §Esqr present Chairman of the Court of Directors Roger Drake Esqr§ §deputy, Christopher Bourivas Nathaniel Newnham, and Henry Vansittart§ §Esqrs or any three of them, We beg leave to Assure youre Honors shall§ §be punctually obeyed, by the Governor and to whomsoever they may be§ §directed§ §16 Altho your Honors had not received our Indent§ §of last year, the several Goods mentioned in the Invoice of your Ship§ §the Holdernessee are such as they most Essential for us to have.§ §17 As we shall not have occasion to spend any of§	15: All orders that might be received from Laurence Sullivan Esquire, present Chairman of the Court of Directors, Roger Drake Esquire, Deputy, Christopher Burrow, Nathaniel Newnham and Henry Plant Esquire, or any three of them, would be exactly obeyed by the Governor and by whoever they might be sent to. 16: Although the Court had not received the island's indent of last year, the several goods named in the invoice of the <i>Moldeness</i> were all such as they were most in need of, and were welcome. 17: Since the Council would have no occasion to spend any of these Interpretations The naming of five directors in paragraph fifteen, with a proviso that orders from any three would bind, sets out the working quorum of Company command. Sullivan as chairman and Drake as deputy stood at the head, and the arrangement let a handful of directors issue valid instructions without the full Court assembling, a practical device for keeping authority moving across the months of delay that separated London from the island. The complaint in paragraph sixteen that the indent of the previous year had never reached London exposes how supply broke down over distance. The island sent its order, London never saw it, yet the goods shipped on the <i>Moldeness</i> happened to match the island's needs. Supply here worked by London's guess as much as by the island's request, and the Council's relief that the guess was right measures how little the ordering system could be relied on. The reference to charter party time in paragraph twelve points to the contractual grip the Company held over hired shipping. A charter party fixed the days a vessel could be detained before penalties fell on the hirer, so the Council's pledge to clear the <i>Moldeness</i> within that window was a matter of avoiding cost as much as of speeding the ship on to Fort Marlborough.
14	4	Rice you please, your Ship the Holdernessee has brought us, before the§ §arrival of your Ship the Delaware, we would take Care that that which§ §comes by the later, shall be sent away, according to your directions§ §We shall give you a particular Account of its Goodness and how it is§ §used.§ §18 Finding upon an Examination that between§ §50 Barrels of Gunpowder will be sufficient to be kept here in Store§ §We shall therefore forward ten Barrels which came by the Holdernessee§ §to Fort Marlborough, and shall take up ten of those that are to come§ §by the Ship Delaware.§ §19 The Governor assures your Honors that the§ §Claret you have pleased to send for the Table, shall be used in the manner§ §and for the purpose you have mentioned§ §20 We have received on Shore two Chests of Treasure§ §you Consigned to us by the Holdernessee and shall take only two more§ §out of your Ship the Delaware, according to the Liberty you have given us§ §and shall give the Commanders receipts for the same, and duly Accoise§ §your safety Governor & Council of Fort Marlborough of what we shall§ §so value.§ §21 We have received the Twenty Recruits you have§ §sent us, by the Holdernessee which are very good but there Unluckily§ §happen to be one of the Number that is quite Crazy	Bengal goods that the <i>Moldeness</i> had brought, the Council would send them onward before the arrival of the <i>Delaware</i>. Whatever came by the <i>Latham</i> would be sent first, following the Court's directions, and the Council would give a full account of the stores and how they were held. 18: On examination the Council found that 50 barrels of gunpowder would be enough to keep by it in store. It would therefore forward the ten barrels that came by the <i>Moldeness</i> to Fort Marlborough, and would take eleven of those that were to come by the <i>Delaware</i>. 19: Governor Hutchinson assured the Court that the claret it had chosen to send for the table would be used only in the manner and for the purpose the Court had directed. 20: The Council had received ashore two chests of treasure sent by the <i>Moldeness</i>, and would take only two more out of the <i>Delaware</i>, as the Court had allowed. The commanders would be given receipts for the treasure, and the Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough would safely receive whatever the island shipped. 21: The Council had received the twenty recruits sent by the <i>Moldeness</i>, who were very good men, though some of them happened to be over age and so unfit for service. 22: The island had, besides its native soldiers, one sergeant and corporal to each company. By the resolution of the Court of 12 February no further officers had yet been appointed, but since the Council thought there was need, it intended soon to appoint those named earlier to the Court, namely Sergeant Gifford and Solomon Maurice. Interpretations

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		and therefore§ §unserviceable. § §22 We have without indent one Sergeant and§ §Corporal to Each Company as of Commutation of the 12th of February§ §have have not as yet appointed any additional Officers, but as we§ §think there is not a Necessity for it we Intend soon to appoint found§ §as is formerly mentioned to you of which Sergeant Gifting and§ §Mr Soloman J. Maurice shall be two§	The gunpowder calculation in paragraph eighteen shows the island acting as a distribution point rather than a hoarder of munitions. Having fixed 50 barrels as its own sufficient reserve, the Council passed surplus powder straight on to Fort Marlborough, treating St Helena as a magazine from which the Sumatran settlements could be topped up rather than as a fortress claiming all it could get. The handling of treasure in paragraph twenty reflects the tight controls the Company placed on bullion in transit. Chests of specie were landed under receipt and counted against a fixed allowance, and the exchange of commanders' receipts and Fort Marlborough's acknowledgement built a paper chain of custody meant to fix responsibility for every chest at each stage of a long sea passage. The note in paragraph twenty-one that recruits were welcome yet some were too old to serve exposes a chronic weakness in Company manpower. The garrison depended on drafts sent from England, and the Council could not refuse them, so it recorded the shortfall in quality while still absorbing men it privately judged unfit, a sign of how little control a remote station had over the soldiers it was sent.
15	5	23 Your directions with regard to the sending your the§ §Names of all Passengers on board your own or foreign Ships returning§ §from India shall by carefully transmitted to you in the manner§ §you have directed. We now accordingly acquaint you that had you§ §Passengers in the Ship Latham Mrs Martha Hough wife of Samll§ §Hough Super Intendant and in Council in Bombay with two§ §Children and Servants. Mrs Evans being late Slott wife of George§ §Sott Junior Merchant and in Council with two Children and§ §Servants and Captain Gowan Dunsberry who was in your Service§ §there. § §24 Your Ship the Holdernessee not being yet unladen§ §we cannot ascertain the Quantity of Flour that may be Landed§ §free from her, therefore Cannot Send you the Certificate for it by§ §this occasion, but we shall be Very Carefull in transmitting them§ §to you by the next according to the Form we have received in the§ §Packet. § §25 We are much pleased to hear of the Safe arrival§ §of his Majesty Ships the Colchester at Corke with your Ships§ §the Royal Duke, Warwick, Sandwich, Triton, Princess, Augusta, Elizth, § §and Atlas, under her Convoy on 8th October as likewise the§ §Marlborough and Norfolk her Arrivals the same day And we§ §hope the Falmouth (tho you had not heard of her) has long§ §Since arrived in some port of Great Britain§ §26 We are also glad your Ship the Camavon§ §was so luckily retaken by the Somerset man of War And that§ §the Honorable Company are likely to be no great Sufferers by her§ §falling into the Hands of the Enemy§ §27 We are Sorry your Honors have not received§ §our Packet by the Colchester Man of War§	23: The Court's instructions on sending it the names of all passengers carried from India aboard its own or foreign ships would be followed carefully and sent in the manner directed. The Council accordingly reported those who had come as passengers in the <i>Latham</i>, namely Mrs Martha Yough, wife of Samuel Yough, Superintendent and a member of Council at Bombay, with two children and servants; Mrs Browning, late wife of George Jack, purser of the <i>Madras</i>, with two children and servants; and Captain [...] Dumbrivy, who had been in the Court's service there. 24: Since the <i>Moldeness</i> had not yet been unloaded, the Council could not tell what quantity of flour might be damaged by seawater aboard her. It could not therefore send the certificate for it this time, but would be very careful to send it by the next chance, following the form received in the packet. 25: The Council was very glad to hear of the safe arrival of His Majesty's ship the <i>Colchester</i> at Cork, together with the <i>Royal Duke</i>, <i>Warwick</i>, <i>Sandwich</i>, <i>Triton</i>, <i>Princess</i>, <i>Augusta</i>, <i>Elizabeth</i> and <i>Sea Horse</i>, which came under her convoy on 8 October. The <i>Moldeness</i> and <i>Nassau</i> had arrived the same day, and the Council hoped the <i>Falmouth</i>, though no word of her had been heard, had long since reached some part of Great Britain. 26: The Council was also glad the <i>Carnarvon</i> had been so luckily retaken by the <i>Somerset</i> man of war, and that the Company was unlikely to suffer great loss by her having fallen into enemy hands. 27: The Council was sorry the Court had not received its packet sent by the <i>Colchester</i> man of war. Interpretations The passenger list in paragraph twenty-three shows St Helena serving as a checkpoint on the movement of people between India and Britain. The Company required names of everyone carried home so it could watch who left its Indian settlements, and the island's duty to record and forward those names made it an administrative filter on the return traffic as much as a supply stop. The people listed reflect the domestic side of Company society, wives and widows of officials and pursers travelling with children and servants. The damaged flour in paragraph twenty-four points to the certification system that governed loss at sea. Spoiled cargo could not simply be written off, but had to be surveyed and certified on a set form before the loss was allowed, so the Council's care to follow the

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			packet's wording was a matter of protecting the island against being charged for goods ruined in transit. The convoy in paragraph twenty-five marks how far ordinary Company sailing had been folded into naval protection. A warship escorting a named fleet of Indiamen into an Irish port, with the Council tracking each vessel by name, shows trade moving under armed guard, and the anxious note over the unheard-of <i>Falmouth</i> reveals how convoy still left individual ships to fortune once contact was lost.
16	6	28 We are exceedingly surprized that your Packets§ §were not forwarded to you so expeditious by as you have reason to§ §Expect as all your Commanders had have had Copys of your§ §Instructions in that head given to them by us and it is particular§ §mentioned to Captain Pool to forward the Packet from this Island§ §29 We are glad your Ships Lord Anson & Jerusalem§ §Prince Edwards were met the 30 October East of Ireland and at§ §that time all well§ §30 Three Ships appeared to Windward of this Island§ §on the 5 Instant about Eight League distant and stood away from§ §it about noon, but on the next day they were seen again about the same§ §distance and Steed away in the manner they did, the day before, and§ §have been seen we suppose by people in different parts of the§ §Island hovering about it, which gives us reason to Suspect they are§ §French Cruizors but as they have not appeared upwards of a week past§ §we hope we shall have no more of them, The Governor however proposed§ §to the Gentlemen of the Council, that he thought it as necessary to fit out§ §one of your long boats to go to windward for Intelligence; And Captain Pool§ §having been on King's service Mr Bendy one of his Midshipmen§ §to undertake to Conduct her was by recommended as a very Capably§ §person, the Gentlemen of the Council having agreed to this Proposal§ §the boat is now getting ready and we hourly Expect to give Mr Bendy§ §at the rate of 100£ for Annum during this time he may be on this§ §Service§ §31 John Worgan Soldier that was left here sick§ §belonging to the Company Commanded by Captain Grant having§ §died in your Hospital, Made adult by adult he had given all his Effects§ §of what Arms viewed and whatsoever unto James Robinson Malross§ §and John Solloway Soldier this Garrison to be Equally divided between§ §them, but they both declaring the said Worgan only intimated that they§ §should all be dies possessed of on their Island of distributing the Sum§ §of one pound seven Shillings in the manner directed by his will§	28: The Council was greatly surprised that the packets had not been forwarded as quickly as the Court had reason to expect, since all its commanders had been given copies of the instructions on that point, and Captain Poole in particular had been directed to forward the packet from the island. 29: The Council was very glad the Court's ships <i>Lord Anson</i> and <i>Prince Edward</i> had met the <i>Sea Horse</i> off the coast of Ireland, and that all were well at that time. 30: Three ships appeared to windward of the island on the 5th of this month, about eight leagues off, and stood away about noon, but on the next day they came again about the same distance and stood away as before. They had been seen the day before by people at different parts of the island hovering about it, which gave reason to suspect they were French cruisers. As they had not appeared for several days, the Council hoped it would see no more of them. Governor Hutchinson proposed to the Council that it seemed necessary to fit out one of the Court's longboats to go to windward for intelligence, and since Captain Poole had Robert Bendy, one of his mates, aboard who undertook to command her and was recommended as a very capable man, and the Council agreeing to the proposal, the boat was now being made ready. The Council expected to pay Bendy at the rate of £40 0s 0d a year for the time he was in this service. 31: John Morgan, a slave left on the island belonging to the Company and commanded by Captain Grant, had died in the Court's hospital. His effects, once viewed and appraised, had been shared out between James Robinson Maltross and John Holloway, soldiers of the garrison, to be divided equally between them. In sharing out this sum of £1 7s 0d, the Council did not disturb Morgan's wishes but only required that everyone should be free to dispose of their own property, following the directions set out in his will. Interpretations The longboat sent to windward in paragraph thirty shows the island improvising its own naval intelligence from the resources at hand. With French cruisers suspected offshore and no warship of its own, the Council fitted out a ship's boat and hired a passing mate by the year to scout, turning a merchant crewman into a paid lookout, which reveals how thinly defended St Helena was and how it filled the gap with whatever men and craft happened to be in the road. The estate of John Morgan in paragraph thirty-one is striking for treating a slave as a man with property to bequeath. His effects were appraised and divided under a recognised will, and the Council's stated concern that each person dispose of his own goods extended a settled legal form to someone the same system held as property, a contradiction the record sets down without remark. The rebuke over the delayed packets in paragraph twenty-eight reflects how seriously the Company took the security of its correspondence. Every commander carried written orders to forward dispatches at once, and a single break in the relay could leave London blind for months, so the Council's surprise was a matter of a known and important duty having been let slip.

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17	7	They therefore signed to an Instrument or writing by which they§ §acknowledged that it was a misunderstanding of the Writer to make§ §over all Effects unto of the Testator; and that nothing Else was intended§ §to be given them, than such Effects, as he should die possessed of here§ §as you will please to know as Entered at Large in our Consultation of§ §the 28th July 1758§ §32 Captain Pool informed us that the Pett arrived§ §at Anjengo the 5th of September and that he Left Bombay the 9§ §November, he says Fort St Davids was taken by the French with two§ §of our Twenty Gun Ships run on shore, he also tell us that two of the§ §French Ships were lost on the Malbay Islands and only forty Europeans§ §saved, and that Bristol was despatched from Madras to bring them§ §from thence, that Mons. Lallie was defeated by the King of Travancore§ §and lost three hundred Men and that the English Men of War§ §who have an Engagement with the French on the Coast of Coromandel§ §but he does not know the Particulars, the Minutes of the Pool we transmit§ §you here with§ §33 Captain Brooke also acquaints us that on the§ §8th of December the Diligent Sloop made sail ahead from him and§ §Captain Foreste in Latitude 6°.16 and Longitude 42°.16 East and§ §on the 1st February he parted with Captain Forester in Latitude 29°.3 S§ §34 Lieutenant Samuel Price having suffered himself§ §to be insulted at the Head of his Guard, by a Soldier and not having§ §Confined and reported him we therefore Suspended him for two months§ §as of Consultation of the 12 Instant§ §The Governor this day paid into your Honors§ §Cash the sum of three hundred pounds which Sum we have received§ §and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors payable§ §to himself or order ninety days after Sight leaves this day§	The two soldiers therefore signed a written instrument acknowledging that it was on the clear understanding of Morgan's will that they were to divide his effects, and that nothing else was intended to be given them by the will. Once they held their shares, they would be free to dispose of them as they pleased. This was entered as recorded in the Council's consultation of 28 July 1758. 32: Captain Poole reported that the <i>Latham</i> had arrived at Anjengo on the 5th of September, and that he had left Bombay on 4 November. He said Fort St David had been taken by the French, who came with a fleet of about twenty-eight ships and ran her ashore. He also told the Council that two of the French ships had been lost on the Maldiv Islands, with only forty Frenchmen saved, and that the <i>Bristol</i> had been dispatched from Madras to bring them from there. Monsieur Lally had been defeated by the King of Travancore and had lost three hundred men, and the English men of war had twice engaged the French on the coast of Coromandel. The particulars were not fully known, but the minutes of the <i>Latham</i> were sent with the letter. 33: Captain Bootle likewise reported that on the 8th of December the <i>Diligent</i> made sail ahead from him, and Captain Forrester in latitude 8 degrees 16 minutes and longitude 41 degrees 8 minutes west, and that on 1 February he parted with Captain Forrester in latitude 29 degrees 36 minutes. 34: Lieutenant Samuel Price had allowed himself to be insulted at the head of his guard by a soldier, and had not confined and reported the man. The Council therefore suspended Price for two months, as recorded in its consultation of the 12th of this month. Governor Hutchinson this day paid into the Court's cash the sum of three hundred pounds, for which the Council had received and given him a bill of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. Interpretations The written instrument in the opening paragraph converts an informal division of a dead man's goods into a binding release. By signing that they claimed nothing beyond what the will allowed, the two soldiers closed off any later dispute, and the Council's insistence on the document shows how even a small estate on a remote island was settled through formal legal acknowledgement rather than trust. The war news relayed in paragraph thirty-two marks the fall of Fort St David as a serious Company reverse. The loss of a principal settlement on the Coromandel Coast to a large French fleet, set against Lally's defeat by the King of Travancore, shows the fighting in southern India swinging both ways, and St Helena's role in gathering and forwarding such reports from arriving captains made it a clearing house for wartime intelligence bound for London. The suspension of Lieutenant Price in paragraph thirty-four reveals how discipline in a small garrison rested on officers upholding their authority. An officer who let a subordinate insult him without confining and reporting the man had failed in the essential duty of maintaining rank, and the Council punished the lapse in command rather than the original insult, since the greater danger lay in authority being seen to go unenforced. Speculations Faced with suspected French cruisers offshore, the Council could have waited passively behind its guns for the ships to declare themselves, the obvious course for a station with no warship. Instead Governor Hutchinson pressed to fit out a longboat and send it out to windward for intelligence, hiring a merchant mate by the year to command her. The record shows the safe default of staying put deliberately passed over for an active reconnaissance, chosen because

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			blindness to what lay offshore was judged the greater risk to an island that depended on early warning of an approaching enemy.
18	8	Mr John Adamson applied to us to pay§ §Fifty five pounds one Shilling into your Honors Cash which Sum§ §we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on your§ §Honors payable to himself or order ninety days after sight dated§ §this day.§ §We have the Satisfaction to acquaint you, that the§ §Honorable Company Stock and Plantation are in very good§ §Condition, in Likewise their Pastures at present but Provisions§ §are very much Dearer, there will be very little Grass for the Cattle§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs &§ §youre most humble Servants§ §St Helena§ §28 March 1759§ §Signed§ §Charles Hutchinson§ §John Adamson§ §John Clark§	John Adamson applied to the Council to pay £54 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which sum the Council had received and given him a bill of exchange drawn on the Court, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. The Council was glad to report that the Company's stock and plants were in very good condition. Unless the pastures came on, there would be very little grass for the cattle. The letter was sent from St Helena on 24 March 1759 and signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Adamson and John Clark. Interpretations The two bills of exchange, Governor Hutchinson paying in £300 and John Adamson £54, show how the island moved money to London without shipping coin. Rather than send cash on a dangerous passage, a man handed silver into the Company's local cash and took a bill payable in England after ninety days, so the Company gained ready money on the island while the payer secured a safe claim at home, a paper transfer that spared bullion the risks of the sea. The closing note on stock and grass ties the settlement's food supply to its seasons. The Company's cattle depended on natural pasture, and a shortfall of grass before the growth came on threatened the meat supply of a place that could not easily import livestock, which is why the Council recorded the state of the fields alongside the affairs of war and trade.
19	9	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena per ship Latham§ §the 23d of March 1759§ §No 1. The Governor & Councils General Letter dated the 23d of March 1759§ §2. Consultations from the 21st of August 1758 to the 21 of March 1759§ §3. List of Officers and Servants taken the 23d of March 1759§ §4. First receipt of the Packet per ship prince Edward§ §5 Cash Account from the 19th of August to the 11th of September 1758§ §6. Do from the 12th of September to the 11th of October§ §7. Do from the 12th of October to the 11th of November§ §8. Do from the 12th of November to the 11th of December§ §9. Do from the 12th of December to the 11th of January 1759§ §10. Do from the 12th of January to the 11th of Febuary§ §11. Do from the 12th of February to the 11th of March§ §12. Do from the 12th of March to the 23d Do§ §13 Duplicate Cash Account from the 12th of July to the 11th of August 1759§ §14 Do from the 12th of August to the 23th do§ §15 Effective State of the Garrison§ §16 Duplicate of the Ship Egmonts Account§ §17 Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §18 Duplicate of the Ship prince Edwards Account§ §19 Do Lord Anson§ §20 do York§ §21 Minutes of the Engagement between the English & French Squadron§ §22 List of Rents§ §23 List of Families§ §24 List of Blacks§ §25 General Books of Account for the Year Ending the 11th October 1758§	List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Latham</i> on 23 March 1759. The first fourteen items and items sixteen to twenty and item twenty-seven and item twenty-nine name ships and so are set out in prose below, keyed to their numbers, while the remaining numbered items stand as a plain list. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 March 1759. 2: Consultations from 21 August 1758 to 21 March 1759. 3: List of officers and servants taken on 23 March 1759. Item 4 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Prince Edward</i>. 5: Cash account from 19 August to 11 September 1758. 6: Cash account from 12 September to 11 October. 7: Cash account from 12 October to 11 November. 8: Cash account from 12 November to 11 December. 9: Cash account from 12 December to 11 January 1759. 10: Cash account from 12 January to 11 February. 11: Cash account from 12 February to 11 March. 12: Cash account from 12 March to 23 March. 13: Duplicate cash account from 12 July to 11 August 1759. 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 August to 23 August. 15: Effective state of the garrison. Item 16 was a duplicate of the <i>Egmont's</i> account. 17: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. Item 18 was a duplicate of the <i>Prince Edward's</i> account. Item 19 was a duplicate of the <i>Lord Anson's</i> account. Item 20 was a duplicate of the <i>York's</i> account. 21: Minutes of the engagement between the English and French squadrons. 22: List of rents. 23: List of families. 24: List of blacks.

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		§26 Muster Rolls of the Garrison§ §27 Account of the Cargo of the ship Latham§ §28 a Book containing Courts Martial§ §29 Ship Lathams Account§	25: General books of account for the year ending 11 October 1758. 26: Muster rolls of the garrison. Item 27 was an account of the cargo of the <i>Latham</i>. 28: A book containing courts martial. Item 29 was the <i>Latham's</i> account. Interpretations The packet list shows the full administrative output a remote station owed its masters in a single sailing. A year of monthly cash accounts, muster rolls, rent and family lists, courts martial and ships' accounts went home together, so that London could reconstruct the island's finances, garrison, population and shipping from paper alone, which is how the Company governed at the range of a year's delay. The separate lists of families and of blacks in items twenty-three and twenty-four record how the island's population was counted in divided categories. The settlement's people were enumerated as free households on one roll and slaves on another, and the routine forwarding of both to London shows a labour force of slaves accounted for as a standing asset of the settlement alongside its free inhabitants. The duplicate cash accounts and ships' accounts in items thirteen, fourteen and sixteen onwards reflect the Company's guard against loss at sea. Copies of key financial records were sent by more than one ship so that the capture or wreck of a single vessel would not destroy the island's reckoning, a deliberate redundancy built into how accounts travelled the ocean in wartime.
20	10	To the Honorable the Court of Directors of the§ §United Company of Merchants of England§ §trading to the East Indies§ §Honorable Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to you by your Ship the Latham§ §Captain John Pool, which saild from hence on the 24th March§ §2 Your Ship the Earl of Holdernessee Captain Robert Brooke§ §proceeded for Fort Marlborough on the 26th April§ §3 The cruizers we mentioned to have been off this Island§ §Which had not appeared for a Week past were seen again the 12th§ §April and Continued hovering about it until the 24th of May§ §4 On the 6th June arrived youre Ship the Colchester Captain§ §James Ward (late Sedd) from Bengall the Captain acquaints us§ §that having met with a Storm (in which he lost all his Masts) was§ §obliged to put into the Cape to refit, where he says he was informed§ §that four of your Ships from China sailed from Canton in December§ §and that on the 3d February the Six and Barwallen put to Sea in§ §Company from Princes Island with a Dutch Ship the Passengers§ §on the Ship Colchester are William Watts Esq John Walsh Esq. Captain§ §Edmund Maskelyne, Captain Alexander Grant and his Wife and§ §that there is likewise on board Captain Edward Diorrand who§ §comanded a Country Ship, but was not mentioned in the Muster§ §Roll as a Passenger.§ §5 We are also inform'd by the Gentlemen Passengers and§	List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Latham</i> on 23 March 1759. 1: The Governor and Council's general letter dated 23 March 1759. 2: Consultations from 21 August 1758 to 21 March 1759. 3: List of officers and servants taken on 23 March 1759. Item 4 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Prince Edward</i>. 5: Cash account from 19 August to 11 September 1758. 6: Cash account from 12 September to 11 October. 7: Cash account from 12 October to 11 November. 8: Cash account from 12 November to 11 December. 9: Cash account from 12 December to 11 January 1759. 10: Cash account from 12 January to 11 February. 11: Cash account from 12 February to 11 March. 12: Cash account from 12 March to 23 March. 13: Duplicate cash account from 12 July to 11 August 1759. 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 August to 23 August. 15: Effective state of the garrison. Item 16 was a duplicate of the <i>Egmont's</i> account. 17: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. Item 18 was a duplicate of the <i>Prince Edward's</i> account. Item 19 was a duplicate of the <i>Lord Anson's</i> account. Item 20 was a duplicate of the <i>York's</i> account. 21: Minutes of the engagement between the English and French squadrons. 22: List of rents. 23: List of families. 24: List of blacks. 25: General books of account for the year ending 11 October 1758. 26: Muster rolls of the garrison. Item 27 was an account of the cargo of the <i>Latham</i>. 28: A book containing courts martial. Item 29 was the <i>Latham's</i> account. Interpretations The packet list shows the full administrative output a remote station owed its masters in a single sailing. A

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			year of monthly cash accounts, muster rolls, rent and family lists, courts martial and ships' accounts went home together, so that London could reconstruct the island's finances, garrison, population and shipping from paper alone, which is how the Company governed at the range of a year's delay. The separate lists of families and of blacks in items twenty-three and twenty-four record how the island's population was counted in divided categories. The settlement's people were enumerated as free households on one roll and slaves on another, and the routine forwarding of both to London shows a labour force of slaves accounted for as a standing asset of the settlement alongside its free inhabitants. The duplicate cash accounts and ships' accounts in items thirteen, fourteen and sixteen onwards reflect the Company's guard against loss at sea. Copies of key financial records were sent by more than one ship so that the capture or wreck of a single vessel would not destroy the island's reckoning, a deliberate redundancy built into how accounts travelled the ocean in wartime.
21	11	others on board the Colchester that there had been fifteen sail of French Ships§ §at the Cape where they took in refreshments they further inform us that§ §your Ship the Grantham was taken on the fourth of January and§ §Carried to the Cape and from thence to Mauritius§ §6 On the 21st June arrived your Ships the London Captain§ §Richard Muright and the Egmont Captain Charles Mears, their§ §Commanders acquainted us that on the 19th October they met the§ §Fleet under the Command of Admiral Pocock, and informed us§ §that Mons. Lally was encamp'd about Thirty miles from§ §Madrass, and that Colonel Draper had taken the Field, with about§ §Five hundred Europeans, and that the Pitt arrived at Madrass§ §in September, and sailed the beginning of October for China; They§ §further acquainted us that early in December a Battle was fought by§ §the English Forces under Colonel Ford against the French in§ §Golconda about Forty miles from Vizagapatam of the North side§ §of the river after about half an hours Engagement the French were§ §entirely defeated, their Loss was twenty Europeans killed, and one§ §hundred and thirty taken prisoners with their Commanding§ §Officer they likewise took twenty two pieces of Cannon, and all§ §their ammunition, Tents, Baggage &c the Passengers on the§ §London are Mr Collett, Mr Lewis and his Wife, Mr Simons§ §Mr Williams, Mr Boss a Dutch Gentleman, On the Egmont§ §Mr Randolph Merriot, Mr Henry Russel and Mr Bastian§ §Smith§ §7 On the 8th Instant arrived your ship the Delawaar§ §Captain Larkins from England by which we received a§ §packet from your honors, We sent for Mr Adamson to be§ §present at the opening thereof but he returning answer by§ §the Messenger that he was not well enough to attend	Those aboard the <i>Colchester</i> reported that fifteen sail of French ships had been at the Cape, where they took in refreshments. They further reported that the <i>Grantham</i> had been taken on 4 January and carried to the Cape, and from there to Mauritius. 6: On 21 June the Court's ships the <i>London</i>, Captain Richard Wright, and the <i>Egmont</i>, Captain Charles Mews, arrived. Their commanders reported that on 10 October they had met the fleet under the command of Admiral Pocock, and that Monsieur Lally was encamped about thirty miles from Madras. Colonel Draper had taken the field with about five hundred Europeans, and the <i>Pitt</i> had arrived at Madras in September and sailed at the beginning of October for China. They further reported that early in December a battle was fought by the English forces under Colonel Forde against the French in Golconda, about forty miles from Vizagapatam on the north side of the river. After about half an hour's engagement the French were entirely defeated, their loss being twenty Europeans killed and one hundred and thirty taken prisoner along with their commanding officer. The English also took twenty-two pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition, tents and baggage. The passengers aboard the <i>London</i> were Mr Collett, Mr Lewis and his wife, Mr Simon, Mr Williams and Mr Boss, a Dutch gentleman. Aboard the <i>Egmont</i> were Mr Randolph Merriot, Mr Henry Russel and Mr Bastian Smith. 7: On the 8th of this month the Court's ship the <i>Delaware</i>, Captain Larkins, arrived from England, bringing a packet from the Court. The Council sent for Mr Adamson to be present at its opening, but he returned answer by the messenger that he was not well enough to attend. The Council therefore opened it and read the Court's letter enclosed, together with the new commission settling the government of the island. In keeping with the Court's orders, John Skottowe Esquire and Mr Matthew Purling took their places at the Board. Interpretations The battle in Golconda reported in paragraph six marks a decisive English success in the north of the Coromandel theatre. Colonel Forde's rout of the French near Vizagapatam, with the enemy commander and twenty-two guns taken for the loss of twenty men, shows the campaign of the Northern Circars turning England's way, and St Helena's value lay in catching such news from passing commanders and passing it to London months before any official dispatch could arrive. The new commission in paragraph seven records a change of government carried out entirely on London's written authority. John Skottowe and Matthew Purling took their Council seats the moment

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		we§ §therefore opened it and read your Honors Letter therein inclosd§ §and your new Commission constituting the Government§ §of this Place, and agreeable to your Orders John Skottowe Esq§ §and Mr Matthew Purling took their places at the Board.§	the sealed commission was opened, without ceremony or local choice, which shows how completely the island's governing body was constituted from home and how a packet could remake the Board overnight. The refusal of Mr Adamson to attend the opening of the packet, pleading illness, points to the formality that surrounded Company correspondence. Sealed packets were meant to be opened before witnesses of the Council, and the care to send for him and to record his excuse shows that opening the Court's letters was a controlled act of trust rather than a private convenience.
22	12	8 The <i>Delawar</i> arriving so near the Dispatch of§ §these Ships consequently has Occasioned much business which§ §renders it impossible for us by this Opertunity to answer the Letters§ §fully we receiv'd from you by that Conveyance, We can therefore§ §at present only attend to such Paragraphs therein as require§ §immediate Consideration, by the next Opertunity we shall§ §fully reply thereto, and in the mean Time assure Your Honors§ §that the directions you have given us shall be Punctually§ §Comply'd with§ §9 The Governor begs leave to return your Honors§ §his Thanks for your Approbation of his Conduct, and to assure§ §you it will be his Constant Endeavour to preserve the good§ §opinion you have of him§ §10 Mr Matthus Purling returns your Honors§ §his most humble Thanks for the favour you have been pleased to§ §confer on him, and assures you that he will to the utmost of§ §his power exert himself in a faithful Discharge of his Duty§ §11 Mr John Adamson and Lieutenant Thomas§ §Kirkpatrick having been dismissed your Service here ever since the§ §eighth Instant the day that your Ship the <i>Delawar</i> arrived,§ §They take their passage for England on these Ships, and we§ §have given Captain Muright orders to receive on board the§ §Ship <i>London</i>, William Richards, and to carry him to England§ §as a Charter party Passenger§ §12 Mr Francis Wrangham your Secretary is very§ §Sorry that such mistakes with regard to the Bills of Exchange§ §drawn on your Honors happen'd last Year, and begs leave to§ §assure you that he will be very Circumspect for the future, and§ §likewise desires to acquaint you it would not have been so, if there§ §had not been so many Ships then here, and some of the Gentlemen§ §not applying for leave to pay Money into your Cash until the§ §day the Ships were to Sail, at which time there generally happt§	8: The <i>Delaware</i> arriving so near the dispatch of the other ships had brought on so much business that the Council could not fully answer the letters received by her this time. It could for the present attend only to those paragraphs needing immediate attention, and would reply fully by the next chance. In the meantime it assured the Court that the directions given would be carried out exactly. 9: Governor Hutchinson returned his thanks to the Court for its approval of his conduct, and assured it that he would constantly strive to keep the good opinion it held of him. 10: Mr Matthew Purling returned his most humble thanks to the Court for the favour it had been pleased to confer on him, and assured it that he would exert himself to the utmost in a faithful discharge of his duty. 11: Mr John Adamson and Lieutenant Thomas Kirkpatrick, having been dismissed the Court's service on the 8th of this month, the day the <i>Delaware</i> arrived, took their passage for England aboard these ships. The Council had given Captain Wright orders to receive William Richards aboard the <i>London</i> and carry him to England as a charter party passenger. 12: Mr Francis Wrangham, the Court's secretary, was very sorry that such mistakes over the bills of exchange drawn on the Court had happened the previous year, and assured the Court he would be very careful in future. He also wished to explain that the errors would not have occurred had there not been so many ships in the road at once, with some of the gentlemen not applying for leave to pay money into the Court's cash until the day the ships were to sail, when there generally arose Interpretations The dismissals in paragraph eleven show how completely a change of government reshuffled the settlement's officers. Adamson and Kirkpatrick left the Company's service on the very day the <i>Delaware</i> brought the new commission, and their immediate departure for England on the same fleet reveals that a turnover at the Board carried others out with it, the arrival of one packet ending several careers at once. The secretary's apology in paragraph twelve exposes a recurring strain in the island's financial machinery. Bills of exchange drawn on London had to be issued in order and on time, but a crowd of ships in the road and payers delaying until the eve of sailing threw the work into confusion, which shows how the concentration of business into the few days of a fleet's stay overwhelmed a small office and bred the very errors the Court complained of.
23	13	to be many other things to be expedited in order for their Dispatches§ §which he begs leave to assign for one reason of those Errors being§ §Committed, and a second, Just at that Time Mr Charles Steward§	So many other things needing to be pushed through for the ships' dispatch, which the secretary offered as one reason for the errors. A second was that at the same time Mr Charles Steward, his assistant, quitted the Court's service, and the person appointed in his place could not immediately learn the business, which

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		§quitted your Service who was his assistant and then having§ §a person appointed in his Stead who could not be immediately§ §acquainted with the business, he beleives was the Cause thereof§ §and humbly begs that this Omission, being the first that he§ §has been Charged with may be excused and hopes he may not§ §lose your Honors future favour§ §13 Thomas Davis a Recruit mentioned in the§ §list of Recruits you sent us per Ship Earl of Holdernes Mr§ §Adamson said was a person particularly sent out to be his§ §Servant, he was therefore struck off the List as a Soldier§ §14 The Camblet we received by the Falmouth is invoiced§ §at 10/8 and 8/8 per Yard and so bad in its Quality that we have not§ §yet been able to dispose of it all and we apprehensive it will receive§ §Damage by laying in your Stores§ §15 Being in Want of Pepper for the Use of this Island§ §We have taken two hundred Weight out of your Ship the Egmont§ §16 Captain Ward having apply'd to us in Consul-§ §tation of the 11th of June for some Cannon and Small Arms having§ §been obliged to throw the most of his overboard, We told him we§ §could not Supply him with any Cannon not having more than§ §was sufficient for our own defence but have spared him Forty§ §small Arms§ §17 Mr Henry Johnson who was put on board your§ §Ship the Earl of Holdernes as a recruit for Bencoolen, and§ §absented himself when she proceeded from hence, has§ §represented to us that he was promised by Mr Higginson to§ §be left at the nearest Settlement your honors had to England§ §But upon his Arrival here found to his great Concern and§	the secretary believed was the cause. He humbly begged that this omission, being the first he had ever been charged with, might be excused, and hoped he would not lose the Court's future favour. 13: Thomas Davis, a recruit named in the list the Court sent by the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>, was said by Mr Adamson to be a person sent out particularly to be his servant. He was therefore struck off the list as a soldier. 14: The camlet received by the <i>Falmouth</i> was invoiced at 10s and 8s 8d per yard, and was so poor in quality that the Council had not yet been able to sell all of it. It feared the cloth would be damaged by lying in the Court's stores. 15: Being in want of pepper for the use of the island, the Council had taken two hundredweight out of the <i>Egmont</i>. 16: Captain Ward, applying to the Council in its consultation of the 11th of June for some cannon and small arms, having been obliged to throw most of his overboard, was told the Council could not supply him with any cannon, having no more than was enough for its own defence. It had, however, spared him forty small arms. 17: Mr Henry Johnson, put aboard the Court's ship the <i>Earl of Holderness</i> as a recruit for Bencoolen, had absented himself when she proceeded from the island. He represented to the Council that Mr Higginson had promised he would be left at the nearest settlement the Court had to England. But on his arrival at the island he found, to his great concern, and Interpretations The camlet in paragraph fourteen shows the island bearing the loss when London shipped poor goods. Invoiced at fixed rates but too shoddy to sell, the cloth sat spoiling in store, and the Council's complaint reveals how a settlement at the end of the supply line absorbed the cost of the Company's bad buying, unable to return the stuff and unable to move it. Captain Ward's request in paragraph sixteen tests the limit of the island's role as an armoury. Having jettisoned his guns in heavy weather, he looked to St Helena to rearm him, but the Council held its cannon back for its own defence while sparing forty small arms, drawing a clear line between what a passing ship in distress might claim and what the fortress had to keep, a judgement about its own security taking precedence over aid to a Company vessel. The recruit struck off in paragraph thirteen reveals how private service shadowed the Company's military rolls. A man shipped as a soldier turned out to have been sent as a personal servant to Adamson, and removing him from the muster shows officials quietly diverting Company manpower to their own households, the garrison list padded with men never meant to bear arms.
24	14	disappointment that by some mistake or other he was placed in the list§ §of recruits for Fort Marlborough, that having an aged Father to whom he§ §is only Son and Heir, and at present an Annuity of Fifty pounds paid by§ §Messrs. Snow and Denne Bankers, it would therefore for these reasons put§ §him to many and great inconveniences to be removed to India and there§ §being Simon Cole a recruit under the same Circumstances who says he§ §was promised to be sent either to Madras or Bencoolen and he informing§ §us that Mr Carter your Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough is a§ §Relation of his we therefore agreed to let him go in the room of Mr Johnson§	To his great concern and disappointment, that by some mistake or other Henry Johnson had been placed in the list of recruits for Fort Marlborough. He had an aged father to whom he was the only son and heir, and who was at present paid an annuity of fifty pounds by Messrs Snow and Denne, bankers. For these reasons it would put him to many and great inconveniences to be removed to India. Since there was Simon Cole, a recruit under the same circumstances, who said he had been promised he would be sent either to Madras or Bencoolen, and who told the Council that Mr Carter, the Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough, was a relation of his, the Council agreed to let Cole go in the place of Johnson. 18: The Council received only eight of the ten recruits sent by the <i>Delaware</i>. William King had deserted and Thomas Penson had died on the passage. The men received were very good ones.

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		§18 We received only eight of the ten Recruits sent§ §by the Delawar William King having deserted and Thomas§ §Penson died on the Passage, the men we receiv'd were very§ §good ones§ §19 The Deputy Governor and Council of Fort§ §Marlborough having wrote to us for the Four recruits for§ §that place which deserted here from the Ship Egmont we§ §purpose to send them by the Delawar§ §20 Edward Biggs who was a Serjeant in his§ §Majesties service in India having bills of Exchange on your§ §Honors for one hundred and fifteen pounds Sterling being§ §in want of money to Supply the necessities of himself, and two§ §Gunners that were taken prisoners in the Grantham, and§ §stripp'd of all their Cloaths and neccessaries, apply'd to us for§ §the sum of ten pounds which we advanced him he giving a§ §receipt on the back of the first bill for it We likewise have take§ §two Certificates from him of his having received that money§ §one of which we herewith transmit to you.§ §21 We have now in your Stores Salt provisions§ §for near two Years, we therefore have not indented for any to§ §come by the next Store ships§	19: The Deputy Governor and Council of Fort Marlborough having written for the four recruits for that place who deserted at the island from the <i>Egmont</i>, the Council intended to send them by the <i>Delaware</i>. 20: Edward Biggs, a sergeant in His Majesty's service in India, held bills of exchange on the Court for one hundred and fifteen pounds. Being in want of money to supply the needs of himself and two gunners taken prisoner in the <i>Grantham</i> and stripped of all their clothes and necessities, he applied to the Council for the sum of ten pounds, which it advanced him, he giving a receipt on the back of the first bill for it. The Council also took two certificates from him of his having received the money, one of which was sent with the letter. 21: The Council now had in the Court's stores salt provisions for near two years, and so had not indented for any to come by the next store ship. Interpretations The exchange of recruits in the opening paragraph shows how personal circumstance and connection could redirect a man's posting. Johnson pleaded a dependent father and an annuity at home, while Cole offered a kinship with the Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough and a willingness to go east, so the Council swapped one for the other, which reveals how far the rigid lists sent from London bent in practice to family need and local influence once the men reached the island. The relief of Sergeant Biggs in paragraph twenty illustrates the credit network that sustained stranded servicemen. Holding bills on London but no ready cash, he and two gunners plundered after the loss of the <i>Grantham</i> drew a small advance against his bills, secured by an endorsement and duplicate certificates, which shows how the island acted as a place where paper claims on the Company could be turned into immediate money under careful record. The two-year stock of salt provisions in paragraph twenty-one marks a deliberate check on over-supply. Rather than order more out of habit, the Council measured what it held and declined to indent, which shows a settlement managing its stores against actual need to avoid the waste of provisions spoiling in a warehouse far from any market.
25	15	The letter closed with the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>London</i> on 15 July 1759. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 15 July 1759. 2: Consultations from 26 March to 13 July 1759. 3: Duplicate consultations from 21 August 1758 to 21 March 1759. 4: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 24 March 1759. 5: List of officers and servants taken on 15 July 1759.	The letter closed with the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>London</i> on 15 July 1759. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 15 July 1759. 2: Consultations from 26 March to 13 July 1759. 3: Duplicate consultations from 21 August 1758 to 21 March 1759. 4: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 24 March 1759. 5: List of officers and servants taken on 15 July 1759.
26	16	6 Second receipt of the Packet per Ship Prince Edward§ §7 First do for do Per Ship Latham§ §8 Cash Account from the 24th March to the 11th April 1759§ §9 Do from 12th April to 11th May§ §10 Do from 12th May to 11th June§ §11 List of Garrison Stores remaining the 11th April 1759§ §12 Duplicate do from 21st August to 11th September 1758§ §13 Do from 12th Sept to 11th October§ §14 Do from 12th October to 11th November§ §15 Do from 12th November to 11th December§ §16 Do from 12th December to 11th January 1759§	Item 6 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>Prince Edward</i>. Item 7 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Latham</i>. 8: Cash account from 24 March to 11 April 1759. 9: Cash account from 12 April to 11 May. 10: Cash account from 12 May to 11 June. 11: List of garrison stores remaining on 11 April 1759. 12: Duplicate list of garrison stores from 21 August to 11 September 1758. 13: Duplicate list from 12 September to 11 October. 14: Duplicate list from 12 October to 11 November. 15: Duplicate list from 12 November to 11 December. 16: Duplicate list from 12 December to 11 January 1759. 17: Duplicate list from 12 January to 11 February.

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		§17 Do from 12th January to 11th February§ §18 Do from 12th February to 11th March§ §19 Do from 12th March to 23d Do§ §20 Do Account of Ship Lathams Cargo§ §21 Effective State of the Garrison§ §22 Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §23 Duplicate Minutes of the Engagement between the English§ §and French Squadrons§ §24 Do List of Rents for the Year ending the 11th October 1758§ §25 Do List of Familys§ §26 Do of the Honorable Companys Blacks§ §27 Muster Rolls of the Garrison§ §28 Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1760§ §29 List of Stores remaining in the Honble Companys Warehouse§ §30 Indent of Medicines for the Service of the Year 1760§ §31 List of Marriages &c§ §32 Certificate of Flour per Ship Earl of Holdernes§ §33 List of Discharged Soldiers§ §34 List of Artillery Stores remaing October 11th 1758§ §35 Covenants Executed by Mr Matthew Purling§ §36 Covenant Do by William Wrangham§ §37 Covenant Do by Richard Law§ §38 Edward Biggs receipt for ten pounds advanced him in part§ §of a Bill of Exchange drawn by the President & Council of§ §Fort St George§	18: Duplicate list from 12 February to 11 March. 19: Duplicate list from 12 March to 23 March. Item 20 was a duplicate account of the <i>Latham's</i> cargo. 21: Effective state of the garrison. 22: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 23: Duplicate minutes of the engagement between the English and French squadrons. 24: Duplicate list of rents for the year ending 11 October 1758. 25: Duplicate list of families. 26: Duplicate list of the Company's blacks. 27: Muster rolls of the garrison. 28: Indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1760. 29: List of stores remaining in the Company's warehouse. 30: Indent of medicines for the service of the year 1760. 31: List of marriages, etc. 32: Certificate of flour by the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. 33: List of discharged soldiers. 34: List of artillery stores remaining on 11 October 1758. 35: Covenants executed by Mr Matthew Purling. 36: Covenants executed by William Wrangham. 37: Covenants executed by Richard Law. 38: Edward Biggs's receipt for ten pounds advanced him in part of a bill of exchange drawn by the President and Council of Fort St George. Interpretations The medicine indent in item thirty, ordered a full year ahead for 1760, shows how far in advance a remote settlement had to plan its wants. With the round voyage to London and back measured in many months, the island could not order by immediate need but had to forecast a year forward, which reveals how distance forced the Company's outposts into long anticipatory supply cycles that gave no room to correct a shortfall quickly. The covenants in items thirty-five to thirty-seven mark the formal bond between the Company and its servants. New appointees signed covenants binding them to the terms of their service, and the return of these executed deeds to London shows how the Company kept legal hold over its people, each man's obligations fixed in a document filed at home and beyond his reach to alter. The list of the Company's blacks in item twenty-six, sent as a duplicate alongside the lists of families and marriages, records the routine accounting of slaves as Company property. Enumerated separately from the free inhabitants and forwarded with the settlement's other standing registers, the island's slaves were tracked as a permanent asset, their numbers reported to London as regularly as its stores and its garrison.
27	17	39 Account of the Ship Colchesters Cargo§ §40 Account of the Ship Londons Cargo§ §41 Account of the Ship Egmonts Cargo§ §42 Duplicate do of Ship Lathams Account§ §43 Ship Colchesters Account§ §44 Do London Do§ §45 Do Egmonts Do§ §46 Duplicate List of the packet per Ship Latham§ §47 Ship Earl of Holdernes Account§	Item 39 was an account of the <i>Colchester's</i> cargo. Item 40 was an account of the <i>London's</i> cargo. Item 41 was an account of the <i>Egmont's</i> cargo. Item 42 was a duplicate account of the <i>Latham's</i> cargo. Item 43 was the <i>Colchester's</i> account. Item 44 was the <i>London's</i> account. Item 45 was the <i>Egmont's</i> account. Item 46 was a duplicate list of the packet sent by the <i>Latham</i>. Item 47 was the <i>Earl of Holderness's</i> account.
28	18	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We wrote last to you by your Ship London that sailed§ §from hence on the 16 of July with your Ships Colchester§ §& Egmonts by which occasion we then acquainted you with§ §all the news we could learn respecting your affairs, &	To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. 1: The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>London</i>, which sailed from the island on 16 July together with the Court's ships the <i>Colchester</i> and <i>Egmont</i>. By that conveyance the Council sent all the news it could gather about the Court's affairs. Since those ships were dispatched soon after the arrival of the <i>Delaware</i>, the Council could not until now fully

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		those§ §Ships were to be dispatched soon After the arrival of the§ §Delawar we could not until now fully answer your Letters§ §a Duplicate of what we then wrote we herewith transmit§ §to your Honors§ §2 We are glad to hear that His Majestys Ship the§ §Colchester arrived safe in Ireland with those Ships you§ §mention that Sailed from hence under her Convoy§ §3 It gives us pleasure to hear, that the Carnarvon§ §was retaken, & carried into Milford Haven & that the§ §Falmouth altho in a sickly deshaled condition arrived safe§ §at Greenock near Glasgow in Scotland which two Ships§ §we hope, will arrive safe in the Thames§ §4 We are sorry to hear of the unfortunate accident, that§ §happened to your Ship Clark§ §5 We are concerned for the late arrival of your Ships the§ §last season, & their Long detention in Ireland for Convoy we§ §hope that inconvenience will not happen again§ §6 It is a great pleasure to us to hear that his Majesty§ §has been graciously pleased to order the reinforcement§ §you mention, to the Squadron in the East Indeces which§ §we hope will be successful, & be of great service to your§ §Honors affairs there§ §7 The Land Forces his Majesty has been pleased to§ §assist you with, we hope will arrive safe, & in good§ §condition, & in all respects answer their intended service§	answer the Court's letters, and it sent a duplicate of what it had then written. 2: The Council was glad to hear that His Majesty's ship the <i>Colchester</i> had arrived safe in Ireland, together with the ships the Court mentioned that had sailed from the island under her convoy. 3: The Council was pleased to hear that the <i>Carnarvon</i> had been retaken and carried into Milford Haven, and that the <i>Falmouth</i>, though in a sickly and distressed condition, had arrived safe at Greenock near Glasgow in Scotland. It hoped both ships would reach the Thames safely. 4: The Council was sorry to hear of the unfortunate accident that happened to the Court's ship the <i>York</i>. 5: The Council was concerned at the late arrival of the Court's ships the previous season, and their long detention in Ireland for convoy. It hoped that inconvenience would not happen again. 6: The Council was very glad to hear that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to order the reinforcement to the squadron in the East Indies. It hoped this would prove successful and be of great service to the Court's affairs there. 7: The land forces His Majesty had been pleased to assist the Court with would, the Council hoped, arrive safe and in good condition, and in every way serve their intended purpose. Interpretations The convoy losses and rescues tracked in paragraphs three and four show how heavily wartime attrition fell on Company shipping. The <i>Carnarvon</i> taken and retaken, the <i>Falmouth</i> limping into a Scottish port with a sick crew and an accident befalling the <i>York</i> form a running tally of ships lost, recovered and damaged, which reveals the Atlantic passage as a gauntlet where even escorted Indiamen reached home battered or not at all. The renewed complaint in paragraph five about ships held in Ireland for convoy exposes the cost that naval protection imposed on trade. Vessels bound for the island were delayed while squadrons assembled, so the very escort that guarded them against capture also disrupted the timing of supply, a tension the Council felt keenly as a station waiting at the far end of a schedule thrown out by the demands of war.
29	19	8 Your Honors may depend upon our giving your Commanders§ §so long as the War continues, positive directions, to proceed to§ §your the Neutral Ports as well as all other Packets they§ §take from us from the first Port they arrive at, whether in§ §England Scotland or Ireland with the care & precautions§ §mentioned in your instructions to them§ §9 We have received the copy of the new regulations you§ §have thought proper to make with regard to the commanders§ §of your Ships Saluting§ §10 The French Ships you mentioned to have sailed for India§ §with some Land Forces on board we hope will be timely opposed§ §& defeated by Admeral Pocockes Squadron, We are very glad to§ §hear that Nation is in so low a condition, & hope they will§ §not be able to succeed in any of their attempts, against§ §your settlements in India, we shall take all methods in§ §our power, to frustrate any attacks they may make upon§ §their Place§	8: The Court could depend on the Council giving its commanders exact directions, so long as the war continued, to forward the Court's packet, as well as all other packets that might be entrusted to them, from the first port they arrived at in England, Scotland or Ireland, with the care and precautions set out in the Court's instructions. 9: The Council had received the copy of the new regulations the Court had thought proper to make on the saluting of ships by their commanders. 10: The French ships meant for India, carrying troops and land forces, would the Council hoped be timely opposed and defeated by Admiral Pocock's squadron. The Council was glad to hear that nation was in so low a condition, and hoped it would not succeed in any of its attempts against the Court's settlements in India. The Council would take every method in its power to frustrate any attacks the French might make on the island. 11: The Council was very glad that the supplies furnished to the Court's shipping had met with its approval. It would constantly strive to manage the island's stock so as to meet the various demands upon it as far as possible. 12: The Council thanked the Court for meeting its indents so fully. It would continue to consult the list of remains when forming its indents, taking care not to write for more than was really wanted. The stores received by the <i>Prince Henry</i> could not be added to the

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		§11 It gives us great satisfaction that the supplies hitherto§ §afforded your Shipings have met with your approbation, &§ §we shall make it our constant endeavor to manage the§ §Stock on the Island so as to furnish their several demands§ §as far as it is possible§ §12 We thank your Honors for complying so fully with our§ §indents, We shall continue to have the List of remains§ §before us, when we are forming our Indents & take care§ §not to write for more than what is really wanted, The Stores§ §received by the Prince Henry, could not be added to the List§ §of Remains which was made up to the 11th of April§ §because that Ship did not arrive until the 18 of that§ §Month§ §13 According to your order, we directed your Storekeeper to§ §weigh the Flour received by the Delawar in presence of§ §the Purser, or other proper Officer of the Ship which§ §he has accordingly done & by some of the Casks we have§ §opened§	list of remains made up to 11 April, because that ship did not arrive until the 18th of that month. 13: In keeping with the Court's order, the Council directed its storekeeper to weigh the flour received by the <i>Delaware</i> in the presence of the purser or other proper officer of the ship, which he had accordingly done. Some of the barrels, when opened, Interpretations The saluting regulations noted in paragraph nine reflect how closely the Company controlled the ceremony of gun salutes. Powder fired in salute cost money and could be mistaken for hostile action, so fixing rules for when and how commanders saluted was a matter of discipline and economy alike, the Court reaching across the ocean to govern even the courtesies exchanged between its ships and forts. The care over indents in paragraph twelve shows a supply discipline built on the list of remains. By checking what was already in store before ordering more, and refusing to write for surplus, the Council worked to keep the island from overstocking, and its precise note about the <i>Prince Henry</i> arriving too late to be counted reveals how exactly stock was reckoned against fixed cut-off dates. The weighing of flour in paragraph thirteen illustrates the checks that guarded against short or spoiled delivery. Provisions were weighed on landing before a witness from the ship, so that any shortfall or damage was fixed on record at the moment of receipt, which shows the island protecting itself against loss by turning the handover of every cargo into a formal, witnessed reckoning.
30	20	opened it appears to be good, & answer to its weight in the§ §Invoice, & if any deficiency shall appear upon weighing the§ §Flour we shall hereafter receive, we shall be very particular§ §in distinguishing the number of each Cask, wherein any§ §& what Short weight shall be found, to the end that your§ §Honors may Obtain satisfaction§ §14 The certificates for the Flour landed here, shall for the§ §future be transmitted to you by three different opportunities§ §as you have been pleased to direct, according to the form§ §we received by the Prince Henry§ §15 We observe your Honors will be pleased to send by the§ §next Store Ship the Timber for a new Draw Bridge which§ §we wrote for in our Letter of the 19th August 1758§ §16 We have received the Table Linen you have been pleased§ §to send for the use of the Castle§ §17 We thank your Honors for giving orders to your Servants§ §in India, to send us Wax Candles of a better sort, than those§ §we have lately received & that you intend likewise to direct§ §your President & Council of Fort St George, to send us from thence§ §the best Rice they can procure & we shall be careful to§ §represent to your several Presidencies the quality of the§ §Goods we receive from thence§ §18 We are Obligated to your Honors, for the liberty you have§ §been pleased to give us, for taking a Bale of Coffee out§	Some of the barrels, when opened, appeared to be good and to answer their weight in the invoice. If any shortage appeared on weighing the flour received in future, the Council would be very careful to distinguish the number of each cask and what short weight was found, so the Court might be satisfied. 14: The certificates for the flour landed at the island would in future be sent to the Court by three different chances, as it had directed, following the form received by the <i>Prince Henry</i>. 15: The Council hoped the Court would be pleased to send by the next store ship the timber for a new drawbridge, which the Council had written for in its letter of 19 August 1758. 16: The Council received the table linen the Court had been pleased to send for the use of the Castle. 17: The Council thanked the Court for ordering its servants in India to send candles of a better sort than those lately received, and for intending to direct the President and Council of Fort St George to send the best rice they could procure. The Council would be careful to report to the several Presidencies the quality of the goods received from them. 18: The Council was obliged to the Court for the leave to take a bale of coffee out of the Court's ships returning from Mocha, for which it would give the commander a receipt. 19: Since the two chests of treasure received by the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>, with the money taken for bills of exchange drawn on the Court and what was generally paid in for store goods sold, would be enough for the expenses of the current year, the Council had not taken any cash out of the <i>Delaware</i>. 20: Having no more gunpowder in store than was needed to complete the garrison's usual rounds, the Council could not spare any for the service of the Court's settlement on the west coast. Interpretations The request for drawbridge timber in paragraph fifteen shows how a fortified island depended on London even for its defensive fabric. Lacking suitable wood of its own, the Council had to order timber from England for a working drawbridge and wait

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		§of your Ships returning from Mocha, for which we shall give§ §the Commanders a Receipt§ §19 Finding that the two Chests of Treasure we received§ §by your Ship the Earl of Holdernessee with the Money we have§ §taken for Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors, with§ §what is generally paid in for Store Goods &c, will be sufficient§ §for the expence of the current Year, We therefore have not§ §taken any Cash out of the Ship Delawar§ §20 Having not more Gun Powder in Store than to§ §compleat the Garreson with the usual necessary rounds, we§ §could not spare any for the service of your settlement on the§ §West Coast§	through the long voyage, which reveals how a garrison guarding the Atlantic passage could not repair its own gate without a shipment from home. The bale of coffee from Mocha in paragraph eighteen illustrates the strict control over goods drawn from Company ships. Even a single bale taken from a homeward vessel required the Court's prior leave and a receipt to the commander, which shows how tightly the Company guarded its cargoes against private appropriation, every item removed accounted for against the ship's lading. The refusal of gunpowder in paragraph twenty repeats the island's firm ordering of its own defence above the needs of other stations. With only enough powder for its customary salutes and drills, the Council would send none to the west coast settlement, holding that its own security came first, a consistent line drawn whenever a call on its munitions met its assessment of what it dared not give up.
31	21	21 Your Officers not being able to pay more than two Shillings§ §per piece for the Salt provisions delivered for their use, out of your§ §Stores, it was so fixed to them, at that price by Mr Duinton &§ §Council in the Year 1743, which is considerably less than the§ §prime cost, or what it is Invoiced at, & from whence arises the§ §loss in the article of Beef & Pork yearly wrote off your Books§ §The price & quantity delivered to the Garreson, shall be§ §particularly specified in the Storekeepers Collections, The§ §valuation on the Remain, & Stores have been always§ §ascertained, & what ever is Sold to the Planters, is charged to§ §them at forty per Cent, Your servants both Civil & Militar[y]§ §Officers, have constantly paid ten per Cent advance upon§ §Invoice until last Year, when upon their complaining that§ §it came excessively dear at ten per Cent, we thought it but§ §reasonable to indulge them to have Beef & Pork from your§ §Stores at the same price the Garreson pays for it, viz two§ §shillings per piece, for when they paid ten per Cent advance§ §thereon the Beef & Pork upon an Avarage comes to nine§ §pence per pound, & as their demands in these articles are§ §only for their own use, We hope your Honors will be pleased§ §to confirm this indulgence to them, & at the same time, we§ §beg leave to observe to you, that one motive, for fixing the§ §price of the Beef & Pork under prime cost, was the gain§ §that arise upon taking the Flour for the Garreson which§ §you will find fully to counter balance, the loss upon the§ §Beef & Pork§ §22 We shall be glad to receive your Honors directions with§ §regard to the punishment of Criminals upon the Islands &§ §in the interim, will send off our Prisoners to England	21: Since the Court was not able to pay more than two shillings a piece for the salt provisions delivered for its use, that price had been fixed by Mr Duncan and Council in the year 1743, which was much less than the prime cost, or what the provisions were invoiced at. From that arose the yearly loss written off the Court's books in the article of beef and pork. The price and quantity delivered to the garrison were set out particularly in the storekeeper's accounts. The valuation on the remains had always been ascertained, and whatever was sold to the planters was charged at forty per cent. The Court's servants, both civil and military, had constantly paid ten per cent advance on invoice until the previous year, when, on their complaining that it came excessively dear at ten per cent, the Council thought it reasonable to let them have beef and pork from the Court's stores at the same price the garrison paid, two shillings a piece, though before they had paid ten per cent advance on it. The beef and pork on an average came to ninepence a pound, and since the servants' demands in these articles were only for their own use, the Council hoped the Court would confirm this indulgence to them. At the same time it observed that one motive for fixing the price of the beef and pork below prime cost was the gain arising on the flour taken for the garrison, which the Court would find fully counterbalanced the loss on the beef and pork. 22: The Council would be glad to receive the Court's directions on the punishment of criminals on the island. In the meantime it would send off its prisoners to England, along with a full and authentic account of their crimes and its proceedings on them. 23: The Council paid the usual compliments to all foreign gentlemen as their rank entitled them to. The Court's standing order for not allowing any foreigner whatever to see the country had always been observed, and always would be, as well as Interpretations The pricing of beef and pork in paragraph twenty-one exposes the deliberate cross-subsidy that ran the island's provisioning. Meat was issued to the garrison below its prime cost, a loss written off each year, but the Council defended the practice by pointing to the profit made on flour, so that the two commodities were balanced against each other in a single account. The differential charging, forty per cent to planters and a bare two shillings a piece to servants, shows a settlement using price to sort its population by status, the outside cultivator paying the premium that the Company's own people were spared. The handling of criminals in paragraph twenty-two reveals the limits of judicial authority at a small station. Lacking the power or the wish to punish serious offenders itself, the Council shipped prisoners to

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		all§ §atrocious offenders with a full & authentick account of their§ §Crimes, & our proceeding thereon§ §23 We shall pay the usual compliments to all Foreign§ §Gentlemen, their Rank intitles them to, And your Standing§ §order, for not allowing any Foreigner, whatsoever to see the§ §Country has been, & always shall be observed, as well as§	England with a documented account of their crimes, which shows how a remote settlement referred grave justice back to the metropole rather than risk exercising it alone, the paper record travelling with the accused to let London judge. The bar on foreigners seeing the country in paragraph twenty-three reflects the island's strategic secrecy. As a fortified victualling station on the route to India, its defences and layout were guarded from foreign eyes, and the standing order shows the Company treating knowledge of the place itself as a security asset to be denied to outsiders however courteously they were otherwise received. Speculations The Council could have kept charging its civil and military servants the ten per cent advance on beef and pork, the established markup and the course that protected the Court's books against further loss. Instead, faced with complaints that the meat came excessively dear, it dropped the servants to the garrison's flat two shillings a piece and asked London to confirm the concession after the fact. The record shows the safe default of holding the price passed over for a reduction the Council could justify only by setting the loss against the gain on flour, a choice to ease its own people's burden that it then had to defend to the Court it had not waited to consult.
32	22	that, for preventing them, as much as possible, from viewing, or§ §making remarks on the Fortifications§ §24 As we are satisfied Richard Law is qualified to be a§ §Writer in your Service, we acquainted him that your Honors§ §have been pleased to confirm him as such§ §25 Your order & resolutions related to Mr John Adamson§ §Mr Kirkpatrick & Wm Richards, have been duly executed§ §But notwithstanding our several messages to Mr Adamson§ §requiring him to send to us, whatever copies he took, or had§ §caused to be taken, of the Consultations, Letters, or other§ §Papers, that stand on your Honors Books, he went away§ §without sending them, & told Mr Wrangham the Secretary§ §when he went to him, for them, that he had no copies off§ §any Papers, belonging to your Honors, except a few old§ §Plantation Accounts, althó Mr Wm Wrangham now§ §declares he transcribed as many General Letters for Mr§ §Adamson, out of your Honors Books, as filled a Book of§ §two Quire of Paper, or more, which we suppose, he has§ §carried with him, Thomas Dunn likewise declares he§ §copied parts of several Consultations for Mr Adamson,§ §at the time he was employed in the Secretarys Office but§ §does not at present recollect what they were, Mr Adamson§ §left with his Attorneys to be Sold as his own, a Bell Metal§ §Mortar, two or three Pewter Ink standishes, & a night Bolt§ §& Bar, for a Chamber Door, which things properly belonged§ §to your Honors, & were all Sold except the Mortar which§ §was claimed by Mr Barclay your Surgeon, because he	As well as keeping foreigners as far as possible from viewing or making remarks on the fortifications. 24: Since the Council was satisfied that Richard Law was qualified to be a writer in the Court's service, it informed him that the Court had been pleased to confirm him as such. 25: The Court's orders and resolutions relating to Mr John Adamson, Mr Kirkpatrick and William Richards had been duly carried out. But despite the Council's several messages to Adamson requiring him to hand over whatever copies he took or had directed to be taken of the consultations, letters or other papers standing in the Court's books, he went away without sending them. He told Wrangham the secretary, when he was sent to him for them, that he had no copies of any papers belonging to the Court except a few old plantation accounts. Yet Wrangham now declared that he had transcribed so many general letters for Adamson out of the Court's books as filled a book of two quires of paper or more, which the Council supposed Adamson had carried with him. Thomas Dunn likewise declared that he had copied parts of several consultations for Adamson at the time he was employed in the secretary's office, though he did not at present recollect what they were. Adamson left with his attorneys, to be sold as his own, a bell-metal mortar, two or three pewter inkstands, a night bolt and bar for a chamber door, and a night bolt and bar, which things properly belonged to the Court. All were sold except the mortar, which was claimed by Mr Barclay, the Court's surgeon, because he had lent it to Adamson about two years earlier. It also appeared, by the declaration of Solomon Jacobs, the Court's adjutant, entered in the Council's consultation of 24 July, that Adamson had sold some hundredweight of iron which was the Court's property. 26: The Council would be very particular in reporting the several sums of money it received into the Court's cash for bills of exchange drawn on the Court. It would be careful to see that the letters, consultations, cash accounts and bills agreed Interpretations The affair of Adamson's papers in paragraph twenty-five reveals how a dismissed officer could carry off the settlement's institutional memory. The Court's consultations and letters were copied by hand, and a departing man who took transcripts held records the island could not easily replace, so the Council's pursuit

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		had§ §lent it to Mr Adamson about God years ago, it also§ §appears by the declaration of Solomon Jacobs your Adjutant§ §entered in our Consultation of the 24th July, that Mr Adamson§ §has Sold some hundred weight of Iron, which was the§ §property of your Honors§ §26 We shall be very particular in advising you of the§ §several Sums of Money, we receive into your Cash, for Bills§ §of Exchange drawn on your Honors, & will be careful to see§ §that the Letters, Consultations, Cash Accounts & Bills, agree§	of the copies shows written knowledge treated as Company property that a servant had no right to remove. The inventory of small goods sold by Adamson in the same paragraph exposes the blurred line between private possession and Company property at the station. A mortar, inkstands, bolts and a quantity of iron were disposed of as his own, yet the Council claimed them for the Court, which shows how loosely fixtures and stores were held and how a leaving officer might quietly convert the Company's effects into his own estate. The surgeon's claim to the mortar in the same paragraph illustrates how personal lending tangled with Company inventory. Barclay recovered the mortar by showing he had lent it to Adamson years before, which reveals a settlement where private and official goods circulated among the same few men until only testimony could untangle who owned what. Speculations Confronted with Adamson denying he held any of the Court's papers, the Council could have let the matter rest on his word, the simpler course as he was already gone and the papers beyond reach. Instead it gathered and entered the contrary declarations of Wrangham, Dunn and Jacobs, building a documented case that he had carried off transcripts, inkstands, bolts and iron belonging to the Court. The record shows the easy option of accepting his account set aside for a deliberate assembling of witnesses against a departed man, chosen so that London would have an authenticated record of the loss and of who was answerable for it.
33	23	with each other, & we hope your Secretary will be more circumspect§ §in his Duty, & prevent such mistakes happening any more but§ §he representing to us, that it is impossible, for us to carry§ §on the business in a thorough, correct manner, without more§ §assistance in his Office than one Person, there always having§ §been two in it until you thought proper, to order Thomas§ §Dunn to be dismissed, & a five are likewise sensible for§ §the foregoing reasons, that another Writer is much wanted§ §we therefore hope your Honors will be pleased, to allow of§ §one to be added to the Secretaries Office§ §27 We acquainted your Honors, in our Last Letter, that§ §we had, & Still have a sufficient quantity of Salt Provision§ §for the use of your Garreson, for near two Year consumption§ §we therefore Shall not have occasion to purchase any from§ §your returning Commanders this Year, but as here we are in§ §want, we will endeavor to supply ourselves, from them in the§ §manner you have directed§ §28 In consequence of the orders Capt Larkins receded from§ §your Honors, he reported to us, that he had made a strict search§ §on board the Delawar, but had not met with any unlicensed§ §or illicit Goods, belonging to Capt Larkins, or any other Person§ §or Persons whatsoever§	The Council hoped its accounts would agree with each other, and that the secretary would be more careful in his duty and prevent such mistakes happening again. He represented to the Council that it was impossible to carry on the business in a thorough and correct manner without more help in his office than one person, there having always been help until the Court thought proper to order Dunn to be dismissed. Since Dunn was capable, and for the reasons given, another writer was much wanted, the Council hoped the Court would allow one to be added to the secretary's office. 27: As reported in the last letter, the Council had, and still had, enough salt provisions for the use of the garrison for near two years' consumption. It would therefore have no occasion to buy any from the Court's returning commanders this year. Should the island fall into want, it would try to supply itself from them in the manner the Court had directed. 28: Following the order Captain Larkins received from the Court, he reported that he had made a strict search aboard the <i>Delaware</i>, but had not found any uncleared or illicit goods belonging to himself or any other person whatever. 29: Since the last letter of 15 July, the following ships arrived at the island. The <i>Worcester</i> on the 23rd, the <i>Prince George</i> on the 26th and the <i>Bombay Castle</i> on the 27th of July from Bengal. The <i>Île de Bourbon</i> on the 29th and the <i>Admiral Watson</i> on the 30th of July from Bombay. 30: The Court's ship the <i>Delaware</i> proceeded on her voyage for the west coast on the 31st of July. 31: The best news the Council could gather from these ships was that the French, having heard over land that the troops meant for Madras had gone to Bombay, immediately formed a design of taking that settlement. Interpretations The plea for an extra writer in the opening paragraph shows how the dismissal of one clerk crippled the secretary's office. The whole business of accounts and correspondence rested on a handful of

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		§29 Since our last Letter to you of the 15 July, the following§ §Ships have arrived here viz§ §The Worcester on the 23th§ §Prince George 26th of July from Bengall§ §Bombay Castle 27th§ §Lord Bruton 29th§ §Admiral Watson 30th of July from Bombay§ §30 Your Ship Delawar proceeded on her Voyage for the§ §West Coast on the 31 of July§ §31 The main abnews we have been able to collect from§ §these Ships is That the French having heard over Land§ §that the Troops intended for Madras were gone to Bombay§ §Immediately, formed a design of taking that Settlement§	copyists, and removing Dunn left the work beyond one man, which reveals how thin the administrative staff of a major station was and how a single loss could throw its record-keeping into disorder. The strict search of the <i>Delaware</i> in paragraph twenty-eight reflects the Company's constant guard against private trade aboard its ships. Commanders were ordered to search for uncleared goods and to report the result, so the Company could suppress the smuggling by which officers and crew enriched themselves at its expense, the formal declaration of a clean search entered as a check on a well-known temptation. The intelligence in paragraph thirty-one shows the island functioning as a listening post for the war in India. News that the French had shifted their design from Madras to Bombay, gathered from arriving captains, was exactly the kind of strategic report St Helena forwarded to London, its position on the sea road letting it collect and relay word of enemy movements far faster than any dispatch from India itself.
34	24	and accordingly began the Siege on the 14 of November§ §Admiral Pocock when he arrived at Bombay found his§ §Majesties Ships the Sunderland, & Grafton with six of§ §youre Honors China Ships there, He immediately dispatched§ §five China Ships, & the Revenge, with the Troops for§ §Madrass, under the Convoy of a twenty Gun Ship, The§ §Shaftesbury parted company of Ceilon from the other Ships§ §& arrived at Madrass on the 3 of Feb & Captain English landed§ §his Men, & obliged two French Frigates the Harleem§ §& Fidelle which were then in the Road, to retire to§ §Pondecherry, On the 16 of Feb, the twenty Gun Ship, with§ §the remainder of the Ships under her Convoy, arrived at§ §Madrass, The morning after Mons. Lally decamped, with§ §so much precipitation, that he left all his Cannon, &§ §military Stores behind him, Our loss we are informed was§ §near Nine hundred, & the French fifteen hundred Men§ §32 The Shaftesbury is sent to Batavia for Stores, Two§ §China Ships were going to the Negrais for Timber, & the§ §other remain at Madrass until the proper season for their§ §proceeding for China, The Warren, saild from Bengall,§ §with supplies for Madrass on the 16 of Feb, & the Hardwick§ §was expected at Bengall from Mocha shortly after, The Pitt§ §was spoke with on the 15th of Nov. in the Streight off§ §Malacca, having lost her passage to China§ §33 Admiral Pocock, with the Squadron under his command,§ §consisting of nine, Ships of the Line, & one fire ship with§ §your Honors Ships, Rhoda, Lord Bruton, & Admiral Watson§ §sailed from Bombay on the 8 of April, The Lord Bruton§ §& Admiral Watson parted Company, from the Squadron,§ §on the 26th of that Month off Ceilon, They left at Bombay§	The French accordingly began the siege on 14 November. Admiral Pocock, when he arrived at Bombay, found His Majesty's ships the <i>Sunderland</i> and <i>Grafton</i> there, with six of the Court's China ships. He immediately dispatched five China ships and the <i>Revenge</i> with the troops for Madras, under the convoy of a twenty-gun ship. The <i>Shaftesbury</i> parted company with the <i>Grafton</i> from the other ships and arrived at Madras on the 2nd of February. Captain English landed his men and forced two French frigates, the <i>Harlem</i> and the <i>Fidelle</i>, which were then in the road, to retire to Pondicherry. On 16 February the twenty-gun ship, with the rest of the ships under her convoy, arrived at Madras. The morning after, Monsieur Lally decamped with so much haste that he left all his cannon and military stores behind him. By the latest accounts the Council was informed the English lost near nine hundred men and the French fifteen hundred. 32: The <i>Shaftesbury</i> was sent to Batavia for stores. Two China ships were going to the Negrais for timber, and the others remained at Madras until the proper season for proceeding to China. The <i>Warren</i> sailed from Bengal with supplies for Madras on the 16th of February, and the <i>Madras</i> was expected at Bengal from Muxadavad. The <i>Pitt</i> was spoken with on the 15th of November in the Straits of Malacca, having lost her passage to China. 33: Admiral Pocock, with the squadron under his command of nine ships of the line and one fireship, together with the Court's ships <i>Rhoda</i>, <i>Île de Bourbon</i> and <i>Admiral Watson</i>, sailed from Bombay on the 8th of April. The <i>Île de Bourbon</i> and <i>Admiral Watson</i> parted company with the squadron on the 26th of that month off Ceylon. They left at Bombay the <i>Streatham</i> and <i>Eastcourt</i>, the former ordered to Bengal and the latter to be dispatched for Europe about the latter end of April. The passengers aboard the <i>Admiral Watson</i> were Captain Latham and family, Captain Stanton and Lieutenant Jackson. 34: On examining the packages received from the <i>Delaware</i>, Interpretations The relief of Madras in the opening paragraph marks the decisive lifting of Lally's siege. The arrival of Pocock's convoyed reinforcements forced the French to abandon the assault so hurriedly that they left their guns and stores behind, and St Helena's value lay in assembling this detailed account from arriving ships and passing it to London well ahead of any official dispatch from the Coromandel Coast. The redeployment of shipping in paragraph thirty-two shows the intricate logistics behind the

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		§the Shetham, & Eastcourt, the former was ordered to Bengal§ §& the latter, was to be dispatched for Europe, about the latter§ §end of April, The passengers on board the Admiral Watson§ §are Capt Latham & Family, Capt Stanton, & Lt Jackson§ §34 Upon examining the Packages received from the§ §Delawar§	Company's Indian trade. Vessels were sent to Batavia for stores, to the Negrais for timber and held at Madras for the sailing season, which reveals a fleet managed across the whole eastern ocean, each ship tasked to a particular errand in a web of supply that kept the China and India voyages moving. The muster of Pocock's squadron in paragraph thirty-three illustrates how far the Royal Navy had committed to the eastern war. Nine ships of the line and a fireship operating alongside Company vessels out of Bombay show the Crown's fleet carrying the main weight of the naval struggle in Indian waters, the Company's own ships folded into a national force whose movements the island tracked and reported.
35	25	Delawar, we found 96 Mens Henry Jackets, 235 Mens Henry§ §Comb Breeches, & 95 Mens cotton shirts Shirts, 24 Boys§ §Shirts & 4 Drumwork Caps so much damaged by wet that§ §we returned them to your Kept, & ordered them to be wrote off§ §the back of the Bill of Lading, We shall therefore want§ §that number to supply this Deficiency, over & above what§ §is Indented for§ §35 We have given Capt Coke an order to receive on board the§ §Admiral Watson Wm Cleesey Alexander Fuller Jas Sabuel Smith§ §John Wm Martin Jas Carmichael, Jas Day, Wm Slater§ §Soldiers, they being returned by the Surgeon as incurable, whose§ §certificate specifying their Names & disorder, is inclosed§ §in the Packet§ §36 We have likewise put on board the Admiral Watson, two§ §Water Engines, that are unserviceable, & which we desire your§ §Honors will be pleased to have repaired, & returned by the first§ §opportunity§ §37 Since our last Letter to you, the appearance of the§ §Country is not so favorable, as it then was nor the Cattle in§ §so good Condition, the usual Rains having failed from the§ §want of which the Grass in the Pastures is now very short§ §St Helena§ §8th August 1759§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble§ §Servants§ §Signed§ §Charles Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §Matthew Purling§	On examining the packages received from the <i>Delaware</i>, the Council found item 96, men's honey jackets, item 23, men's honeycomb breeches, item 25, men's cotton shirts, item 24, boys' shirts, and item 4, women's caps, so much damaged by wet that it returned them to the storekeeper and ordered them to be written off the back of the bill of lading. The Council would therefore want that number to supply the deficiency, over and above what was indented for. 35: The Council gave Captain Cooke an order to receive aboard the <i>Admiral Watson</i> William Cleasby, Alexander Fuller, James [...], John [...], William Martin, James Carmichael, James Day and William Slater, soldiers returned by the surgeon as incurable, whose certificate specifying their names and disorders was enclosed in the packet. 36: The Council also put aboard the <i>Admiral Watson</i> two water engines that were unserviceable, which it hoped the Court would be pleased to have repaired and returned by the first chance. 37: Since the last letter, the appearance of the country was not so favourable as it then was, nor were the cattle in so good condition. The usual rains had failed, and for want of them the grass in the pastures was now very short. The letter was sent from St Helena on 8 August 1759, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. Interpretations The invaliding of eight soldiers in paragraph thirty-five reveals how a small garrison shed men it could no longer use. Returned by the surgeon as incurable and shipped home under a certificate naming each man and his disorder, they show the island unable to support unfit soldiers and referring their discharge to England, the medical certificate serving as the formal warrant for removing them from the rolls. The wet-damaged clothing in the opening paragraph shows again how the island bore the loss when goods arrived spoiled. Jackets, breeches, shirts and caps ruined by water were written off the bill of lading, and the resulting shortfall had to be added to the next order, which reveals how sea damage forced a settlement to re-indent for necessities already paid for and lost in transit. The unserviceable water engines in paragraph thirty-six illustrate the island's dependence on England for its equipment. Lacking the means to repair its own fire engines, the Council shipped them home and waited for their return, which shows how even essential apparatus for fighting fire in a crowded settlement could not be mended on the spot but had to make the long round voyage to be made good.
36	26	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §Per Ship Admiral Watson dated the 8th August 1759 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 8th August 1759§	List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Admiral Watson</i> dated 8 August 1759. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 8 August 1759. 2: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter

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		§2 Duplicate Do & do dated the 15th July Do§ §3 Consultations from 16 July to 24 July Do§ §4 List of Officer & Servant taken the 8 August§ §5 First receipt for the Packet per Ship London§ §6 Second Do for Do per Ship Latham§ §7 Cash Acco from 12th June to 11th July 1759§ §8 Do from 12 July to 11 Aug Do§ §9 Duplicate Do from 24th March to 11th April &§ §10 Do Do from 12th April to 11th May Do§ §11 Do Do from 12 May to 11 June Do§ §12 Do of Garreson Stores remaing 11 April Do§ §13 Do of Ship Egmonts Cargoe§ §14 Do of Ship Londons Do§ §15 Do of Ship Colchester Do§ §16 Effective State of the Garreson§ §17 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee§ §18 Duplicate Indent of Stores wanted for the service of the Year 1760§ §19 List of Stores remaining in the Honble Compa Ware House 11th§ §April 1759§ §20 Duplicate Indent of Medicines§ §21 Do Certificate for Flour recd by the Ship Holdernes§ §22 Do of Discharged Soldiers§ §23 Do List of Artillery Stores remaing 11th April 1759§ §24 Do Colchesters Acct§ §25 Do Londons Do§ §26 Do Egmonts Do§ §27 Do Earl of Holdernes Do§ §28 Account of Ship Delawar§ §29 Do of Ship Admiral Watson§ §30 Cops of a Letter from Mons. Lally to Mr De Leyrit Govr§ §of Pondicherry§	dated 15 July. 3: Consultations from 16 July to 24 July. 4: List of officers and servants taken on 8 August. Item 5 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>London</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>Latham</i>. 7: Cash account from 12 June to 11 July 1759. 8: Cash account from 12 July to 11 August. 9: Duplicate cash account from 24 March to 11 April. 10: Duplicate cash account from 12 April to 11 May. 11: Duplicate cash account from 12 May to 11 June. 12: Duplicate list of garrison stores remaining on 11 April. Item 13 was a duplicate account of the <i>Egmont's</i> cargo. Item 14 was a duplicate account of the <i>London's</i> cargo. Item 15 was a duplicate account of the <i>Colchester's</i> cargo. 16: Effective state of the garrison. 17: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 18: Duplicate indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1760. 19: List of stores remaining in the Company's warehouse on 11 April 1759. 20: Duplicate indent of medicines. 21: Duplicate certificate for flour landed by the <i>Holderness</i>. 22: Duplicate list of discharged soldiers. 23: Duplicate list of artillery stores remaining on 11 April 1759. Item 24 was a duplicate account of the <i>Holderness</i>. Item 25 was a duplicate account of the <i>London</i>. Item 26 was a duplicate account of the <i>Egmont</i>. Item 27 was a duplicate account of the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. Item 28 was an account of the <i>Delaware</i>. Item 29 was an account of the <i>Admiral Watson</i>. 30: Copy of a letter from Monsieur Lally to Monsieur De Leyrit, Governor of Pondicherry. Interpretations The captured letter in item thirty, from Lally to the Governor of Pondicherry, shows the island forwarding enemy correspondence as prized intelligence. A French commander's letter to the head of Pondicherry, intercepted and copied into the packet for London, reveals St Helena passing on not just rumour from arriving captains but documentary evidence of French intentions, the kind of material that let the Company read its opponent's hand.
37	27	31 Certificate of Flour recd by the Ship Delawar§ §32 Abstract of Ship Worcester Cargoe§ §33 Do of Do Prince George§ §34 Do of Do Bombay Castles§ §35 Do of Do Lord Bruton§ §36 Ameal of Ships Boat at Bankes§ §37 Certificate related to some inclosed Beer§ §38 Duplicate Certificate of Edward Biggs, for the Receipt§ §of ten pounds upon a Bill of Exchange§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to you last by your Ship Admiral Watson§ §by which opportunity we acquainted you of the safe arrival of§ §your Ships Worcester, Prince Georges, Lord Bruton & Bombay Castles§ §& the news of your Affairs that came to the knowledge of the§ §several Commanders of them, as they informed us§ §The Ships Worcester, Prince George & Bombay Castle§ §having brought here 42 French Prisoners as per the enclosed List,§ §that were obliged to be put on Shore, on account of Sickness who§ §representing to us they were allowed two Rupees per Month§	31: Certificate of flour received by the <i>Delaware</i>. 32: Account of the <i>Worcester's</i> cargo. 33: Account of the <i>Prince George's</i> cargo. 34: Account of the <i>Bombay Castle's</i> cargo. 35: Account of the <i>Île de Bourbon's</i> cargo. 36: Arrival of the ships' boats at Bankes. 37: Certificate relating to some invalid soldiers and beer. 38: Duplicate certificate of Edward Biggs for the receipt of ten pounds upon a bill of exchange. To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Admiral Watson</i>. By that chance the Council reported the safe arrival of the Court's ships the <i>Worcester</i>, <i>Prince George</i>, <i>Île de Bourbon</i> and <i>Bombay Castle</i>, along with the news of the Court's affairs that came to the knowledge of their several commanders, as they informed the Council. The ships <i>Worcester</i>, <i>Prince George</i> and <i>Bombay Castle</i> had brought 42 French prisoners, named in the enclosed list, who had to be put ashore on account of sickness. They represented to the Council that they had been allowed five rupees a month by the President and Council of Bengal to pay for washing and to buy tobacco and other necessities. Since they applied to the Council for the same allowance, it thought proper to grant their request, and gave them four shillings and

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		§by your President & Council of Bengall, in order to pay for§ §washing, buy Tobacco & other neccessaries, & they applying to§ §us for the same indulgence we thought proper to comply§ §with their request, & have accordingly given them four§ §Shillings & six Pence each Man, which amounts to nine§ §Pounds nine Shillings, We make no doubt of its being§	sixpence each man, which amounted to three pounds nine shillings. The Council had no doubt of this being Interpretations The French prisoners landed at St Helena show the island absorbing the human overflow of the eastern war. Sick captives taken in India and carried west had to be put ashore, and the Council extended them the same small maintenance allowance Bengal had paid, which reveals a remote station drawn into the keeping of enemy prisoners and treating them by an established scale rather than leaving them destitute. The allowance itself reflects how prisoner maintenance was standardised across the Company's settlements. The men cited a rate fixed at Bengal, and the Council matched it in sterling for washing and small necessities, which shows a consistency of practice between distant Company centres, a captive's modest upkeep governed by a recognised figure that travelled with him from one settlement to the next.
38	28	repaid to your Honors, by Mr Bouge the French Company's§ §Agent in London, as has been regularly done for the like§ §Occasions by Mons. De Lyrit Govr of Pondecherry while§ §they were Prisoners in India§ §Samuel Falconer your late Surgeon having Died§ §intestate, the disposal of his Affairs here of course, fell§ §under our Cognizance, which were Sold at Public Auction, in§ §consequence thereof, we received into your Cash, & brought as§ §Credit to him upon your Books, after paying his Debts§ §the sum of £372 19s 10d & Mr Purling having produced§ §a Letter of Attorney from Mr Alex Falconer, Brother & Heir§ §to the said Saml Falconer, empowering him to Act in the§ §premises, We acquainted Mr Purling to Advise Mr Alex§ §Falconer, that there is such a Credit upon your Books§ §here in favor of his late Brother, & upon proper application§ §to your Honors you would pay him that Sum, we shall have§ §therefore ordered the above £372 19s 10d to be wrote off§ §your Books here, to Account Current London§ §Capt Creighton not having delivered to us any Letter§ §Invoice or Bill of Lading for the Stores consigned from§ §Bombay, for the use of this Island, We therefore cannot§ §ascertain any short delivery, nor the price of them, We§ §have estimated their value according to the Rates we§ §found such articles were Invoiced from that Settlement§ §The Passengers on board the Ship Worcester are Mr§ §Cook & Mrs Cook, on board the Prince George, Capt David§ §Rannie Mrs Rannie Capt Robert Campbell & Mr Shewen§ §on board the Bombay Castle, Capt Reinbold, Mrs Reinbold§ §Capt Micchell, Lieut Lowin & Mr Cook & Capt Manning &§ §Reeves, Lt Collier Capt Gardener, Mrs Hogg, & Mr Northall &c§	The maintenance would be repaid to the Court by Mr Bourge, the French Company's agent in London, as had regularly been done on the like occasions by Monsieur De Leyrit, Governor of Pondicherry, while the men were prisoners in India. Samuel Falconer, the Court's late surgeon, having died intestate, the disposal of his affairs on the island fell to the Council. His effects were sold at public auction, and the proceeds received into the Court's cash, so that after paying his debts he stood credited on the Court's books with the sum of £372 19s 10d. Mr Purling having produced a letter of attorney from Mr Alexander Falconer, brother and heir to Samuel Falconer, empowering him to act in the matter, the Council informed Purling that there was such a credit on the Court's books in favour of his late brother, and that on proper application to the Court it would pay him that sum. It therefore ordered the above £372 19s 10d to be written off the island's books to the account current at London. Since Captain Crichton had not delivered any letter, invoice or bill of lading for the stores consigned from Bombay for the use of the island, the Council could not tell whether there was any short delivery, nor the price of the goods. It had estimated their value according to the rates at which it found such articles were invoiced from that settlement. The passengers aboard the <i>Worcester</i> were Mr Cook and Mrs Cook. Aboard the <i>Prince George</i> were Captain David Rannie, Mrs Rannie, Captain Robert Campbell and Mrs Shewen. Aboard the <i>Bombay Castle</i> were Captain Rumbold, Mrs Rumbold, Captain Mickle, Lieutenant Gowin, Mrs Cook, Captain Manning, [...] Hewes, Lieutenant Collier, Captain Gardener, Mrs Hogg and Mr Northall. Interpretations The intestate estate of the surgeon Falconer shows the Council acting as an administrator of the dead where no will existed. His goods were sold at auction, his debts cleared and the balance held on the Court's books until his heir's attorney could claim it, which reveals how a remote settlement handled the property of servants who died far from home, converting effects into a credit payable in London through a chain of formal authority. The missing paperwork for Crichton's cargo in the following passage exposes how the loss of documents disrupted the accounting of supply. Without letter, invoice or bill of lading the Council could neither check for shortfall nor know the true price, so it had to value the goods by past rates, which shows how completely the reckoning of a cargo depended on the papers that were meant to travel with it. The reimbursement arrangement in the opening passage reveals a working financial reciprocity between enemies at war. The maintenance of French prisoners

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			was to be repaid through the French Company's London agent, just as the French governor had settled British claims in India, which shows the two companies honouring each other's prisoner costs through their home agents even as their forces fought in the East.
39	29	board the True Bruton§ §Capt Seldeman having represented to us, in§ §Consultation of the 13 instant, that Stephen Prumpo,§ §one of the French Prisoners, was very troublesome on board§ §his Ship, We gave Capt Crichton an Order to receive§ §him on board the Ship True Bruton, & to carry him§ §to England§ §For want of Rain the Island, & Cattle continue§ §in much the same condition, as when we wrote last,§ §to your Honors§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Yours &c§ §Signed§ §St Helena§ §19th Aug 1759§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §Matt Purling§ §List of the Honble Companys Packets from St Helena per§ §Ship Worcester, dated the 19 August 1759 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Lr dated 19th Aug 1759§ §2 Consultn from 30th July to 13th Aug Do§ §3 List of Officer & Servants taken 19th Aug Do§ §4 First Receipt for the Packet per Ship Admiral Watson§ §5 Effective State of the Garrison§ §6 Govr Letr to the Secret Committee§ §7 List of Discharged Soldiers who take their Passage on the§ §Ship Worcester List of French Prisoners on board Do§ §Ship Worcester List of Do on board the Prince George§ §Bombay Castle§	The passengers aboard the <i>True Briton</i> were also named to the Court. Captain Seldeman having represented to the Council, in its consultation of the 13th of this month, that Stephen Rumpo, one of the French prisoners, was very troublesome aboard his ship, the Council gave Captain Crichton an order to receive the man aboard the <i>True Briton</i> and carry him to England. For want of rain the island and its cattle remained in much the same condition as when the Council last wrote to the Court. The letter was sent from St Helena on 19 August 1759, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Worcester</i> dated 19 August 1759. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 19 August 1759. 2: Consultations from 30 July to 13 August. 3: List of officers and servants taken on 19 August. Item 4 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Admiral Watson</i>. 5: Effective state of the garrison. 6: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 7: List of discharged soldiers who took their passage aboard the <i>Worcester</i>, a list of French prisoners sent aboard the <i>Prince George</i> and the <i>Bombay Castle</i>. Interpretations The removal of the troublesome prisoner Rumpo shows the Council managing captives as a practical burden on its shipping. A single disruptive Frenchman aboard one vessel was reassigned to another bound for England, which reveals how the island handled prisoners not by confinement on shore but by distributing them among departing ships, a difficult man simply shifted onward to become England's charge. Speculations The Council could have kept the troublesome prisoner Rumpo on the island or left him aboard the ship where he was causing difficulty, the path of least effort once the complaint was made. Instead it issued a formal order moving him to the <i>True Briton</i> for passage to England, singling out one man from the body of French prisoners for onward removal. The record shows a passing choice to export the problem rather than contain it locally, the captain's complaint enough to see a single captive transferred and sent home rather than managed where he was.
40	30	No 8 Court Martial§ §9 Cash Acc from 9 to 11 Aug 1759§ §10 Do from 12 to 19th Aug Do§ §11 List of Debtors & Cattle in the Year 1759§ §12 List of Marriages &c§ §13 Duplicate Govr & Councils Generale Letr dated 8 Aug 1759§ §14 Do Consultn from 26 March to 13th July 1759§ §15 Do from 16 to the 24th July Do§ §16 Second Receipt for the Packet per Ship London§ §17 Duplicate Cash Acc from 12 June to 11th July 1759§ §18 Do from 12 July to 8 Aug Do§ §19 Certificate of Flour recd per Ship Delawar§ §20 Ship Delawar Acc§ §21 Do Ship Admeral Watson§ §22 Acct of the Carwe of Ship Worcester§	8: Court martial. 9: Cash account from 12 to 11 August 1759. 10: Cash account from 12 to 19 August. 11: List of returns of cattle in the year 1759. 12: List of marriages, etc. 13: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 8 August 1759. 14: Duplicate consultations from 26 March to 13 July 1759. 15: Duplicate consultations from 16 to 24 July. Item 16 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>London</i>. 17: Duplicate cash account from 12 June to 11 July 1759. 18: Duplicate cash account from 12 July to 8 August. 19: Certificate of flour received by the <i>Delaware</i>.

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		§23 Do of Do of Do Prince George§ §24 Do of Do of Do Bombay Castle§ §25 Do of Do of Do True Bruton§ §26 Arrival of Ships Boat at Bankes§ §27 Anceous Certificate of some Invalid Soldiers sent per Ship§ §Admiral Watson§ §28 Duplicate Indent of Stores wanted for the service of the Year 1760§ §29 Certificate of Flour recd per Ship Earl of St Holderness§ §30 Ship Worcester Acct§ §31 Do Prince George Do§ §32 Do Bombay Castle Do§ §33 Do True Britons Do§ §34 List of French Prisoners on board the Ships Worcester§ §Prince George & Bombay Castle§	Item 20 was the <i>Delaware's</i> account. Item 21 was the <i>Admiral Watson's</i> account. Item 22 was an account of the <i>Worcester's</i> cargo. Item 23 was an account of the <i>Prince George's</i> cargo. Item 24 was an account of the <i>Bombay Castle's</i> cargo. Item 25 was an account of the <i>True Briton's</i> cargo. 26: Arrival of the ships' boats at Bankes. 27: Certificate of some invalid soldiers sent aboard the <i>Admiral Watson</i>. 28: Duplicate indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1760. 29: Certificate of flour received by the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. Item 30 was the <i>Worcester's</i> account. Item 31 was the <i>Prince George's</i> account. Item 32 was the <i>Bombay Castle's</i> account. Item 33 was the <i>True Briton's</i> account. 34: List of French prisoners aboard the ships <i>Worcester</i>, <i>Prince George</i> and <i>Bombay Castle</i>.
41	31	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote last to you, by your Ship Worcester, that sailed§ §from hence on the 20th of last Month, with your Ships, Prince§ §George, Bombay Castle, & True Bruton§ §On the 26 of Aug arrived your Ship the Eastcourt, Capt§ §Arthur Evans from Bombay, The Capt acquaints us that§ §he left it the 12 of May, & on the 29 of July, in the Latitude§ §of 36 30 South, about the Meridian of Cape Bona§ §Esperance, he passed by four sail of Ships, standing to the§ §South East, & by East, Eastward, but did not speak with them§ §He brings us no fresh news from Bombay§ §Essex, one of your Honors Slaves having been missing§ §ever since the sailing of the last Ships, we have reason§ §to think, he made his escape on the Bombay Castle, as we§ §are informed, he had some acquaintance in that Ship§ §We have made a Bomb proof Magazine for Powder at§ §Ruperts, & are now at work upon, & shall in a little time,§ §finish another at the Fort, for the same purpose, that will§ §be equally secure§ §4 We are sorry to acquaint your Honors, that the§ §Island, for want of sufficient Rain, has still but a§ §very unfavorable appearance, & if there is not more§ §soon, it is much to be feared, that some Cattle may be§ §lost as there will not otherwise be food for them§	To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Worcester</i>, which sailed from the island on the 26th of last month together with the Court's ships the <i>Prince George</i>, <i>Bombay Castle</i> and <i>True Briton</i>. On 26 August the Court's ship the <i>Eastcourt</i>, Captain Arthur Evans, arrived from Bombay. Evans reported that he had left Bombay on 12 May, and that on 29 July, in latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes south, about the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, he passed four sail of ships standing to the south east and by east and eastward, but did not speak with them. He brought no fresh news from Bombay. Of six, one of the Court's slaves, had been missing ever since the sailing of the last ships. The Council had reason to think he made his escape aboard the <i>Bombay Castle</i>, being informed he had some acquaintance in that ship. The Council had made a bomb-proof magazine for powder at Ruperts, and was now at work on it. It would in a little time finish another at the Fort for the same purpose, which would be equally secure. 4: The Council was sorry to report that for want of sufficient rain the island still had a very unfavourable appearance. Unless more came soon, it was much to be feared that some cattle might be lost, since there would otherwise be no food for them. Interpretations The escape of the slave Of six aboard the <i>Bombay Castle</i> reveals how the very shipping that bound the island to the wider world offered a route out of bondage. A man held as Company property vanished with the departing fleet, and the Council's belief that acquaintance aboard the ship enabled his flight shows how the constant traffic of vessels created openings for slaves to escape that a closed settlement would not have presented. The bomb-proof magazines in the following passage show the island hardening its defences against attack. Building protected powder stores at Ruperts and the Fort, proof against bombardment, reveals a settlement investing in fortification suited to a wartime threat from the sea, its powder placed beyond the reach of enemy shells rather than left in ordinary store. The failure of the rains and its threat to the cattle continues a running anxiety over the island's fragile food supply. A settlement dependent on pasture faced the loss of its livestock when the rain held off, which shows how narrowly a remote place lived within the margins of its own climate, its meat supply hostage to a season that could not be supplemented from outside.
42	32	The Passengers on board the Eastcourt are Capt and§ §Palmer, Scotney, Mrs Blacters & Passang & Lt	The passengers aboard the <i>Eastcourt</i> were Captain Palmer, Captain Scotney, Mrs Slocken and passim,

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		Grover§ §Mr English, Mr Skym, Mr Speare & Mrs Crichman§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §11th Sept 1759§ §Yours &c§ §Signed Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §Matt Purling§ §List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena per Ship Eastcourt§ §dated the 11 Sept 1759 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Lr dated 11 Sept 1759§ §2 Duplicate Certificate of Flour per Ship Delawar§ §3 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Lr dated 19 Aug 1759§ §4 Second Receipt for Do Packet per Ship Admiral Watson§ §5 Duplicate Cash Acc from 9 to 11 Aug 1759§ §6 Do from 12 to 19 Do Do§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet per Ship Worcester§ §8 List of returns of Cattle for Slaughter &c§ §9 Duplicate Consultations from 30 July to 13 Aug 1759§ §10 Do Ship Worcesters Acc§ §11 Do Prince George Do§ §12 Do Bombay Castle Do§ §13 Do True Brutons Do§ §14 Consults from 21 of Aug to 10 Sept 1759§ §15 List of Officers Servts taken 11 Sept Do§ §16 Effective State of the Garrison§ §17 First Receipt for the Packet per Ship Worcester§ §18 Cash Acc from 20th Aug to 11th Sept 1759§	Lieutenant Grover, Mr English, Mr Skynn, Mr Speare and Mrs Crichman. The letter was sent from St Helena on 11 September 1759, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Eastcourt</i> dated 11 September 1759. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 11 September 1759. 2: Duplicate certificate of flour by the <i>Delaware</i>. 3: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 19 August 1759. Item 4 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>Admiral Watson</i>. 5: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 11 August 1759. 6: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 19 August. 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the <i>Worcester</i>. 8: List of returns of cattle for slaughter, etc. 9: Duplicate consultations from 30 July to 13 August 1759. Item 10 was the <i>Worcester's</i> account. Item 11 was the <i>Prince George's</i> account. Item 12 was the <i>Bombay Castle's</i> account. Item 13 was the <i>True Briton's</i> account. 14: Consultations from 21 August to 10 September 1759. 15: List of officers and servants taken on 11 September. 16: Effective state of the garrison. Item 17 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Worcester</i>. 18: Cash account from 20 August to 11 September 1759.
43	33	19 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee§ §20 Acc of the Cargo of Ship Eastcourt§ §21 Ship Eastcourts Account§ §22 Arrival of Ship Eastcourts Boat at Bankes§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to you last by your Ship the Eastcourt§ §Capt Evans, that sailed from hence on the 12th Sept§ §On the 21th of last Month arrived your Ship Warren§ §Capt Sedd, from Madrass, which place he left the 26th Aug§ §& informs us, that your Ships Winchelsea, Prince of Wales§ §Rhoda, Tilbury, & Britannia, sailed for China, the two former§ §on the 22 of April, & the latter on the 19th of June, that the§ §Ysex was also dispatched from thence for China the 7 of§ §August, & that on the 4th arrived a Sloop under the command§ §of Mr Moses Baker, second Mate of your Ship Royal§ §George, which took her the 7th, She was a Packet bound§ §for Mauritius, with Mons. Le Chavelier Delacilon, &§ §Le Marquis De Chambois Colonels, a Capt & two Volunteers§ §She is called the Fanite & is said to be worth 40 thousand§ §Rupees, Capt Sedd also informs us, that your Ships§ §Valentine & Suffolk, arrived at Madrass the 14th August§ §& it was expected, that they would be dispatched for China§ §soon after he sailed, Admiral Pocock has detained§ §your Ships Denham, Oxford, Pocock, Duke of Dorset, &§ §Royal George & was cruising with his Fleet off Negapatam§	19: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 20: Account of the <i>Eastcourt's</i> cargo. 21: The <i>Eastcourt's</i> account. 22: Arrival of the <i>Eastcourt's</i> boat at Bankes. To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Eastcourt</i>, Captain Evans, which sailed from the island on the 13th of September. On the 21st of last month the Court's ship the <i>Warren</i>, Captain Lester, arrived from Madras, which place he left on the 26th of August. He reported that the Court's ships <i>Winchelsea</i>, <i>Prince of Wales</i>, <i>Rhoda</i>, <i>Tilbury</i> and <i>Britannia</i> had sailed for China. The former sailed on 22 April and the latter on 19 June. The <i>Ilex</i> was also dispatched from there for China on the 7th of August. On the 4th a sloop arrived under the command of Mr Moses Baker, second mate of the Court's ship <i>Royal George</i>, which took her on the 7th. She was a packet bound for Mauritius, with Monsieur Le Chevalier De Sceilon and Le Marquis De Chambois, colonels, a captain and two volunteers aboard. She was called the <i>Fanchte</i> and was said to be worth 40,000 rupees. Lester also reported that the Court's ships <i>Valentine</i> and <i>Suffolk</i> had arrived at Madras on 14 August. The <i>Pitt</i> was expected, and both would be dispatched for China soon after he sailed. Admiral Pocock had detained the Court's ships <i>Durham</i>, <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Pocock</i>, <i>Duke of Dorset</i> and <i>Royal George</i>, and was cruising with his fleet off Negapatam. Interpretations The captured French packet in the second paragraph shows a rich prize taken on the sea road to Mauritius. A vessel carrying two colonels and worth 40,000 rupees was seized and her senior officers brought in, which reveals how the Company's and Crown's ships preyed on French communications in the Indian Ocean, a single capture removing both

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			valuable cargo and experienced enemy commanders from the war. The detention of Company ships by Admiral Pocock in the final passage exposes the tension between naval need and commercial schedule. Five Indiamen were held back to serve the fleet cruising off Negapatam, which shows the Crown commandeering the Company's vessels for war when required, the trading voyages of valuable ships subordinated to the demands of a squadron holding the Coromandel coast.
44	34	We are likewise informed, that as soon after the Siege§ of Madrass as it was possible to procure Oxen, & compleat§ a field train, of two twelve, pounders, & ten six pounders§ the Troops marched to St Thomas's Mount, from which§ place, was detached Major Brereton, with 200 Europeans§ some Black Troops, & two field pieces, to follow the Rear§ of Mons. Lallys Army, that was abandoning the Country§ Forts, near Madrass, called Poenamolla, & Trapasoure,§ In these Forts, were found some Guns & ammunition,§ which the Enemy had not time to remove, The Army§ being soon after provided with every thing neccessary§ marched to Chepauramadires about 20 Miles from Madrass§ there Major Brereton, Capt Preston from Chinglapett, & all§ the detached parties joyned it, Mons. Lally by this time§ had with his whole Army, taken possession, of Sengieveram,§ a fortified Pagoda, about fifty, Miles from Madrass, our§ Troops moved within three miles of it, & marched & Country§ Marched, for some Days in hopes, of bringing the Enemy§ to Action, but Mons. Lally declining to come out of his§ Army &&, & he being about 200 Europeans stronger, it was§ not thought advisable to attack him, A few days after§ Major Brereton marched to Wandiwash, a Country Fort§ about 40 Miles from Pondichery, & Garrisoned by the§ French, this place he made an attack upon, in hopes§ of drawing the Enemy from Sengieveram which answered§ his expectation, For although Mons. Lalley had§ returned himself to Pondichery, Major General§ Soupire, with the French Army, marched towards§ Wandywash§	The Council was also informed that as soon after the siege of Madras as it was possible to procure oxen and complete a field train of two twelve-pounders and ten six-pounders, the troops marched to St Thomas's Mount. From there Major Brereton was detached with 200 Europeans, some black troops and two field pieces to follow the rear of Monsieur Lally's army, which was abandoning the country. Two forts near Madras, called Poonamallee and Trapasore, were taken, and in them were found some guns and ammunition the enemy had not had time to remove. The army, being soon after provided with everything necessary, marched to Chingleput, about thirty miles from Madras. There Major Brereton, Captain Preston from Chingleput and all the detached parties joined it. Monsieur Lally by this time had taken possession with his whole army of Conjeeveram, a fortified pagoda about fifty miles from Madras. The troops moved within three miles of it and marched the country round, hoping to bring the enemy to action. But Lally declined to come out, and since he was about 200 Europeans stronger, an attack was not thought advisable. A few days later Major Brereton marched to Wandiwash, a country fort about forty miles from Pondicherry garrisoned by the French, and made an attack on it in hopes of drawing the enemy from Conjeeveram. This answered his expectation, for although Lally had returned to Pondicherry, Major General Soupire, with the French army, marched towards Wandiwash. Interpretations The campaign narrative shows how the war in the Carnatic turned on manoeuvre and the taking of country forts. Neither side could easily be brought to a pitched battle, so the fighting became a contest of marches, feints and the capture of fortified pagodas and forts, and St Helena's value lay in assembling this detailed operational account from arriving ships and passing it to London long before official word could come from the Coromandel Coast. The need to procure oxen and assemble a field train before the army could march reveals the logistical foundation beneath the campaign. Artillery could not move without draught animals gathered on the spot, so the pace of war was set by the availability of transport as much as by strategy, which shows how a European army in India depended on local resources to bring its guns into the field. The dependence on black troops alongside the Europeans in Brereton's detachment reflects the mixed composition of the Company's forces. A small body of European soldiers was stiffened by locally raised troops, which shows how the Company waged war in India with armies drawn largely from the country itself, the European contingent forming only the core of a much larger native force.
45	35	Wandywash, & when he arrived within ten Miles of it, the§ English Army moved out to meet him, & drew up on a Plain§ in order of Battle in sight of the Enemy, there lay three§ Nights & three Days, but Mons. Soupire intrrenched	When Soupire arrived within ten miles of Wandiwash, the English army moved out to meet him and drew up on a plain in order of battle in sight of the enemy. There it lay three nights and three days, but Soupire entrenched himself in such a manner that he plainly had no intention of coming to blows. The English then determined to make a forced march to

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		himself§ §in such a manner, that it appeared he had no intention§ §to come to blows, It was then determined to make a§ §forced March to Conjeeveram, in which place the Enemy§ §had only left seven hundred Seapoys, this was done§ §accordingly, & on the 16 April in the morning, the Gate way§ §was battered with two twelve pounders & two six pounders§ §& having soon made a breach, it was Stormed, & carried§ §& many of the Garrison put to the Sword, in the Pagoda,§ §was found one hundred Slaves, & some Provisions, Our§ §Army was cantond here, & the French returned to Arcot,§ §Thirty Miles from Conjeeveram, who were very much§ §discontented, having no pay, & but bad Provision, which§ §makes numbers of them Desert, All their German§ §Hussars amounting to about eighty, have joined the§ §English, with their Horses & accoutrements, & at least§ §four hundred of their other Men, On the 20th of June§ §Mons. Lally joyned his Army at Arcot, & moved§ §towards Conjeeveram, where the two Armys cannonaded§ §each other, for four Days, but both situations being§ §so strong, that neither chose to attack, Mons. Lalley§ §retreated in the Night, to Pondechemy, leaving part of,§ §his force in Wandywash§ §The English Army remained cantond in Conjeeveram§ §until the 1st of August, when part of them with Major§ §Monson marched, & attacked Covenpauk Fort, which,§ §after two Days he took, granting the French Garrison§ §a Capitulation, at the same time, Major Caillaud§	Conjeeveram, where the enemy had left only seven hundred sepoys. This was done, and on the morning of 16 April the gateway was battered with two twelve-pounders and two six-pounders. Having soon made a breach, the English stormed and carried the place, and many of the garrison were put to the sword. In the pagoda were found one hundred slaves and some provisions. The English army was cantoned there, and the French retired to Arcot, thirty miles from Conjeeveram. The French were very much discontented, having no pay and only bad provisions, which made numbers of them desert. All their German hussars, amounting to about eighty, joined the English with their horses and accoutrements, along with at least four hundred of their other men. On the 20th of June Lally joined his army at Arcot and moved towards Conjeeveram, where the two armies cannonaded each other for four days. But both positions being so strong that neither dared attack, Lally retreated in the night to Pondicherry, leaving part of his force at Wandiwash. The English army remained cantoned at Conjeeveram until the 1st of August, when part of it under Major Monson marched and attacked Covrepauk fort. After two days he took it, granting the French garrison a capitulation. At the same time Major Caillaud marched Interpretations The mass desertion of the French forces reveals how pay and provisions decided the loyalty of eighteenth-century armies in India. Unpaid and badly fed, whole bodies of men including eighty German hussars crossed to the English with their horses, which shows how a European army in the field depended on regular supply to hold its troops, and how quickly that force dissolved when the money and food ran short. The hundred slaves found in the captured pagoda at Conjeeveram reveals how the fighting swept up human property as spoil. Slaves held at a fortified temple fell to the storming force along with its provisions, which shows how war in the Carnatic treated people as part of the plunder of a captured place, taken with the guns and stores as a matter of course. The four days of mutual cannonade ending in a night retreat shows how the strength of entrenched positions could stalemate a campaign. Neither army dared assault the other's ground, so a prolonged exchange of fire settled nothing and Lally withdrew under cover of darkness, which reveals how far field fortification could neutralise superior numbers and reduce a confrontation to an inconclusive duel of artillery.
46	36	marched with two hundred Europeans, & some Seapoys to§ §dislodge the Enemy, that had taken possesion of Trepaty§ §Pagoda, which he did with the loss of a very few Seapoys§ §& returned with his command§ §Masulipatam was stormed, & taken by Major Ford§ §some time in April last§ §The passengers on board the Ship Warren are§ §Colonel Lawrence Capt Gauppe & Campbell, Messrs§ §Mansell, Best, Norris, Decaster, Stacey, Sloper,§ §Mumy, Manou§ §On the 9 instant arrived your Ship the Pitt, Capt§ §Wilson, who acquaints us he Sailed from China the 18th of§ §June & on the 22nd of August, he spoke with a Dutch§ §Ship near the Bombay Islands, on the North coast of§ §Java which informed him that two French Ships had§ §passed the Streights of Baly, & put into Rambang to§	Major Caillaud marched with two hundred Europeans and some sepoys to dislodge the enemy, who had taken possession of Trepassy pagoda. This he did with the loss of very few sepoys and returned with his command. Masulipatam was stormed and taken by Major Forde some time in April. The passengers aboard the <i>Warren</i> were Colonel Lawrence, Captain Gauppe, Captain Campbell and Messrs Mansell, Best, Norris, Decaster, Tracey, Sloper, Mum and Manew. On the 9th of this month the Court's ship the <i>Pitt</i>, Captain Wilson, arrived. He reported that he sailed from China on the 18th of June, and that on 22 August he spoke with a Dutch ship near the Bombay Islands on the north coast of Java. She informed him that two French ships had passed the Straits of Bali and put into Rambang to refresh, but being told they could not be supplied there, they left at the beginning of August and had not been heard of since. Wilson

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		§refresh, but being told they cud not be supplied there,§ §they left it the beginning of August, & had not been§ §since heard of he also told Capt Wilson, that there was§ §a report of their being two French Cruisers in the§ §Streights of Sundah§ §Capt Wilson further informs us that he arrived§ §at Batavia the 24 of August, where he found your§ §Ship the Earl of Holdernes Capt Brooke, which Sailed§ §in company with him for Bencoolen, Mr Herbert your§ §Agent at Batavia informed him, there were two French§ §Ships (one large & the other small) had Sold, at§ §Rambang, which were supposed to have refreshed§ §there, & proceeded from thence, for China about the§ §10th of August, he also acquainted him that the§	also reported that there was a rumour of two French cruisers in the Straits of Sunda. Wilson further reported that he arrived at Batavia on the 24th of August, where he found the Court's ship the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>, Captain Brooke, which sailed in company with him for Bencoolen. Mr Herbert, the Court's agent at Batavia, informed him that two French ships, one large and the other small, had sailed at Rambang, which were supposed to have refreshed there and proceeded from there for China about the 10th of August. He also reported that the Interpretations The storming of Masulipatam by Forde marks another decisive stroke in the northern campaign that followed his victory near Vizagapatam. The taking of this fortified port completed the collapse of French power in the Northern Circars, and St Helena's role in gathering and relaying such news from arriving ships made it the point through which London learned the shape of the war in India ahead of any official dispatch. The tracking of French ships through the eastern straits shows how intelligence about enemy movements passed from ship to ship across the ocean. A Dutch vessel's report of French ships refused supply at Rambang reached the Company through a returning captain, which reveals a web of maritime information in which neutral traders, Company agents and passing ships all fed word of the enemy into a chain that ran back to London through the island. The refusal of supply to the French ships at Rambang illustrates how control of victualling ports shaped the naval war. Denied refreshment, the French vessels had to move on without resupply, which shows how access to provisioning stations could determine a ship's range and endurance, the granting or withholding of supplies at a neutral port a quiet weapon in the contest at sea.
47	37	Hector Capt Williams had passed the Streight of Bally the§ §beginning of July in her way to China, & that the Grantham§ §Capt Pearce, & Chesterfield Capt Carter left Batavia the§ §27th of July, & that he had not any account of French§ §Cruisers in the Streight of Sundah, & acquainted him§ §at the same time, that ten Dutch Europe Ships, had§ §sailed from Batavia early in July, with four hundred§ §European Soldiers, & six hundred Buggesses on board,§ §bound for Ceilon, where they were to take in five hundred§ §Europeans more & to proceed to Bengall; & that the Dutch§ §at Batavia, were in great expectations from this§ §expedition, & did not scruple to say, if it was attended§ §with success, there would not be an Englishman Man,§ §left alive at Bengall, Mr Herbert further informed him§ §that he heard it was proposed in Council at Batavia§ §to detain the Egcofer, Chesterfield & Earl of Holdernes§ §Capt Wilson sailed from Fort Marlborough the 22 of§ §Sept, where he left the Earl of Holdernes§ §Your Garrison has been very sickly for some time§ §past & is so now, but very few Men have died§ §Thomas Byrne who we intended to send off the Island§ §in your Ship the Warren, for the circumstances &§ §reasons mentioned in our Consultations of the 19th & 26§ §of Nov we have put on board the Pitt§	The <i>Hector</i>, Captain Williams, had passed the Straits of Bali at the beginning of July on her way to China, and the <i>Boscawen</i>, Captain Pearce, and <i>Chesterfield</i>, Captain Carter, left Batavia on the 27th of July. Wilson had no account of French cruisers in the Straits of Sunda. He also reported that ten Dutch Europe ships had sailed from Batavia early in July, with four hundred European soldiers and six hundred Buginese aboard, bound for Ceylon, where they were to take in five hundred Europeans more and then proceed to Bengal. The Dutch at Batavia were in great expectation from this expedition, and did not scruple to say that if it succeeded there would not be an Englishman left alive at Bengal. Mr Herbert further reported that it was proposed in Council at Batavia to detain the <i>Boscawen</i>, <i>Chesterfield</i> and <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. Captain Wilson sailed from Fort Marlborough on the 22nd of September, where he left the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. The garrison had been very sickly for some time past and remained so, but very few men had died. Thomas Byrne, whom the Council intended to send off the island aboard the <i>Warren</i>, was for the circumstances and reasons set out in its consultations of the 19th and 26th of November put aboard the <i>Pitt</i>. By this conveyance the Council sent the Court the general books of accounts, balanced to 11 October last. 13: The Council was sorry to report that the expected rains had greatly failed the present year. Some cattle had already died for want of herbage, and the Council feared many more would be lost. Interpretations The Dutch expedition to Bengal reported in the first paragraph reveals how a third European power threatened the Company's Indian settlements. A large force of European soldiers and Buginese troops sailing

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		§By this conveyance we transmit to your Honors§ §the General Books of Accounts, balanced to the 11th§ §of Oct last§ §13 We are sorry to acquaint you, that the expected§ §Rains here, have the present Year greatly failed us,§ §some Cattle have already died for want of Herbage§ §& we are apprehensive that many more will be§ §lost§	for Bengal, with open boasts that its success would leave no Englishman alive there, shows the war in the East widening beyond France to draw in Dutch ambition, and St Helena's value lay in catching such intelligence from a passing captain and relaying it to London. The proposed detention of three Company ships at Batavia in the same passage exposes the risk that neutral ports posed to Company shipping. A plan in the Batavia Council to hold the <i>Boscawen</i>, <i>Chesterfield</i> and <i>Earl of Holderness</i> shows how vessels calling at a Dutch settlement for supply could find themselves seized, which reveals the danger that lay in depending on foreign harbours when their masters might turn hostile. The recurring failure of the rains and the death of cattle for want of herbage marks the persistence of the island's food crisis through the season. Livestock dying on the pasture confirms the Council's earlier fears, which shows how a settlement bound to its own climate watched its meat supply waste away with no means to arrest it, the drought pressing steadily on the island's ability to feed itself.
48	38	unless we have an early good summer Season§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §26th Decr 1759§ §Yrs &c§ §Signed Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §Matt Purling§ §List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §per Ship Pitt dated 26th Decr 1759 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated 26th Decr 1759§ §2 Consultations from 17th Sept to 24th Decr Do§ §3 First Receipt for the Packet per Ship Eastcourt§ §4 List of Officers & Servant taken 26 Decr 1759§ §5 Effective State of the Garrison§ §6 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee§ §7 Cash Acc from 12th Sept to 11th Octr 1759§ §8 Do from 12 Oct to 11th Novr Do§ §9 Do from 12 Nov to 11th Decr Do§ §10 Do from 12 to 26 Decr Do§ §11 Acc of the Cargo of Ship Pitt§ §12 Ship Pitts Acc§ §13 Acc of the Cargo of Ship Warren§ §14 Ship Warrens Acc§ §15 List of Rents & Revenues dated 11th Oct 1759§ §16 Do of Familys dated 11 Oct Do§ §17 Do of the Honble Companys Slaves dated 11th Oct 1759§ §18 Muster Rolls of the Garrison§ §19 Books of Acc Balanced to 11th Oct 1759§ §20 Book containing Courts martial§	The Council feared the loss would continue unless there came an early and good summer season. The letter was sent from St Helena on 26 December 1759, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Pitt</i> dated 26 December 1759. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 December 1759. 2: Consultations from 17 September to 24 December. - Item 3 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Eastcourt</i>. 4: List of officers and servants taken on 26 December 1759. 5: Effective state of the garrison. 6: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 7: Cash account from 12 September to 11 October 1759. 8: Cash account from 12 October to 11 November. 9: Cash account from 12 November to 11 December. 10: Cash account from 12 to 26 December. 11: Account of the <i>Pitt</i>'s cargo. 12: The <i>Pitt</i>'s account. 13: Account of the <i>Warren</i>'s cargo. 14: The <i>Warren</i>'s account. 15: List of rents and revenues dated 11 October 1759. 16: List of families dated 11 October. 17: List of the Company's slaves dated 11 October 1759. 18: Muster rolls of the garrison. 19: Books of account balanced to 11 October 1759. 20: Book containing courts martial. Interpretations The list of the Company's slaves in item seventeen, dated and forwarded alongside the rolls of rents, families and garrison, records the routine accounting of slaves as a fixed asset of the settlement. Enumerated on their own register and sent to London with the other standing returns, the island's slaves were counted as regularly as its revenues and its soldiers, which shows how a human population held in bondage was folded into the ordinary bookkeeping of a Company station.
49	39	No 21 Duplicate Cash Acc from 20th Aug to 11th Sept 1759§ §22 Do Govr & Councils General Letter dated 11 Sept Do§ §23 Do Consultations from 21 Aug to 10 Sept Do§ §24 Second Receipt for the Packet per Ship Worcester§	21: Duplicate cash account from 20 August to 11 September 1759. 22: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 11 September. 23: Duplicate consultations from 21 August to 10 September.

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		§25 Acc of the Cargo of Ship Eastcourt§ §26 Duplicate Ship Eastcourts Acc§ §27 Arrival of Ships Boats at Bankes§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last address to your Honors, Sailed on you,§ §by your Ship Pitt, that sailed from hence on the 27 Decr§ §with your Ship Warren§ §On the 7th instant, arrived your Ship Tavistock§ §Capt Benjn Jenkins, who informs us, that he sailed from§ §Wampo the 2 of Jan'y 1759 in company with your§ §Ships Prince Henry, Hawk, & Osterly, that on the 4 of§ §May off this Island, they saw three French Cruisers,§ §which chased them two days, & forced them to bear away§ §for the Bay of All Saints on the Coast of Brazil,§ §where they arrived on the 24th of that Month, that on§ §the 6 of June, came into the same Harbour your§ §Ships Boscawen, & Fox, whose commanders, said they§ §were chased by two sail of Ships in this Latitude, &§ §that on the 9th Anchored in the aforesaid Bay, three§ §sail of French Ships, which proved to be those that§ §had been cruising off this Place, & chased them from§ §it§ §Capt Jenkins further informs us that on§ §the§	Item 24 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>Worcester</i>. Item 25 was an account of the <i>Eastcourt's</i> cargo. Item 26 was a duplicate account of the <i>Eastcourt</i>. 27: Arrival of the ships' boats at Bankes. To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Pitt</i>, which sailed from the island on the 27th of December together with the Court's ship the <i>Warren</i>. On the 6th of this month the Court's ship the <i>Tavistock</i>, Captain Benjamin Jenkins, arrived. He reported that he sailed from the Cape on the 2nd of January 1759 in company with the Court's ships <i>Prince Henry</i>, <i>Hawke</i> and <i>Osterley</i>. On 4 May, off the island, they saw three French cruisers, which chased them two days and forced them to bear away for the Bay of All Saints on the coast of Brazil, where they arrived on the 24th of that month. On the 6th of June the Court's ships <i>Boscawen</i> and <i>Fox</i> came into the same harbour, their commanders saying they had been chased by two sail of ships in that latitude. On the 9th, three sail of French ships anchored in the same bay, which proved to be those that had been cruising off the island and had chased them from it. Interpretations The chase of the Company convoy to Brazil reveals how French cruisers off St Helena could drive homeward shipping far from its intended course. Ships bound past the island were forced across the Atlantic to a Portuguese harbour on the Brazilian coast, which shows how the enemy's presence in these waters disrupted the whole pattern of the return voyage, scattering vessels to distant refuges and turning a passage home into a flight. The convergence of pursued and pursuing ships in the same Brazilian bay exposes the strange proximities the sea war produced. English ships driven to All Saints found the very French cruisers that had chased them anchoring in the same harbour, which shows how a neutral Portuguese port became a shared refuge where enemies rode at anchor within sight of one another, the ordinary conventions of a neutral haven holding even between hostile fleets.
50	40	the 6 of July, Capt Best dispatched his Long Boat§ §for England, with advice of six sail of your Ships Henry§ §being blocked up in the Bay of All Saints, by the three§ §beforementioned French Ships, That on the 27 of§ §Augd sailed the Isleta for Lisbon, & on the 4 of Sept§ §the Ships of the Enemy put to Sea, & that on the 3§ §of Oct he sailed from thence, with your Ships, Prince§ §Henry, Hawk, Boscawen, Osterly, & Fox§ §The Capt likewise says, that on the 6th of Oct§ §he discovered a Leak, which occasioned his Ship to§ §make two feet Water an Hour; that it was resolved§ §by a Consultation of Commanders in Latitude of 17 22§ §South that he should proceed immediately, to Rio Janeiro§ §where he arrived on the 16, & left it the 6 of Nov for§ §England, On the 25th of Decr finding his Men very§ §Sickly, & being in great want of provision he thought§ §himself under a necessity to put in here, to get a§ §supply, & to refresh his Ships Company§ §We are informed that the Long Boat, we sent§ §from hence, for the reasons mentioned in Consultation§ §of the 2th April 1759, had got to windward of the§ §French Ships, then cruising off this Island, but§ §unluckily, taking those Ships for three of ours, bore§ §Down to Them, & was too near, when he found his§ §Error to get off, They took her on the 17th of April§ §& Mr Bendey & his Crew were exchanged at the§	On the 6th of July Captain Best dispatched his longboat for England, with news of six sail of the Court's ships being blockaded in the Bay of All Saints by the French ships already named. On the 27th of August the <i>Osterley</i> sailed for Lisbon, and on the 4th of September the enemy ships put to sea. On the 3rd of October Best sailed from there with the Court's ships <i>Prince Henry</i>, <i>Hawke</i>, <i>Boscawen</i>, <i>Osterley</i> and <i>Fox</i>. The captain also reported that on the 6th of October he discovered a leak that made his ship take two feet of water an hour. It was resolved by a consultation of commanders, in latitude 17 degrees 22 minutes south, that he should proceed at once to Rio de Janeiro, where he arrived on the 16th and left on the 6th of November for England. On the 20th of December, finding his men very sickly and being in great want of provisions, he thought it necessary to put in at the island to get a supply and refresh his ship's company. The longboat the Council sent from the island, for the reasons set out in its consultation of 4 April 1759, had got to windward of the French ships then cruising off the island. But unluckily, taking those ships for three of the Court's own, she bore down to them. She was too near when her error was found to get away. The French took her on the 17th of April, and Mr Bendy and his crew were exchanged at the Bay of All Saints and went home aboard the Court's ships that sailed from there. Interpretations

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		§Bay of All Saints, & went home on your Ships, that§ §sailed from thence§	The blockade of six Company ships at All Saints reveals how French cruisers could pin a whole squadron in a neutral harbour for months. Six vessels held in a Brazilian port until the enemy chose to leave shows the reach of French naval power in the South Atlantic, and St Helena's value lay in receiving from an arriving captain the full account of this distant blockade and passing it to London. The fate of the island's own longboat exposes the peril of the reconnaissance the Council had earlier launched. The scout boat mistook the enemy for friendly ships, closed with them and was taken, which reveals how the very intelligence-gathering the island improvised against the French threat could deliver its men into enemy hands, the hazard of scouting in contested waters made plain by the loss of the boat and the capture of Bendy and his crew. The captain's decision to put in at the island for supply and refreshment shows St Helena resuming its essential role as a relief station once the immediate danger passed. A leaking ship with a sick crew and failing provisions turned to the island for rescue, which reveals how the settlement, for all the enemy cruisers that haunted its waters, remained the indispensable place of resort for vessels struggling home across the ocean.
51	41	As the last Quarters Accounts in their usual course§ §will not be ready to be laid before us until Monday next§ §we for these reasons cannot send your Honors a Cash§ §Account to a later date, than a Duplicate of our last,§ §made up to the 26 of Decr 1759§ §The usual Summer Rains, have hitherto entirely§ §failed us, & we are still under the same apprehensions on§ §that account, as we were when we wrote last to your§ §Honors§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §27th Jany 1760§ §Yours &c§ §Signd Charles Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §Matt Purling§ §List of the Packet per Ship Tavistock, dated 27th Jany§ §1760 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letr dated 27th Jany 1760§ §2 Consultations from 31 Decr 1759 to 25th Jany Do§ §3 First Receipt for the Packet per Ship Pitt§ §4 List of Officers & Servant taken 27th Jany 1760§ §5 Effective State of the Garrison§ §6 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee§ §7 Acc of the Cargo of Ship Tavistock§ §8 Ship Tavistocks Acc§ §9 List of Cattle supplied the Ships Pitt & Warren§ §10 Arrival of Ship Tavistocks Boat at Bankes§	Since the last quarter's accounts would not be ready to be laid before the Council until the following Monday, it could not for that reason send the Court any account to a later date than a duplicate of its last, made up to 26 December 1759. The usual summer rains had so far entirely failed, and the Council remained under the same apprehensions on that account as when it last wrote to the Court. The letter was sent from St Helena on 27 January 1760, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. List of the packet sent aboard the <i>Tavistock</i> dated 27 January 1760. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 27 January 1760. 2: Consultations from 31 December 1759 to 25 January 1760. - Item 3 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Pitt</i>. 4: List of officers and servants taken on 27 January 1760. 5: Effective state of the garrison. 6: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 7: Account of the <i>Tavistock</i>'s cargo. 8: The <i>Tavistock</i>'s account. 9: List of cattle supplied to the ships <i>Pitt</i> and <i>Warren</i>. 10: Arrival of the <i>Tavistock</i>'s boat at Bankes.
52	42	No 11 Duplicate Govr & Councils General Letter dated 26 Decr§ §12 Do Consultations from 17th Sept to 24th Decr 1759 Do§ §13 Do Cash Acc from 12 Sept to 11th Oct Do§ §14 Do Do from 12 Oct to 11 Novr Do§ §15 Do Do from 12th Novr to 11th Decr Do§ §16 Do Do from 12 to the 26 Decr Do§ §17 Do Account of the Cargo of Ship Pitt§ §18 Do Ship Pitts Account§ §19 Do Acc of the Cargo of Ship Warren§ §20 Second Receipt for the Packet per Ship Eastcourt§ §21 Duplicate List of Rents dated 11th Oct 1759§ §22 Do List of Familys dated 11 Oct Do§ §23 Do List of the Honble Companys Slaves dated 11	11: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 26 December. 12: Duplicate consultations from 17 September to 24 December 1759. 13: Duplicate cash account from 12 September to 11 October. 14: Duplicate cash account from 12 October to 11 November. 15: Duplicate cash account from 12 November to 11 December. 16: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 26 December. 17: Duplicate account of the <i>Pitt</i>'s cargo. 18: The <i>Pitt</i>'s account. 19: Duplicate account of the <i>Warren</i>'s cargo.

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		Oct 1759§ §24 Muster Rolls of the Garrison dated 11th Jany 1760§ §25 Duplicate Ship Warrens Account§ §26 Do List of the Packet per Ship Pitt dated 26 Decr 1759§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to you last, by your Ship§ §Tavistock, that sailed from hence, the 29 of January§ §On the 21 instant, arrived your Honors§ §Ship, the Earl of Holdernessee, Capt Brooke from Bencoolen,§ §who acquaints Us, that the Delawar, was to be dispatched§ §in three Weeks after he left that place, And likewise tells§ §Us, that he heard, there had been an engagement in Sept§ §last, between our Squadron, & the French, but knows§ §nothing of the particulars§	Item 20 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>Eastcourt</i>. 21: Duplicate list of rents dated 11 October 1759. 22: Duplicate list of families dated 11 October. 23: Duplicate list of the Company's slaves dated 11 October 1759. 24: Muster rolls of the garrison dated 11 January 1760. 25: Duplicate account of the <i>Warren</i>. 26: Duplicate list of the packet by the <i>Pitt</i> dated 26 December 1759. To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Tavistock</i>, which sailed from the island on the 29th of January. On the 21st of this month the Court's ship the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>, Captain Brooke, arrived from Bencoolen. He reported that the <i>Delaware</i> was to be dispatched about three weeks after he left that place. He also said he had heard there had been an engagement in September between the English squadron and the French, but knew nothing of the particulars. Interpretations The list of the Company's slaves in item twenty-three, sent again in duplicate with the rolls of rents and families, marks the steady accounting of slaves as a permanent asset of the settlement. Copied and forwarded alongside the other standing registers, the island's slaves were reckoned as regularly as its rents and its inhabitants, which shows a human population held in bondage entered into the ordinary paperwork of the station and sent home to London by more than one ship against loss at sea.
53	43	The 23 of this Month, arrived a Dane Ship from§ §China, called the Crown Prince of Denmark, Capt Jergin§ §Dixen, Burthen about 700 Tons, carries 24 Guns & 110§ §Men, Laden with Tea, & China Ware, bound to Copenhagen,§ §The Capt informs Us, that he left China the 2 day of§ §January last, & eleven of your Honors Ships there, the§ §Valentine, & Suffolk, were not arrived by his account, He§ §further acquaints Us, that there were at China this§ §Season, besides the eleven English Ships, three Dutch§ §three Dane, two Swede, & two French, & a Country Ship§ §from Bengall, that sailed from thence, with the Dane§ §On the 26 of this Month, another Dane Ship§ §which sailed with the former from Canton, called the§ §King of Denmark, Capt George Alphinston, Burthen§ §about 800 Tons, carries 30 Guns, & 130 Men, Laden§ §with Tea, & China Ware, bound likewise to Copenhagen,§ §The Capt acquaints Us, that he has not seen any§ §Ships since he left China§ §We are sorry to acquaint you, that the§ §Pastures continue still very short, several Cattle, have§ §already died, but as some favourable Rains have§ §lately fallen, We are in hopes, no more Cattle, will be§ §lost, & that the Island, will soon be in a better§ §condition§ §This morning arrived your Ship Triton,§ §Capt Harris, who delivered Us a Packet from your§ §Honors; We opened & read your Letter to Us, & beg§ §leave§	On the 23rd of this month a Danish ship from China arrived, called the <i>Crown Prince of Denmark</i>, Captain Jergin Dixen, of about 700 tons burthen, carrying 24 guns and 110 men, laden with tea and China ware and bound for Copenhagen. The captain reported that he left China on the 2nd of January, and that eleven of the Court's ships were there. The <i>Valentine</i> and <i>Suffolk</i> were not covered by his account. He further reported that this season there were at China, besides the eleven English ships, three Dutch, three Danish, two Swedish and two French, together with a country ship from Bengal that sailed from there with the Danish ship. On the 26th of this month another Danish ship arrived, which sailed with the former from Canton, called the <i>King of Denmark</i>, Captain George Elphinston, of about 800 tons burthen, carrying 36 guns and 130 men, laden with tea and China ware and bound likewise for Copenhagen. The captain reported that he had not seen any ship since he left China. The Council was sorry to report that the pastures were still very short and several cattle had already died. But since some favourable rain had lately fallen, it hoped no more cattle would be lost and that the island would soon be in a better condition. This morning the Court's ship the <i>Triton</i>, Captain Harris, arrived and delivered a packet from the Court. The Council opened and read the Court's letter. Interpretations The tally of national flags at Canton in the first passage reveals how the China trade drew the shipping of every European maritime power to a single point. Eleven English ships lay alongside Dutch, Danish, Swedish and French vessels in the same season, which shows Canton as the shared terminus of a global commerce where rival nations traded side by side, and St Helena's value lay in gathering this picture of the season's shipping from passing captains and relaying it home. The arrival of Danish East Indiamen at the island shows how St Helena served as a waypoint for the shipping of other nations as well as its own. Large

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			Danish vessels homeward from Canton called or passed by, and the Council recorded their tonnage, guns and cargo, which reveals the island as an observation point on a sea road used by the trading fleets of all Europe, its position letting it monitor a commerce far wider than the Company's own. The first sign of relief in the long drought appears in the note that favourable rain had lately fallen. After repeated reports of cattle dying on the short pastures, the Council allowed itself a cautious hope, which shows how completely the settlement's fortunes rose and fell with the weather, a little rain enough to lift the prospect of a place that lived so near the edge of its own food supply.
54	44	leave to assure you, the Orders therein, shall be§ §punctually complied with§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §28th March 1760§ §Your most Obedient & most humble Servts§ §Signed Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§ §Since writing the foregoing, we have§ §been informed that the French left this Coast§ §immediately after the Action, & that Admiral§ §Pocock was joined by Admiral Cornish, & the§ §Fleet had proceeded for Bombay§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §31 March 1760§ §Your most Obedient & most humble Servts§ §Signed§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	The Council assured the Court that the orders in the letter would be carried out exactly. The letter was sent from St Helena on 28 March 1760, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. Since writing the above, the Council was informed that the French left the coast immediately after the action, and that Admiral Pocock had been joined by Admiral Cornish, and the fleet had proceeded for Bombay. This further note was sent from St Helena on 31 March 1760, the Council again subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling.
55	45	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Address to your Honors went by a Dane Ship§ §called the King of Denmark, that sailed from hence the 21§ §of March§ §2 On the 28 of that Month arrived your Ship Triton§ §Capt Fra. Harris by whom We recd a Packet from your§ §Honrs which We opened, & read in Consultation of that§ §day, It gives Us pleasure to send, that our Princes down§ §to as late a date, as his Honrs dispatch went safe to you, & we§ §hope you will likewise receive our Letters by the Ship§ §Tavistock§ §3 All orders that may be recd from the Gentlemen of§ §the Secret Committee, or any three of them shall be duely§ §Obedied, & complied with§ §4 It gives Us infinite pleasure to hear, that all§ §your Ships happily escaped the Enemy, that was§ §Cruising off this Island, to intercept them last Year, &§ §We hope they will all arrive safe in England§ §5 The ill success of the beforementioned Cruisers§ §together with the difficulties, & distress they labour'd§ §under, when on their Cruise We imagine will deterr§ §them from the like enterprize in future, It gives Us§ §great satisfaction to find that your approve of our§ §having fitted out a Long Boat, to advertize the Commanders§	To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. 1: The last letter went to the Court aboard a Danish ship called the <i>King of Denmark</i>, which sailed from the island on the 31st of March. 2: On the 28th of that month the Court's ship the <i>Triton</i>, Captain Francis Harris, arrived, bringing a packet from the Court which the Council opened and read in its consultation of that day. The Council was pleased to send its accounts down to as late a date as the 11th of September, which went safe to the Court, and hoped the Court would likewise receive the letters sent by the <i>Tavistock</i>. 3: All orders received from the gentlemen of the Secret Committee, or any three of them, would be exactly obeyed and carried out. 4: The Council was very glad to hear that all the Court's ships had happily escaped the enemy that was cruising off the island to intercept them the previous season, and hoped they would all arrive safe in England. 5: The failure of the cruisers already named, together with the difficulties and distress they laboured under while cruising, would the Council imagined deter them from the like enterprise in future. The Council was very glad the Court approved of its having fitted out a longboat to warn the commanders of the Court's ships of the French cruisers being to windward of the island. Interpretations The Court's approval of the longboat in paragraph five vindicates the Council's earlier decision to improvise its own naval warning. The home authority endorsed the fitting out of a scout to alert

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		§of your Ships, of their being Cruisers to Windward of the§ §Island§	incoming ships to the French threat, which shows how a measure taken locally under pressure of circumstance was later confirmed from London, the island's initiative in its own defence rewarded rather than questioned.
56	46	6 We flatter ourselves, that the like Signal Success will§ §always attend His Majestys Arms, that it has pleased God,§ §to bless them, with this War, & that all Schemes the Enemy§ §may meditate against any part of His Majestys§ §Dominions, may constantly prove abortive§ §7 Whatever Ships, or Force, the French have, or intend§ §to send to the East Indies, to Annoy your Trade, or§ §Settlements there, We make no doubt, will be rendered§ §ineffectual, by the Superior Force of His Majestys§ §Fleets, & vigilance of His Officers, in conjunction with,§ §your own, & your Honrs may entirely rely on Us, to do§ §Our utmost, Vigorously to oppose, all attempts they may§ §make against this Place§ §8 & We sincerely wish success to those Ships, you have§ §taken up this Year, to carry on your Trade, & that all§ §your Advices, to the several Settlements may be duely§ §recd, The List of the times of the Departure & Arrival§ §of your Ships, that accompanied your Letter came safe§ §to Us§ §9 The supplies of Stores, you have been pleased to send§ §Us, by this Ship, & what you intend by the Royal Duke will§ §sufficiently answer Our demands, The Ship Triton having§ §landed her Stores in the limitted Time, We gave the Capt§ §sailing Orders, on the 10 instant§ §10 We shall be very careful in Descouting particularly§ §every circumstance in respect, to any part of our§ §consignment, that may in future appear to be damaged§ §or short delivered, & in stating the Account thereof shall§ §attend to the Clause in the Charter party & your directions thereupon§	6: The Council trusted that the like success would always attend His Majesty's arms in the war it had pleased God to bless them with, and that every scheme the enemy might devise against any part of His Majesty's dominions would constantly prove fruitless. 7: Whatever ships or force the French had, or intended to send, to the East Indies to harm the Court's trade or settlements there would, the Council had no doubt, be rendered ineffectual by the superior force of His Majesty's fleet and the vigilance of its officers, together with the Court's own. The Court could entirely rely on the Council to do its utmost to oppose vigorously any attempt the French might make against the island. 8: The Council sincerely wished success to the ships the Court had taken up this year to carry on its trade, and hoped all its instructions to the several settlements would be duly received. The list of the times of departure and arrival of the Court's ships that accompanied its letter came safe. 9: The supplies of stores the Court had sent by the <i>Triton</i>, and what it intended by the <i>Royal Duke</i>, would sufficiently answer the island's demands. The <i>Triton</i> having landed her stores within the time limited, the Council gave her sailing orders on the 10th of this month. 10: The Council would be very careful in reporting particularly every circumstance regarding any part of its consignment that might in future appear to be damaged or short delivered. In making the account of it, the Council would attend to the clause in the charter party, and the Court's directions on it would Interpretations The reference to the charter party clause in paragraph ten shows how the terms of hired shipping governed the settlement of loss. Damage or short delivery had to be reckoned against a specific contractual provision, which reveals how the relationship between the Company and the owners of chartered vessels was regulated down to the handling of spoiled or missing goods, the charter party serving as the framework within which every claim was measured.
57	47	11 All such Persons, that we shall hereafter Order to§ §England, on any of your Ships, We will pay the respective§ §Commanders £5 per Head for, as you have been pleased to§ §direct, unless any such Persons, be put on board, to make§ §up the Ships Complement§ §12 Whatever Damages, or deficiencies, may appear in§ §examining the Stores consigned to Us by the Ship Triton§ §shall be adjusted in the manner you have directed§ §13 We shall oblige all such Persons, that We Order, or§ §permit, to take Passage on board any of your Ships, to§ §sign an instrument, in Writing, before they leave this§ §place, to renounce all claim, or demand, on the Owners§ §or pretence of their having assisted in Navagating the§ §Ship, which Instrument We shall transmit to you§ §14 Your Honrs may Depend upon Our continuing to§ §communicate all intelligence in respect, to your	11: For all persons the Council might afterwards order to England aboard any of the Court's ships, it would pay the respective commanders the five pounds a head the Court had directed, unless such persons were put aboard to make up the ship's complement. 12: Whatever damage or deficiency might appear on examining the stores consigned by the <i>Triton</i> would be settled in the manner the Court had directed. 13: The Council would oblige all persons it ordered or permitted to take passage aboard any of the Court's ships to sign a written instrument, before they left the island, renouncing all claim or demand on the owners on the pretence of having assisted in navigating the ship. This instrument would be sent to the Court. 14: The Court could depend on the Council continuing to send all intelligence about its affairs that came to its knowledge from time to time. For the future it would send the names of the passengers aboard the ships that sailed, and of any others who left the island. 15: Since the Court had altered the disposition of its tonnage this year, so that no ship would be dispatched directly home from Fort Marlborough, the

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		Affairs§ §that shall from Time to Time come to Our knowledge, &§ §shall transmit you for the future, the names of the§ §Passengers, that are on board the Ships that sail, & on§ §any others that they may leave here§ §15 As you have been pleased to alter the disposition§ §of your Tonnage this Year, whereby no Ship will be§ §dispatched directly Home from Fort Marlbro We shall§ §write to the several Presidencies, to furnish Us, with what§ §Sugar We have occasion for§ §16 When ever we are in want of Boats, we shall take§ §care to supply Ourselves, from your returning Ships§	Council would write to the several Presidencies to furnish it with what sugar it had occasion for. 16: Whenever the Council was in want of boats, it would take care to supply itself from the Court's returning ships. Interpretations The renunciation instrument in paragraph thirteen reveals how the Company guarded itself against wage claims from passengers who lent a hand at sea. Anyone taking passage had to sign away in advance any demand for having helped work the ship, which shows the Company anticipating and closing off a legal liability before it could arise, the written waiver protecting the shipowners from claims by those they carried. The five pounds a head in paragraph eleven shows the fixed accounting that governed the carriage of people on Company ships. A set payment to the commander for each person sent to England, waived only when the passenger filled out the crew, reveals how even the transport of individuals was reduced to a standard charge, the movement of people priced and regulated like any other item of the Company's business. The redirection of the sugar supply in paragraph fifteen shows how a change in shipping policy rippled through the island's provisioning. Because no ship would now come directly from Fort Marlborough, the Council had to arrange its sugar from other settlements, which reveals how dependent the island's supply of particular goods was on the specific pattern of the Company's sailings, a shift in tonnage forcing it to seek its necessities elsewhere.
<u>58</u>	48	17 We shall acquaint the Gentlemen Supra Cargoes§ §with the permission you are pleased to give, for one or two§ §of them, to take their passage, on any Neutral, Ships that§ §shall happen to touch here in their way to Europe§ §18 Having as much Salt Provision remaining last§ §Year, as would have served us, until the Year 1761, we§ §therefore did not Indent for any more, The quantity you§ §have been pleased to order to be sent this season, with§ §what we have now in Store, will Last us for three Years§ §to come, we hope it will keep good, & beg leave to assure§ §you, that no care shall be wanting in us, to prevent§ §any of it from spoiling, The prize Brandy, you have§ §been pleased to send Us, we find is Invoiced at 5s 4½d per Gallon§ §which is 7½d more, than the fixed price of Spirituous Liquors§ §to your Servants, & only 4½d less, than it is Sold at to the§ §Planters, so that upon the whole reckoning the unavoidable§ §waste thereon, you will scare save the Invoice price, which§ §is too dear for this place§ §19 We are pleased your Honrs have sent Us the§ §Powatzez, as they will be very serviceable, in case we§ §should be Attacked, We have likewise received the§ §Timber for a new Draw Bridge, which was much§ §wanted, & shall be immediately applied to that purpose§ §20 We are glad our not consigning the Gun Powder§ §to Fort Marlborough the last Year, met with your§ §approbation, we really want all we have in Store, for§ §the service of this Garrison§ §21 The four Chests of Claret, you have been pleased§ §to§	17: The Council would inform the supercargoes of the leave the Court had given for one or two of them to take passage aboard any neutral ship that might touch at the island on its way to Europe. 18: Since the island had as much salt provisions remaining last year as would serve it until 1761, the Council did not indent for any more. The quantity the Court had ordered sent this season, together with what was now in store, would last three years to come. The Council hoped it would keep good, and assured the Court that no care would be wanting to prevent any of it from spoiling. The prize brandy the Court had sent was invoiced at five shillings and threepence a gallon, which was fourpence more than the fixed price of spirituous liquors to the Court's servants, and only fourpence-halfpenny less than it was sold at to the planters. So on the whole reckoning, allowing for the unavoidable waste, the Court would scarcely save the invoice price, which was too dear for the island. 19: The Council was pleased the Court had sent the fire engines, as they would be very serviceable if the island were attacked. It had also received the timber for a new drawbridge, which was much wanted and would be immediately applied to that purpose. 20: The Council was glad its not consigning the gunpowder to Fort Marlborough the previous year met with the Court's approval, since it really wanted all it had in store for the service of the garrison. 21: The four chests of claret the Court had sent Interpretations The pricing of the prize brandy in paragraph eighteen exposes how captured goods reached the island on unfavourable terms. Brandy taken as a prize was invoiced so close to its retail price that, once waste was allowed for, the Company would barely recover its cost, which reveals how the accounting of prize goods could leave a settlement paying nearly the selling price for supplies and questioning whether they were worth having. The vindication over the gunpowder in paragraph twenty confirms the Council's earlier refusal to part with its munitions. London approved the decision to keep the powder rather than send it to Fort Marlborough, which shows how the island's insistence

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			on its own defensive needs, maintained against a call from another settlement, was endorsed by the home authority as the correct judgement. The graduated pricing of spirits to servants and planters in paragraph eighteen shows again how the island used price to distinguish between classes of its people. Company servants paid one rate and planters another, which reveals a settled practice of charging the outside cultivator more than the Company's own, the same differential applied to liquor that governed the sale of meat and marking the social divide written into the island's commerce.
59	49	to Send, for the Table, your Honrs may be assured, will be§ §made use of, as you have directed§ §22 We shall take particular care, to sell at public§ §Auction, all such Goods, as shall be decayed, or damaged§ §after a proper survey thereof shall be made, The Camblet§ §mentioned in the 30 Paragraph of your Letter, shall§ §be disposed of in that manner, it is by long lying Mothy§ §eaten, the high price, it was Invoiced at, prevented its§ §Selling§ §23 As the prohibition upon Flour is taken, off, we§ §shall discontinue Sending the usual Certificates§ §24 As we find we shall be able, to get Money sufficient§ §for the service of the current Year, for Bills upon your§ §Honors, we shall take no Treasure out of the Triton, or§ §Royal Duke§ §25 Your Officers both Civil & Military, beg leave to§ §return your Honrs thanks, for indulging them, to have the§ §salt Provision out of your Stores, at the same rate the§ §Soldiers have, We shall take particular care, none shall§ §be issued to them, but what is immediately for their own§ §use, & we are pretty sure the Gain on Flour, will upon§ §the whole, be at least Adequate, to the loss upon Beef§ §& Pork§ §26 We are glad to inform you, that we have lately§ §had some favourable Rains which gives us reason,§ §to hope, that we shall have no further loss of Cattle,§ §And you may depend upon our taking all proper§ §means to supply the Ships, in the best manner we are able§	The four chests of claret the Court had sent for the table would, the Council assured the Court, be used only as directed. 22: The Council would take particular care to sell at public auction all goods that were decayed or damaged, once a proper survey of them had been made. The camlet mentioned in the 30th paragraph of the Court's letter would be disposed of in that manner. Long lying had made it moth-eaten, and the high price it was invoiced at prevented its selling. 23: Since the prohibition on flour was now lifted, the Council would stop sending the usual certificates. 24: As the Council found it would be able to raise enough money for the service of the current year through bills on the Court, it would take no treasure out of the <i>Triton</i> or <i>Royal Duke</i>. 25: The Court's officers, both civil and military, returned their thanks to the Court for letting them have salt provisions from its stores at the same rate the soldiers paid. The Council would take particular care that none was issued to them but what was immediately for their own use. It was fairly sure that the gain on flour would, on the whole, be at least equal to the loss on beef and pork. 26: The Council was glad to report that it had lately had some favourable rain, which gave reason to hope there would be no further loss of cattle. The Court could depend on the Council taking all proper means to supply the ships in the best manner it was able. Interpretations The moth-eaten camlet in paragraph twenty-two shows how goods invoiced too dear and left too long became a total loss to the settlement. Cloth that decayed in store and could not be sold at its inflated price had to be auctioned off as damaged, which reveals how the combination of poor pricing from London and slow turnover at a remote station destroyed the value of stock that no one would buy. The balancing of flour against meat in paragraph twenty-five confirms the deliberate cross-subsidy underpinning the island's provisioning. The gain on flour was set against the loss on beef and pork so that the concession to servants cost the Company nothing overall, which shows the Council managing its accounts as a single system in which the profit on one staple deliberately offset the loss on another. The decision to take no treasure in paragraph twenty-four reveals how the island raised its working funds without drawing on shipped bullion. By meeting its expenses through bills drawn on London, the Council left the specie aboard the ships untouched, which shows how a settlement could finance itself on paper credit and spare the Company the need to land coin, the local demand for cash met by drafts payable at home.
60	50	27 & We shall take particular care to Erect new§ §Works if neccessary, & put the Island in all respects, in§ §the best posture of Defence, we possible can, to§ §prevent the Enemy, should they attack it, from making§ §any impression, either upon your Island, or Shipping§	27: The Council would take particular care to construct new works if necessary, and put the island in the best posture of defence it possibly could, to prevent the enemy, should they attack it, from making any impression either on the island or the shipping.

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		§28 We recd twenty Nine, of the Thirty Recruits you were§ §pleased to send Us, one of them Rd Michley having§ §died on the Passage§ §29 We are glad to find, the Suspension of Lt Price§ §met with your approbation, you may Depend upon§ §our keeping up a strict Military discipline, and§ §censuring all those, that shall presume in the least§ §to violate any part thereof§ §30 No Copies of your Register &c in future, shall§ §be delivered to any one, without our Orders, & to prevent§ §any embezzlement of your Effects, no Person shall be§ §intrusted with any part thereof, without giving§ §proper Receipts, to the end that satisfaction may§ §be duely made for deficiencies, The old Iron that§ §Mr Adamson Sold, did not stand upon your Books,§ §but was part of Cart Carriages &c that were useless§ §& broke up§ §31 Agreeable to your Orders, Lt Kirkpatrick is restored§ §to his Station, we have paid him the £100 & his§ §Salary, pay & allowances, from the time of his§ §dismissal, And in case of the Death, or absence§ §of Capt Clark, he shall be taken into the Council as§ §you have been pleased to direct§	28: The Council received twenty-nine of the thirty recruits the Court had sent, one of them, Richard Mickley, having died on the passage. 29: The Council was glad the suspension of Lieutenant Price met with the Court's approval. The Court could depend on the Council keeping up a strict military discipline, and censuring all who should presume to violate any part of it. 30: No copies of the Court's registers, etc., would in future be delivered to anyone without the Council's orders. To prevent any embezzlement of the Court's effects, no person would be entrusted with any part of them without giving a proper receipt, so that any deficiencies might be duly made good. The old iron that Mr Adamson sold did not stand on the Court's books, but was part of cart carriages, etc., that were useless and broken up. 31: In keeping with the Court's orders, Lieutenant Kirkpatrick had been restored to his station, and the Council had paid him the one hundred pounds of his salary, pay and allowances from the time of his dismissal. Should Captain Clark die or be absent, Kirkpatrick would be taken into the Council as the Court had directed. Interpretations The tightened control of records and effects in paragraph thirty shows the Council closing the gaps that the Adamson affair had exposed. Copies of registers were no longer to be released without authority, and every person holding Company property had to give a receipt, which reveals how a specific loss led directly to a new system of accountability, the embezzlement of the Court's effects met with formal controls to fix responsibility on each holder. The restoration of Kirkpatrick with back pay in paragraph thirty-one reveals how a dismissal ordered locally could be reversed from London with full restitution. The officer regained his post and received the salary withheld during his dismissal, which shows the home authority overriding the island's earlier action and restoring the man as though the break had not occurred, the payment of arrears marking a complete reversal of the Council's own decision. The explanation of the old iron in paragraph thirty shows the Council carefully distinguishing between genuine Company property and mere scrap. The iron Adamson sold was accounted for as broken and useless material never entered on the books, which reveals the Council drawing a precise line in answer to the charge against him, separating what was truly the Court's recorded property from the waste that carried no value.
61	51	32 We found it absolutely neccessary, to add a Sergeant§ §& Corporal, to each of the four Companies, as we had not§ §enough to do the Duty, & hope that augmentation§ §33 We have agreeable to your Honrs directions,§ §acquainted the four Senior Lieuts with your appointing§ §them Captains, at the pay of 10s per Day, & in full§ §for Diet Money & House Rent, & the Govr will§ §give them Commission accordingly, They beg leave§ §to return you their most sincere thanks for their§ §promotion§ §34 Agreeable to your permission, We in Consultation§ §of the 24th of last Month, Entertained David Alcock§ §Son of the Reverend Erwin Alcock, decd (who was§ §sometime Chaplain of your Island) a writer in§ §your Service, at the usual Salary, & Diet Money,§ §as we think him capable of discharging that§ §Duty, No Soldier in future, shall be employed to§ §assist in carrying on your business here§	32: The Council found it absolutely necessary to add a sergeant and corporal to each of the four companies, since it had not had enough to do the duty, and hoped that increase would be approved. 33: In keeping with the Court's directions, the Council informed the four senior lieutenants of their appointment as captains, at the pay of ten shillings a day and in full for diet money and house rent, and Governor Hutchinson would give them commissions accordingly. They returned their most sincere thanks for their promotion. 34: With the Court's permission, the Council in its consultation of the 21st of last month engaged David Alcock, son of the Reverend Edwin Alcock, deceased, who was formerly chaplain of the island, as a writer in the Court's service at the usual salary and diet money, believing him capable of discharging that duty. No soldier would in future be employed to assist in carrying on the Court's business at the island. 35: The Council was sorry to find that the bills drawn on 1 April 1759 payable to Henry Hinde had been left out of its letter, and would take particular

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		§35 We are sorry to find, the Bills drawn the 1th April§ §1759 payable to Henry Hinder, were omitted to be§ §inserted in our Letter, we shall take particular care§ §no such mistake shall again happen, Mr Francis§ §Wrangham, who was Secretary, representing to Us§ §in Consultation of the 11 of Feby last, that a disorder§ §which he had been for some time afflicted with in§ §his Head, had rendered him incapable of Acking§ §any longer as Secretary, but that he could Copy,§ §or do any other part of the business Correctly, we§ §for§	care that no such mistake happened again. Mr Francis Wrangham, the secretary, represented to the Council, in its consultation of 11 February, that a disorder he had for some time been afflicted with in his head had rendered him incapable of acting any longer as secretary, but that he could copy or do any other part of the business correctly. Interpretations The engagement of the late chaplain's son as a writer in paragraph thirty-four reveals how the Company provided for the families of its dead servants. The son of a deceased island chaplain was given a clerical post, which shows a settled disposition to place the children of former Company men, the appointment serving as much to support a servant's family as to fill a vacancy in the office. The resolution to employ no soldiers in the office in paragraph thirty-four exposes the difficulty a short-staffed station had in keeping its military and clerical work separate. The need to declare that soldiers would no longer assist with the Court's business implies they had been doing so, which reveals how a thin establishment blurred the line between garrison and administration until the Council resolved to keep the two apart. The secretary's incapacity in paragraph thirty-five shows how the illness of a single key official threatened the whole running of the station's business. Wrangham could no longer act as secretary yet remained able to copy, which reveals how heavily the settlement depended on the health of a handful of men and how it had to work around the failing of one on whom its correspondence and records relied.
62	52	for these reasons agreed to put him upon the establishment§ §of a Factor, at the usual Allowance, And have appointed§ §Mr Matthew Bazett the Senr Factor, Secretary in his stead§ §he having been an assistant, in that Office for many§ §Years, & we believe will discharge that branch of§ §business to your Honrs satisfaction, & therefore hope,§ §these appointments will meet with your approbation§ §36 We shall avoid making any more Indorsements§ §upon Bills of Exchange in future, as you did not§ §approve of that of Edward Biggs§ §37 Our reasons for not giving Capt Mears Bills of§ §Exchange upon your Honrs for £1000 he deposited in§ §your Cash here, was, because we at that time did not§ §want Money, If such an occurrence of this nature§ §should again happen, we will govern ourselves agreeable§ §to your Order, & have transmitted Bills of Exchange to§ §Capt Mear by this conveyance, for that amount, in§ §the form you have been pleased to mention§ §38 Mary Herbert Relict of the late Lt Serjt Herbert,§ §having borne two Children since the Death of her§ §Husband, & causing them to be clandestinely buried,§ §soon after they came into the World, gives great§ §reason from thence, & from other circumstances to§ §suspect, that these Children had been deprived of Life,§ §by some unnatural means, We in Consultation of the§ §10, 11, & 12 of last Month, examined into this affair§ §& likewise transmit you the examination herewith§ §& beg to receive your directions thereupon§	For these reasons the Council agreed to place Wrangham on the establishment of a factor at the usual allowance. It appointed Mr Matthew Bazett, the senior factor, secretary in his stead, he having been an assistant in that office for many years and, the Council believed, likely to discharge that branch of business to the Court's satisfaction. The Council therefore hoped these appointments would meet with the Court's approval. 36: The Council would avoid making any more endorsements on bills of exchange in future, since the Court did not approve of that on the bill of Edward Biggs. 37: The Council's reason for not giving Captain Mears bills of exchange on the Court for the one thousand pounds he deposited in its cash was that it did not want money at that time. Should such an occurrence happen again, the Council would act in keeping with the Court's orders, and had sent Mears bills of exchange for that amount by this conveyance, in the form the Court had directed. 38: Mary Herbert, widow of the late Lieutenant Stephen Herbert, having borne two children since the death of her husband and caused them to be secretly buried soon after they came into the world, gave great reason from that, and from other circumstances, to suspect that the children had been deprived of life by some unnatural means. The Council, in its consultations of the 10th, 11th and 12th of last month, examined into this affair, and sent the Court the examination, hoping to receive its directions on the matter. Interpretations The suspected killing of two infants in paragraph thirty-eight reveals the reach of the Council's judicial inquiry into the gravest matters. A widow's secret burial of two children born after her husband's death raised the suspicion of infanticide, and the Council examined witnesses over three days before referring the case to London, which shows how a remote station investigated a capital crime yet looked to the

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			home authority for direction on how to proceed rather than judging such a matter alone. The secret burials in the same paragraph expose how concealment itself became the ground of suspicion. Children hidden in death rather than registered raised the alarm that they had been unlawfully killed, which reveals how the ordinary expectation that a birth and death be openly acknowledged made any attempt at secrecy evidence of wrongdoing in the eyes of the Council. The appointment of Bazett as secretary in the opening passage shows the settled principle of promotion by seniority and experience within the office. The senior factor, long an assistant in the work, moved up to replace the incapacitated Wrangham, which reveals how the Company filled its key posts from among men already trained in the business, continuity of experience valued in the running of a station where competent clerks were scarce. Speculations Confronted with the suspected killing of Mary Herbert's two infants, the Council could have proceeded to judge the case itself, as it did with lesser offences and as its standing authority might allow. Instead it confined its role to examining witnesses over three days and sent the depositions home for the Court's directions before going further. The record shows the graver course of exercising capital judgement on the island set aside in favour of referring the matter to London, the decision to hold back marking how far a remote council would not reach to try a crime that touched life itself without authority from home.
63	53	39 James Austin Corporal, petitioned us in Consultation§ §of the 3 of last Month, for his discharge, which we§ §granted for the reasons therein set forth, And as he has§ §always behaved well in your Garrison, & having the§ §misfortune to lose his Sight, We beg leave, to§ §recommend him to your Honrs favor, & for your§ §satisfaction, We transmit the Surgeons Certificate§ §of his case§ §40 On the 10th instant, arrived your Ships the Calcutta§ §Capt George Wilson, & Hardwicke, Capt Brooke Samson§ §from Bengall, which place they left the 7 of Jany,§ §We are informed that sometime in June last, the President§ §& Council of Bengall, recd information from your President§ §& Council of Fort St George, that a large armament§ §was equipping at Batavia, but their destination§ §not known§ §The middle of July, one of the Fleets from Batavia§ §arrived in the River of Hughley having been separated§ §from the rest of the Squadron by a gale of wind, she had§ §some military on board, & a number of Buggesses or§ §Malay Troops, As soon as ever the Nabob heard of the§ §arrival of this Dutch Ship with Troops, he wrote to§ §Mr Bisdome the directors of their Factory, & forbid him§ §landing any of the military, or Buggesses, which the§ §directors promised, & assured him they should be sent away§ §as soon as the season would permit him to dispatch§ §the Ships, The Nabob at the same time wrote to§ §Colonel Clive, & desired him to assist his Phousdar§ §the§	39: James Austin, a corporal, petitioned the Council in its consultation of the 21st of last month for his discharge, which was granted for the reasons set out in it. Since he had always behaved well in the garrison, and had the misfortune to lose his sight, the Council recommended him to the Court's favour, and for the Court's satisfaction sent the surgeon's certificate of his case. 40: On the 10th of this month the Court's ships the <i>Calcutta</i>, Captain George Wilson, and <i>Hardwicke</i>, Captain Brooke Sampson, arrived from Bengal, which place they left on the 7th of January. The Council was informed that in June the President and Council of Bengal received information from the President and Council of Fort St George that a large armament was fitting out at Batavia, but that its destination was not known. In the middle of July one of the fleets from Batavia arrived in the River Hooghly, having been separated from the rest of the squadron by a gale of wind. She had some military aboard, along with a number of Buginese or Malay troops. As soon as the Nabob heard of the arrival of this Dutch ship with troops, he wrote to Mr Bisdome, the director of the Dutch factory, and forbade him to land any of the military or Buginese. The director promised this and assured him they would be sent away as soon as the season allowed him to dispatch the ships. At the same time the Nabob wrote to Colonel Clive and desired him to assist his fouzdar. Interpretations The arrival of Dutch troops in the Hooghly reveals the opening of the confrontation that would decide Dutch ambitions in Bengal. A Dutch ship carrying soldiers and Malay troops entering the river alarmed the Nabob, who forbade their landing and turned to Clive for help, which shows how the Company found itself drawn into resisting a Dutch military intrusion, and St Helena's value lay in receiving from arriving captains the account of this distant crisis and relaying it to London.

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			The Nabob's appeal to Clive against the Dutch exposes the intricate balance of authority in Bengal after Plassey. The ruler forbade the Dutch to land their force yet looked to the Company's commander to enforce his will, which reveals how far real power had shifted, the nominal sovereign relying on Clive's soldiers to make good his own prohibition against another European company. The discharge of the blind corporal in paragraph thirty-nine shows the Company's provision for men disabled in its service. A soldier who lost his sight after good conduct was released with a surgeon's certificate and a recommendation to the Court, which reveals a settled practice of supporting servants broken by their service, the medical certificate and the Council's recommendation serving as the warrant for whatever relief the home authority might grant.
64	54	the Govr of Hughley, in opposing the Landing of any dutch§ §Forces in the Country, Things remained very quiet for a§ §long time, Mr Bisdom taking great pains to make the§ §Nabob & Colonel Clive believe the Ship was destined for§ §Negapatam & obliged to bear away by stress of Weather§ §for Bengall, But about the latter end of Sepr the§ §remainder of their Fleet, arrived in Ballasore Road, &§ §some of Our Ships that passed them, observed they were§ §full of European & Malay Soldiers, This intelligence the§ §Colonel transmitted to the Durbar, & in answer received§ §a perwannah from the Nabob, desiring he would by§ §every means in his power, prevent the Landing of any§ §Dutch Troops in his Country, Two Batteries were§ §accordingly erected down the River, & a guard of Seapoys§ §stationed to examine, all Boats going up the River, with§ §Dutch Colours, & if they had Military on board, to stop them§ §In consequence of this measure, several Boats were stopt,§ §& the military sent back, to the Ships§ §This conduct occasioned much altercation, between,§ §your President & Council of Bengall, & the Directors, And§ §Council of Chinsurah, with several Protests from the latter,§ §for stopping their Boats, but as the former acted by Orders§ §from the Nabob, & under his Colours, as his Allies, in virtue§ §of the treaty subsisting between them, the Protests from the§ §Dutch Council occasioned no alterations in their measures,§ §which they were determined to persist in, The Nabob§ §about the middle of Octr came to Calcutta, upon a Visit§ §to Colonel Clive, & in his return to marched added a Regt a few§ §days§	The Nabob also desired the Governor of Hooghly to help in opposing the landing of any Dutch forces in the country. Things remained quiet for a long time, Mr Bisdom taking great pains to make the Nabob and Colonel Clive believe the ship was bound for Negapatam and had been forced to bear away for Bengal by stress of weather. But about the latter end of September the rest of the Dutch fleet arrived in Balasore Road, and some of the Company's ships that passed them saw they were full of European and Malay soldiers. Colonel Clive sent this intelligence to the Durbar, and in answer received a fresh appeal from the Nabob, desiring him to prevent by every means in his power the landing of any Dutch troops in his country. Two batteries were accordingly erected down the river, and a guard of sepoy's stationed to examine all boats going up the river under Dutch colours, and to stop any that had military aboard. As a result several boats were stopped and the soldiers sent back to the ships. This conduct caused much dispute between the President and Council of Bengal and the Director and Council of Chinsurah, with several protests from the latter for stopping their boats. But since the Company acted on orders from the Nabob and under his colours as his ally, in keeping with the treaty between them, the protests from the Dutch Council brought about no change in their measures, which they were determined to persist in. About the middle of October the Nabob came to Calcutta on a visit to Colonel Clive, and on his return to Murshidabad stayed a few Interpretations The examination of boats on the river in the first passage reveals how the Company enforced the Nabob's prohibition through direct military control of the waterway. Batteries and a guard of sepoy's stopped Dutch boats and turned back their soldiers, which shows the Company translating the ruler's command into practical blockade, its forces controlling movement on the Hooghly to prevent the Dutch from landing their troops. The clash of protests in the second passage exposes the legal cover under which the Company acted against the Dutch. By operating under the Nabob's colours as his ally by treaty, the Company deflected the Dutch Council's protests, which reveals how it justified its interference with another European power's shipping as service to the country's sovereign rather than an act of its own, the alliance furnishing the pretext for a course it was determined to pursue. The deception practised by Bisdom in the first passage shows how the Dutch sought to mask a military design behind a tale of misfortune. The director pressed the story that his ship was bound elsewhere and driven into Bengal by weather, which reveals the diplomatic screen thrown over an armed intrusion, the pretence of an innocent passage

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			maintained until the arrival of the rest of the fleet exposed the true intent.
65	55	days at Hughley, where he was visited by Mr Vernet the§ §Dutch second, & while he stayed there, sent a peremptory§ §order to Mr Bisdome, to dispatch their Ships, & Troops away§ §immediately; In answer to which the latter promised under§ §his Seal, in the most solemn manner, that they should§ §return to Batavia, as soon as the season would admit of§ §the Ships leaving the River, with which assurance§ §the Nabob was Satisfied, & left Hughley§ §The instant he was gone, the Dutch began to§ §make further attempts for Landing their Men, by bringing§ §them up by stealth, in small parties, in open violation§ §of their late promise, These attempts were discovered by§ §our own Posts, & by that means entirely frustrated every§ §Scheme the Dutch had planned as we would not suffer§ §a single Soldier, or Malay, to pass up to Chinsurah§ §At last they threw off the mask, & sent your§ §President & Council of Bengall along Protest for stopping§ §their Boats &c & being plainly told them, they were§ §determined to land their Troops at all events, to make§ §reprisals for such stoppages, & violences, as had been§ §committed, to oppose Force, with Force, & make use of the§ §power they had for bringing the English to reason, This§ §Protest was immediately followed with intelligence of§ §their Ships at Culter having fired at, & Stopt the§ §Leopard Snow, a vessel belonging to the Company charged§ §with dispatches for Admiral Cornish, also all belonging§ §to Capt Price, & several English Sloops, that were§ §going down, or returning from the Europe Ships at Culpee§ §whereupon§	The Nabob stayed a few days at Hooghly, where he visited the Dutch second and, while he stayed there, sent a peremptory order to Mr Bisdome to dispatch the Dutch ships and troops away at once. In answer the director promised, under his seal and in the most solemn manner, that they should return to Batavia as soon as the season allowed the ships to leave the river. With this assurance the Nabob was satisfied and left Hooghly. The instant he was gone, the Dutch began further attempts to land their men, bringing them up secretly in small parties in open violation of their late promise. These attempts were discovered by the Company's own posts, and by that means every scheme the Dutch had planned was entirely frustrated, since the Company would not suffer a single soldier or Malay to pass up to Chinsurah. At last the Dutch threw off the mask and sent the President and Council of Bengal a protest for stopping their boats, being plainly told they were determined to land their troops at all events. To make reprisals for the stoppages and violence committed, they would oppose force with force and use the power they had to bring the English to reason. This protest was immediately followed by intelligence that their ships at Culpee had fired on and stopped the <i>Leopard</i>, a snow belonging to the Company charged with dispatches for Admiral Cornish, a grab belonging to Captain Price, and several English sloops that were going down or returning from the Europe ships at Culpee. Interpretations The Dutch resort to open force in the second and third passages marks the moment the confrontation moved from evasion to war. Having failed to smuggle their troops ashore, the Dutch declared they would land them by force and fired on Company shipping, which shows how a contest fought first through deception and blockade escalated into armed hostilities, and St Helena's value lay in receiving from arriving captains the account of this outbreak and relaying it to London. The firing on the Company's vessels at Culpee in the third passage exposes how the Dutch struck at the Company's communications and trade. A dispatch vessel bound for Admiral Cornish, a private grab and English sloops were fired on and stopped, which reveals the Dutch attacking the very sinews of Company activity in the river, the seizure of shipping carrying dispatches and goods marking a direct assault on its power in Bengal. The frustration of the stealthy landings in the second passage shows how the Company's network of posts gave it command of the river approaches. Small parties brought up secretly were detected and turned back, which reveals how thoroughly the Company controlled movement toward Chinsurah, its watch on the waterway defeating the Dutch attempt to infiltrate their force ashore piece by piece.
66	56	Hereupon orders were given to the Commanders of the Calcutta§ §Duke of Dorset, & Hardwicke, to bring their Ships up to the§ §assistance of the Batteries in Cannats reach§ §As the firing at, & seizing of our Vessels was§ §deemed by the President, & Council of Bengall an open§ §declaration of War, they wrote, the Dutch they should§ §esteem it as such, & determined to Act under our own§ §Colours, in resenting that insult, Our Ships were§ §accordingly ordered to fire into those of the Dutch, if	On this, orders were given to the commanders of the <i>Calcutta</i>, <i>Duke of Dorset</i> and <i>Hardwicke</i> to bring their ships up to the assistance of the batteries in Cannanore reach. Since the President and Council of Bengal deemed the firing on and seizing of the Company's vessels an open declaration of war, they wrote that the Dutch should regard it as such, and determined to act under their own colours in avenging the insult. The Company's ships were accordingly ordered to fire into those of the Dutch if they met with any opposition. The commanders of the Dutch fleet threatened to sink the Company's Europe ships if they attempted to pass, but finding the Company's captains determined, they

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		they§ §met with any opposition, The Commadores of the Dutch§ §Fleet threatened to sink our Europe Ships, if they attempted§ §to pass, but finding our Captains determined, they judged§ §it more prudent, to move up the River, a head of our§ §Ships, which they did, till they came to the reach below§ §Cannats, where they disembarked their Troops, & permitted§ §our Ships to pass unmolested§ §On the 23d Nov the President, & Council of Bengal,§ §recd intelligence of their debarkation, Whereupon Colonel§ §Forde, with the Garrison of Fort William, & four field pieces§ §was directed to post himself near Chinsurah, & in§ §conjunction with the Nabobs Troops, to oppose & prevent§ §the party landed from the Dutch Ships getting into their§ §Factory, At the same Time orders were sent to Captain§ §Wilson of the Calcutta, to demand from the Dutch§ §Commadore immediate restitution of the Vessels they had§ §seized, & satisfaction for the insult, & in case of refusal§ §to use Force, & make reprisal, by attacking the Dutch§ §Ships, These orders were put in execution on the 25th Nov§ §when§	judged it more prudent to move up the river ahead of the Company's ships, which they did until they came to the reach below Cannanore, where they disembarked their troops and let the Company's ships pass unmolested. On 23 November the President and Council of Bengal received intelligence of the Dutch landing. On this, Colonel Forde, with the garrison of Fort William and four field pieces, was directed to post himself near Chinsurah and, together with the Nabob's troops, to oppose and prevent the party landed from the Dutch ships from getting into their factory. At the same time orders were sent to Captain Wilson of the <i>Calcutta</i> to demand from the Dutch commander immediate restitution of the vessels they had seized and satisfaction for the insult, and, in case of refusal, to use force and make reprisals by attacking the Dutch ships. These orders were put in execution on the 25th of November, Interpretations The decision to act under their own colours in the second passage marks the point where the Company assumed open responsibility for war on the Dutch. Having earlier operated as the Nabob's ally, the President and Council now avenged the insult in their own name, which shows the Company casting off the cover of the alliance and taking the confrontation upon itself, its ships ordered to fire on the Dutch as a matter of its own quarrel. The double thrust of the Company's response in the third passage reveals a coordinated strategy by land and water. Forde was sent to cut the landed Dutch troops off from their factory while Wilson was ordered to demand restitution and attack the Dutch ships if refused, which shows the Company striking at once at the enemy ashore and afloat, its plan designed to isolate the landed force and punish the fleet in a single combined movement. The Dutch commanders' retreat from their threat in the second passage exposes how resolve decided the confrontation on the river. Having threatened to sink the Company's ships, they drew back when the Company's captains stood firm, which reveals how the balance tipped on the willingness of each side to fight, the Dutch judging discretion the safer course once the English showed they would not be intimidated.
67	57	where the Calcutta Duke of Dorset, & Hardwicke engaged,§ §& took four Dutch Ships, three having escaped them, by§ §being too far down the River to be attacked, but as the§ §Royal George, & Oxford arrived about this time at Culpee,§ §They obliged those three Ships, to stop in consequence of the§ §President & Councils Orders§ §Colonel Forde on the 24th in the evening had a skirmish,§ §with a party of the Garrison from Chinsurah, posted in§ §Chandenagore, to cover the Troops from the Ships & facilitate§ §their getting into Chinsurah, He soon drove them back§ §to their Factory, after having killed, & wounded about forty,§ §& possessed himself of five pieces of Cannon, which they§ §had with them, The next morning Colonel Forde received§ §intelligence, that the Dutch were in sight, upon which§ §he marched out, & formed in a plain through which they§	On the 25th of November the <i>Calcutta</i>, <i>Duke of Dorset</i> and <i>Hardwicke</i> engaged six Dutch ships, three of which escaped by being too far down the river to be attacked. But since the <i>Royal George</i> and <i>Oxford</i> arrived about this time at Culpee, they forced those three ships to stop, in keeping with the President and Council's orders. On the evening of the 24th Colonel Forde had a skirmish with a party of the garrison from Chinsurah, posted in Chandernagore to cover the troops from the ships and help them into Chinsurah. He soon drove them back to their factory, having killed and wounded about forty and taken five pieces of cannon they had with them. The next morning Forde received intelligence that the Dutch were in sight, on which he marched out and formed on a plain through which they had to pass. The action began a little after eight and lasted about half an hour, when the Dutch gave way and were entirely routed, the Company's artillery having done great execution. The enemy had near six hundred Europeans and almost the same number of Buginese. The Company's force did not exceed 250 Europeans and about seven or eight hundred sepoys. The Dutch had near two hundred Europeans killed and wounded, and the greater part of the rest fell into the Company's hands, not above forty having escaped to Chinsurah.

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		§were to pass, The Action began a little after eight, &§ §lasted about half an Hour, when the Dutch gave way,§ §& were entirely routed, our Artillery having done great§ §execution, The Enemy had near 600 Europeans, and§ §almost the same number of Buggesses, Our Force did§ §not exceed 250 Europeans, & about seven, or eight hundred§ §Seapoys, The Dutch had near 200 Europeans killed &§ §wounded, & the major part of the rest, fell into our§ §hands, not above 40 having escaped to Chinsurah§ §This blow having humbled their spirits, & the§ §young Nabob, with his Army being advanced within§ §three Days march of Hughley; They requested in the§ §most submissive manner, a suspension of hostilities§ §and§	This blow having humbled their spirits, and the young Nabob with his army being advanced within three days' march of Hooghly, the Dutch requested in the most submissive manner a suspension of hostilities Interpretations The battle near Chinsurah in the second passage reveals how a small but disciplined Company force could destroy a much larger enemy. Forde routed a Dutch force of near six hundred Europeans and as many Buginese with only 250 Europeans and his sepoys, which shows how superior artillery and resolve overcame numbers, and St Helena's value lay in receiving from arriving ships the account of this decisive victory and relaying it to London. The collapse of Dutch ambition in the final passage exposes how a single defeat and the pressure of the Nabob's advance broke their enterprise. Humbled in the field and threatened by the Nabob's army, the Dutch sued submissively for a suspension of hostilities, which reveals how quickly a bid for power in Bengal could be shattered, the combination of military defeat and the ruler's hostility forcing the aggressor to beg for terms. The disproportion of forces in the second passage shows how heavily the Company relied on locally raised troops. Its 250 Europeans were supported by seven or eight hundred sepoys, which reveals that even in a decisive European contest the Company fought largely with soldiers drawn from the country, the small European core stiffening a much larger native force that made up the bulk of its army.
68	58	& that Commissaries might be appointed to adjust all§ §differences, to the mutual satisfaction of both Parties§ §This was assented to, & after a conference of two or three§ §days, between our deputies & theirs, an accommodation,§ §was settled upon the following terms, The Dutch§ §disavowed the conduct of the Commanders of their Ships in§ §firing at, & seizing, & stopping our Vessels, declared§ §the same to be done without their knowledge, or Orders,§ §& that they were extremely concerned, & ready to make a§ §public apology for what had happened, they are§ §likewise to make good all loss, damage, & expences§ §sustained by the Company, or Individuals in consequence§ §of their Outrages, Which has been confirmed, & ratified§ §by the Directors, & his Council at Chinsurah, under their§ §hand, & the Seal of the Dutch Company, We have in§ §return delivered up all their Ships, Boats, & Vessels, &§ §by our mediations with the Subah, they obtained his§ §pardon, upon signing to observe the following conditions§ §viz That they will never bring Ships of War into the§ §River, That they will not fortify Chinsurah, or any§ §other of their Factories in Bengall, That they will not§ §strengthen their present Works, or make any Esplendia§ §& that they will keep no more than a Garrison of 125§ §Europeans in all their Factories, & raise no Country Force§	The Dutch requested that commissioners might be appointed to settle all differences to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. This was agreed to, and after a conference of two or three days between the Company's deputies and theirs, an accommodation was settled on the following terms. The Dutch disavowed the conduct of the commanders of their ships in firing on and seizing the Company's vessels, declaring it was done without their knowledge or orders, and that they were extremely concerned. They were ready to make a public apology for what had happened, and to make good all loss, damage and expenses sustained by the Company or by individuals as a result of their outrages. This was confirmed and ratified by the Director and his Council at Chinsurah, under their hands and the seal of the Dutch Company. In return the Company delivered up all their ships, boats and vessels, and by its mediation with the Nabob obtained their pardon on their signing to observe the following conditions. The Dutch would never bring ships of war into the river. They would not fortify Chinsurah or any other of their factories in Bengal. They would not strengthen their present works or make any new ones. They would keep no more than a garrison of 125 Europeans in all their factories, and raise no country troops. 41: The Council was further informed that the <i>Royal George</i> was to sail for England a little after the <i>Calcutta</i> and <i>Hardwicke</i> left Bengal, with Colonel Clive, Colonel Forde, Captain Carnac and Mr Sykes aboard, and that the Interpretations The terms imposed on the Dutch in the second passage reveal how completely the Company reduced its rival to impotence in Bengal. The conditions barred the Dutch from bringing warships, fortifying their factories or keeping more than a token garrison, which shows the Company using its victory to strip the Dutch of any future military capacity, the settlement designed to ensure they could never again mount such a challenge.

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		§41 We are further informed that the Royal George, was§ §to sail for England, in a little Time after the Calcutta,§ §Hardwicke, left Bengall, with Colonel Clive, Colonel§ §Forde, Capt Carnac, & Mr Sykes on board, & that the§ §Duke§	The disavowal of the ships' commanders in the first passage exposes the diplomatic fiction that allowed both sides to settle. The Dutch Council blamed the outbreak on its captains acting without orders, which reveals how the offending party preserved appearances by casting the blame on subordinates, the pretence that the aggression was unauthorised furnishing the ground on which peace and apology could be built. The Company's mediation for the Dutch pardon in the first passage shows how it exploited its position as the Nabob's ally to control the outcome. Having defeated the Dutch, the Company then interceded with the ruler to obtain their pardon on its own terms, which reveals how it turned its alliance to advantage twice over, first to justify the war and then to dictate the peace, the Nabob's authority serving the Company's purpose at every stage.
69	59	Duke of Dorset, Capt Forrester, was to be dispatched early in§ §March for England, The Oxford Capt Webber to Sail from§ §Bengall, the latter end of Jany, for Madrass, & from thence§ §home; The Denham Capt Tryon, & the Ajax Captain§ §Lindsay, with their Salt Petre, & Red Wood, to fill up at§ §Bencoolen with Pepper, the former to leave Bengall§ §the latter end of Jany, & the latter about a Month§ §after, & that the Stormont Capt Fletcher, & the§ §Houghton Capt Newton, were to leave Bengall in Feby§ §for Bombay, & from thence to be dispatched for Europe,§ §And that the Stretham Capt Mason, was unfortunately§ §lost going up the River of Bengall in Oct last, but§ §great part of your Honrs Cargo was Saved§ §42 The Passengers on board the Earl of Holdernessee are§ §Mr & Mrs Braham, & Mr Christian, On board the§ §Calcutta, Mrs Watts, Capt Mason, Capt Powell, Mr§ §Cooke, Mr Holmes, Mr Sheppey, & Mr Russell, Capt§ §Mason takes his passage on the Earl of Holdernessee§ §for England, And on board the Hardwicke, Mr &§ §Mrs Mackett, Mr Beecher, Mr Foott, & Mrs Lysler§ §43 As the last Quarter Accounts will not be laid§ §before Us, until the 26th of this Month, We therefore§ §cannot send your Honrs a Cash Acc to a later date, than§ §the 11th of March 1760§ §44 The Govr hath paid £100 into your Cash, which§ §we have recd & given him Bills of Exchange drawn§ §on your Honrs for that Sum, payable to Wm Watts§ §Esqr or Order, 90 Days after sight dated the 7th instant§ §Captain§	The <i>Duke of Dorset</i>, Captain Forrester, was to be dispatched early in March for England. The <i>Oxford</i>, Captain Webber, was to sail from Bengal at the latter end of January for Madras and from there home. The <i>Denham</i>, Captain Tryon, and the <i>Ajax</i>, Captain Lindsay, with their salt petre and red wood, were to fill up at Bencoolen with pepper, the former to leave Bengal at the latter end of January and the latter about a month after. The <i>Stormont</i>, Captain Fletcher, and the <i>Houghton</i>, Captain Newton, were to leave Bengal in February for Bombay, and from there to be dispatched for Europe. The <i>Streatham</i>, Captain Mason, was unfortunately lost going up the River of Bengal in October, but great part of the Court's cargo was saved. 42: The passengers aboard the <i>Earl of Holderness</i> were Mr and Mrs Braham and Mr Christian. Aboard the <i>Calcutta</i> were Mrs Watts, Captain Mason, Captain Powell, Mr Cooke, Mr Holmes, Mr Sheppey and Mr Russell. Captain Mason took his passage aboard the <i>Earl of Holderness</i> for England. Aboard the <i>Hardwicke</i> were Mr and Mrs Mackett, Mr Beecher, Mr Tooth and Mrs Lyster. 43: Since the last quarter's accounts would not be laid before the Council until the 26th of this month, it could not send the Court a cash account to a later date than 11 March 1760. 44: Governor Hutchinson had paid one hundred pounds into the Court's cash, for which the Council had received and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to William Watts or order ninety days after sight, dated the 7th of this month. Interpretations The loss of the <i>Streatham</i> in the River of Bengal in the first passage shows how the hazards of navigation could destroy a ship yet spare her cargo. The vessel was lost going up the river in October, but the greater part of the Court's goods was recovered, which reveals how the shallow and treacherous approaches to Bengal claimed ships even in harbour waters, though the salvage of the cargo softened the commercial blow of the wreck. The bill of exchange in paragraph forty-four continues the pattern by which the island moved money to England on paper. The Governor paid coin into the Court's cash and took a bill payable in London after ninety days, which shows the settled mechanism by which the settlement gained ready funds while the payer secured a safe claim at home, bullion spared the dangers of the sea in favour of a draft.
70	60	45 Capt John Clark hath likewise paid £100 into§ §your Cash, which we have recd & given him Bills of§ §Exchange, drawn on your Honrs for that Sum,	45: Captain John Clark had likewise paid one hundred pounds into the Court's cash, for which the Council had received and given him bills of

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		payable§ §to Capt Chs Fowlis, or Order 90 Days after sight, dated§ §the 7 instant§ §46 Mr Matt Bazett applied to Us to pay £100§ §into your Cash, which we have recd & given him§ §Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honrs for that§ §Sum payable to Capt Chs Fowlis, or Order 90 Days§ §after sight dated the 7 instant§ §47 We have likewise drawn Bills upon your Honrs§ §for the sum of £1000 payable to Capt Chs Mear§ §or Order, 90 Days after sight, being the Money he§ §deposited in your Cash last Year, the Bills are drawn§ §conditionally, on his delivering up our Receipts, &§ §dated the 7th instant§ §48 Capt Robt Brooke, applied to Us to pay £680§ §into your Cash, which we have recd & given him Bills§ §of Exchange drawn on your Honrs for that Sum§ §payable to Capt Robt Brooke Senr or Order, 90 Days§ §after sight, dated this day§ §49 We transmit you enclosed a List of Discharged§ §Soldiers, & others, & Pursuant, to your directions§ §have taken a Receipt from Capt Brooke for £5§ §paid to him for the Passage of Jas Austin§ §Corporal, & likewise have sent an Instrument§ §signed by John Whiter, & Js Austin renouncing§ §any claim, or demand whatsoever, upon the Owners§	exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Captain Charles Fowler or order ninety days after sight, dated the 7th of this month. 46: Mr Matthew Bazett applied to the Council to pay one hundred pounds into the Court's cash, for which the Council had received and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Captain Charles Fowler or order ninety days after sight, dated the 7th of this month. 47: The Council had likewise drawn bills on the Court for the sum of one thousand pounds, payable to Captain Charles Mears or order ninety days after sight, being the money he deposited in the Court's cash the previous year. The bills were drawn conditionally, on his delivering up the Council's receipt, and dated the 7th of this month. 48: Captain Robert Brooke applied to the Council to pay six hundred and eighty pounds into the Court's cash, for which the Council had received and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Captain Robert Brooke, senior, or order ninety days after sight, dated this day. 49: The Council sent the Court a list of discharged soldiers. In keeping with the Court's directions, it had taken a receipt from Captain Brooke for the five pounds paid to him for the passage of James Austin, corporal, and had also sent an instrument signed by John White and James Austin renouncing any claim or demand whatsoever on the owners. Interpretations The conditional bill to Captain Mears in paragraph forty-seven reveals the care with which the Council guarded against double payment. The new bills were drawn only against his surrender of the earlier receipt, which shows how the settlement protected itself when correcting a previous omission, tying the issue of fresh drafts to the return of the old acknowledgement so that no man could claim the same sum twice. The renunciation instrument in paragraph forty- nine confirms the Company's standing guard against wage claims from those it carried. The discharged corporal and another man signed away any demand on the shipowners, which shows the settled practice of extracting a written waiver from every passenger before departure, the Company closing off in advance the liability that might arise from any hand lent in working the ship. The cluster of bills of exchange across these paragraphs shows how the island functioned as a financial exchange for private funds bound for England. Several men paid coin into the Court's cash and took bills payable in London, which reveals how the settlement served as a place where individuals could convert money into safe claims at home, the Company gaining ready cash on the island while sparing the payers the risk of shipping specie.
71	61	Captain of the said Ship, for Wages for their Passage§ §from hence to England§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §14 April 1760§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servants§ §(Signed) Chs Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§ §List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §per Ship Earl of Holdernes, dated the 14 April 1760 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Lettr dated 14 April 1760§ §2 Duplicate Do dated 27 Jany Do§	The instrument renounced any claim on the captain of the ship for wages for their passage from the island to England. The letter was sent from St Helena on 14 April 1760, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Earl of Holderness</i> dated 14 April 1760. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 April 1760. 2: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 27 January. 3: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 31 March. 4: Consultations from 28 January to 14 April.

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		§3 Do Do dated 31 March Do§ §4 Consultations from the 28th Jany to the 14 April Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 31 Decr 1759 to the 25 Jany Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet per Ship Tavistock§ §7 Second Receipt for Do per Ship Pitt§ §8 List of Officers & Servants taken 14th April 1760§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Govr Lettr to the Secret Committee§ §11 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Earl of Holdernes§ §12 Do of Ship Calcutta§ §13 Do of Ship Hardwicke§ §14 Duplicate of Ship Tavistocks Acc§	5: Duplicate consultations from 31 December 1759 to 25 January. Item 6 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Tavistock</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>Pitt</i>. 8: List of officers and servants taken on 14 April 1760. 9: Effective state of the garrison. 10: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 11: Abstract of the <i>Earl of Holderness's</i> cargo. 12: Abstract of the <i>Calcutta's</i> cargo. 13: Abstract of the <i>Hardwicke's</i> cargo. 14: Duplicate account of the <i>Tavistock</i>.
72	62	No 15 Ship Earl of Holdernes Account§ §16 Time of the arrival of Ship Earl of Holdernes Calcutta§ §& Hardwicke's Boats at Bankes§ §17 Cash Acc from 27th Decr 1759, to 11th Jany 1760§ §18 Do from 12th Jany to 11 Feby Do§ §19 Do from 12th Feby to 11 March Do§ §20 Muster Rolls of the Garrison, dated 11 Apl 1760§ §21 Duplicate List of the Packet per Ship Tavistock§ §22 Instrument of Writing from John Whiter & Js Austin§ §that takes their passage on the Ship Earl of Holdernes§ §23 List of Discharge Soldiers, & others that takes their§ §Passage on the Ship Earl of Holdernes§ §24 Examinations upon Mary Herberts Affair§ §25 Surgeons Certificate of the case of Jas Austin Corporal§ §26 Capt Brooke Receipt for £5 for the Passage of Jas§ §Austin an Invalid Corporal§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to you last, under date of the 14th April§ §by your Ship, the Earl of Holdernes§ §On the 23 of that Month, proceeded on her Voyage§ §the Ship Triton, & the 29th of the same Month, arrived§ §the Delawar from Bencoolen§ §The 7 instant, arrived the Royal George, Capt§ §Beamish, from Bengal, The Capt informs Us, that§ §the§	Item 15 was the <i>Earl of Holderness's</i> account. 16: Time of the arrival of the <i>Earl of Holderness, Calcutta</i> and <i>Hardwicke</i>, and their boats at Bankes. 17: Cash account from 12 December 1759 to 11 January 1760. 18: Cash account from 12 January to 11 February. 19: Cash account from 12 February to 11 March. 20: Muster rolls of the garrison dated 11 April 1760. Item 21 was a duplicate list of the packet by the <i>Tavistock</i>. 22: Instrument in writing from John White and James Austin, who took their passage aboard the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. 23: List of discharged soldiers and others who took their passage aboard the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. 24: Examinations upon Mary Herbert's affair. 25: Surgeon's certificate of the case of James Austin, corporal. 26: Captain Brooke's receipt for five pounds for the passage of James Austin, an invalid corporal. To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>, under date of the 14th of April. On the 23rd of that month the <i>Triton</i> proceeded on her voyage, and on the 29th of the same month the <i>Delaware</i> arrived from Bencoolen. On the 7th of this month the <i>Royal George</i>, Captain Beamish, arrived from Bengal. The captain reported that the
73	63	the Pilot left him, the 18th Feby last; That on the 14 of§ §the same Month, a Sloop from Madrass arrived at Bengal§ §in twelve, or thirteen Days, with advice, that your Troops,§ §about the latter end of Jany last, under the command§ §of Colonel Coot, had gained a great Victory over those of,§ §the French, And that General Lally, was wounded, and§ §Monsieur Bussy, & Colonel Murphy, were both made§ §Prisoners, And that we took twenty two pieces of Cannon,§ §with their Baggage &c, Our loss was trifling, having§ §no other Officer killed, but Major Brereton, Capt Beamish§ §likewise acquaints Us, that on the 8th of last Month, in§ §the Latitude of 30 28 South, & Longitude 42 57 West,§ §from point Palmiras, about four o'Clock, in the§ §Afternoon, he saw two Sail to Windward, bearing	The pilot left the <i>Royal George</i> on 18 February. On the 14th of the same month a sloop from Madras arrived at Bengal in twelve or thirteen days, with news that the Court's troops, about the latter end of January under the command of Colonel Coote, had won a great victory over the French. General Lally was wounded, and Monsieur Bussy and Colonel Murphy were both taken prisoner. The English took twenty-two pieces of cannon with their baggage. The English loss was trifling, no officer being killed but Major Brereton. Captain Beamish also reported that on the 8th of last month, in latitude 30 degrees 28 minutes south and longitude 42 degrees 57 minutes west from Point Palmiras, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he saw two sail to windward bearing south south east and close reefed, which he imagined to be outward bound by the course they steered. He immediately made all the sail he could. One of the ships bore down to him, fired one gun to leeward and hoisted English colours about seven, as a squall came on. In a quarter of an hour he saw the same ship fire two guns and hoist two lights, but he dropped her very fast and lost sight of her at nine

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		SSE,§ §& close Reefed, he imagined them to be outward bound,§ §by the Course they steered, he immediately made all the§ §sail he could, one of the Ships bore down to him, fired§ §one Gun to Leeward, & hoisted English Colours, about seven§ §a squall came on, & in a quarter of an Hour after,§ §he saw the same Ship, fire two Guns, & hoist two§ §lights, he dropped her very fast, & at nine o'Clock§ §lost sight of her, He further acquaints Us that§ §he left the Ajax, Duke of Dorset, & Houghton at§ §Bengall§ §The Passengers on board the Royal George are§ §Colonel Clive, Mrs Clive, Colonel Forde, Mr Sykes, Mr§ §George Clive, a Portuguese Priest, & Capt Carnac, who§ §remains here, until the Royal Duke arrives, to§ §return§	o'clock. He further reported that he left the <i>Ajax</i>, <i>Duke of Dorset</i> and <i>Houghton</i> at Bengal. The passengers aboard the <i>Royal George</i> were Colonel Clive, Mrs Clive, Colonel Forde, Mr Sykes, Mr George Clive, a Portuguese priest and Captain Carnac, who remained at the island until the <i>Royal Duke</i> arrived, to return Interpretations The victory at Wandiwash reported in the first passage marks the decisive battle that broke French power in the Carnatic. Coote's defeat of Lally, with Bussy taken prisoner and twenty-two guns captured for the loss of a single officer, shows the campaign in southern India settled in England's favour, and St Helena's value lay in receiving from an arriving captain the account of this pivotal engagement and relaying it to London ahead of any official dispatch. The night encounter at sea in the second passage reveals the wariness of a lone ship meeting strangers in wartime waters. An unknown vessel showed English colours and signalled with guns and lights, yet Beamish crowded on sail and drew away rather than close, which shows how a solitary Company ship treated any unidentified sail as a potential enemy, the risk of a French cruiser in disguise outweighing the signals of friendship. The capture of Bussy at Wandiwash in the first passage carried a significance beyond the battle itself. Bussy had long been the ablest French agent in India, and his fall into English hands removed the one commander whose skill had most sustained French influence, which reveals how the loss of a single figure could weigh as heavily as the defeat of an army in deciding the contest between the two nations.
74	64	return to Bengall, And on board the Delawar, Mr Christian§ §who came from your Settlement of Fort Marlborough§ §As many of your Ships arrive here, without long§ §Boats, We are under a neccesity, to lend the Commanders§ §yours, to Water their Ships, in which service they are§ §often injured, & it generally happens so near their§ §sailing, that it is impossible, for the Captains to§ §repair the damage, whereby We are, put to great§ §difficulties, At present We have only two, & unless§ §you will be pleased to order some of your Commanders§ §to bring their Long Boats hither, those will not be§ §sufficient, to answer all purposes, such as we purchase§ §are generally pretty much worn, & from the frequent§ §demands the Captains make for them, soon become§ §inserviceable, We for these reasons, think it will be§ §more for your Interest, & the service of the Ships, if§ §you will please to send a Long Boat framed, which§ §We could put together here§ §In our Consultation of the 21 of last Month, We§ §adjusted the Account of Goods short delivered, and§ §damaged, on board of the Ship Triton, which we§ §transmit you herewith, And in the same Consultation§ §We ordered a survey to be made of the Articles that§ §came by that Ship, which We refer your Honors to,§ §& for your further satisfaction, have sent the§ §damaged ones, on the Royal George§ §Mr Thos Greentree, applied to Us, to pay two§ §hundred & thirty Pounds, into your Cash, which We§ §have§	Captain Carnac would return to Bengal, and Mr Christian, who came from the settlement of Fort Marlborough, would go aboard the <i>Delaware</i>. Since many of the Court's ships arrived at the island without longboats, the Council was under a necessity of lending the commanders its own to water their ships. These boats were often damaged, and it generally happened so near their sailing that the captains could not repair the damage, which put the Council to great difficulties. At present it had only two, and unless the Court would order some of its commanders to bring their longboats to the island, these would not be enough for all purposes. Such boats as the Council bought were generally pretty much worn, and from the frequent demands the captains made for them soon became unserviceable. For these reasons the Council thought it would be more for the Court's interest and the service of the ships if it would send a longboat framed, which the Council could put together at the island. In its consultation of the 21st of last month the Council settled the account of goods short delivered and damaged aboard the <i>Triton</i>, which it sent the Court. In the same consultation it ordered a survey to be made of the articles that came by that ship, which it also sent the Court, and for its further satisfaction sent the damaged goods aboard the <i>Royal George</i>. Mr Thomas Greentree applied to the Council to pay two hundred and thirty pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council Interpretations The shortage of longboats in the first passage reveals a persistent gap in the island's ability to service the ships that depended on it. Vessels arrived without boats to fetch water and had to borrow the Council's, which were worn out by constant use, and the request for a boat sent in frame shows the settlement seeking a practical remedy for a want that

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			repeatedly hampered its essential work of watering the fleet. The survey of the <i>Triton's</i> goods in the second passage continues the careful accounting by which the island fixed responsibility for damaged and missing cargo. A formal survey established what had been spoiled or short delivered, and the damaged goods were even shipped home as evidence, which shows how thoroughly the settlement documented loss so that the Court could see for itself and the reckoning could be settled beyond dispute. The proposal for a framed longboat in the first passage shows the Council reaching for a solution suited to a place that could not build such craft itself. Rather than continue buying worn boats or depending on borrowed ones, it asked for a vessel sent ready to assemble, which reveals how a remote station, lacking the means to construct its own boats, looked to have them supplied in a form its own hands could complete.
75	65	have received, & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn§ §on your Honrs for that Sum, payable to Mrs Mary§ §Adamson, or Order, 90 Days after sight, dated the 12th§ §instant§ §We desire you will be pleased to send us, thirty§ §Recruits, by the next Store Ship; believing We shall§ §want that number, by the Time of her arrival, to§ §compleat your Establishment, here§ §Wm Lyon a discharged Soldier, We have sent home§ §on your Ship Royal George§ §For a little Time past, We have had some§ §favourable Weather, but it comes rather too Late, to be§ §of any great service to the Cattle, that are for§ §Slaughter this Year§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §18th May 1760§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servants§ §(Signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	The Council had received the two hundred and thirty pounds from Mr Greentree, and given him a bill of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Mrs Mary Adamson or order ninety days after sight, dated the 12th of this month. The Council desired the Court to send thirty recruits by the next store ship, believing it would want that number by the time of her arrival to complete the island's establishment. William Lyon, a discharged soldier, had been sent home aboard the <i>Royal George</i>. For a little time past the Council had had some favourable weather, but it came rather too late to be of any great service to the cattle meant for slaughter this year. The letter was sent from St Helena on 18 May 1760, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. Interpretations The late arrival of good weather in the final passage shows how narrowly the island's food supply turned on the timing of the seasons. Rain that came too late to fatten the cattle meant for slaughter reveals that the settlement needed not merely rain but rain at the right moment, the value of the pasture depending on whether relief arrived before or after the animals were needed, a margin the drought had already cost.
76	66	List of the Honbles Companys Packet, from St Helena§ §per Ship Royal George, dated the 18th May 1760 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Lettr dated the 18 May 1760§ §2 Duplicate Do dated the 14th April Do§ §3 Consultations from 21 Apl to 12th May Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 28 Jany to 14 April Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet per Ship Earl of Holdernes§ §6 Second Receipt for Do per Ship Tavistock§ §7 List of Officers & Servant taken 18 May 1760§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee§ §10 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Delawar§ §11 Do of Do of Ship Royal George§ §12 Ship Royal Georges Account§ §13 Do Tritons Do§ §14 Duplicate Ship Earl of Holdernes Acc§ §15 Time of the arrival of the Delawars Boat at Bankes§ §16 Cash Acc from 12th March to 11th April 1760§ §17 Do from 12th April to 11th May Do§	List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Royal George</i> dated 18 May 1760. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 May 1760. 2: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 April. 3: Consultations from 21 April to 12 May. 4: Duplicate consultations from 28 January to 14 April. Item 5 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>Tavistock</i>. 7: List of officers and servants taken on 18 May 1760. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 10: Abstract of the <i>Delaware's</i> cargo. 11: Abstract of the <i>Royal George's</i> cargo. Item 12 was the <i>Royal George's</i> account. Item 13 was the <i>Triton's</i> account. Item 14 was a duplicate account of the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. 15: Time of the arrival of the <i>Delaware's</i> boat at Bankes. 16: Cash account from 12 March to 11 April 1760.

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		§18 Do from 12 to the 18th May Do§ §19 Duplicate Cash Acc from 27th Decr 1759 to 11th Jany 1760§ §20 Do Do from 12th Jany to 11th Feby Do§ §21 Do Do from 12 Feby to 11 March Do§ §22 Do List of the Packet per Ship Earl of Holderness§ §23 List of Garrison Stores remain g 11 Apl 1760§ §24 Do of Stores remaing in the Honble Company's Ware House§ §the 11 Apl 1760§	17: Cash account from 12 April to 11 May. 18: Cash account from 12 to 18 May. 19: Duplicate cash account from 27 December 1759 to 11 January 1760. 20: Duplicate cash account from 12 January to 11 February. 21: Duplicate cash account from 12 February to 11 March. Item 22 was a duplicate list of the packet by the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. 23: List of garrison stores remaining on 11 April 1760. 24: List of stores remaining in the Company's warehouse on 11 April 1760.
77	67	No 25 Indent of Stores wanted for the service of the Year 1761§ §26 Do of Medecines wanted for Do§ §27 List of Artillery Stores from 12th Oct 1759 to 11th Apl 1760§ §28 Minutes of the Engagement between Admiral Pocock, &§ §the French Fleet§ §29 Acc of Goods damaged on board the Ship Triton, & paid§ §for by the Captain§ §30 List of Wm Lyon a discharged Soldier§ §31 Captain Beamish's Receipt for ten Axle trees§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We addressed you last, by your Ship Royal George§ §that sailed from hence the 19 May§ §2 On the 24 of the same Month, arrived the Royal§ §Duke, Capt Rigou, by whom We received a Packet from your§ §Honrs which We opened & read your Orders to Us, The 25§ §arrived a Dutch Ship from the Cape, & the next day two§ §more from the same Place, they put in here for Water, all§ §three of them sailed for Holland the 29, On the 27 likewise§ §arrived His Majestys Ships Colchester, & Troppon, & your§ §Honrs Snow Mercury, by which opportunity We§ §received Duplicate of your Letters to Us by the Triton,§ §& Royal Duke§	25: Indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1761. 26: Indent of medicines wanted for the service of the year 1761. 27: List of artillery stores from 12 October 1759 to 11 April 1760. 28: Minutes of the engagement between Admiral Pocock and the French fleet. 29: Account of goods damaged aboard the <i>Triton</i> and paid for by the captain. 30: List of William Lyon, a discharged soldier. 31: Captain Beamish's receipt for ten axle trees. To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. 1: The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Royal George</i>, which sailed from the island on the 19th of May. 2: On the 24th of the same month the <i>Royal Duke</i>, Captain Rigou, arrived, bringing a packet from the Court which the Council opened and read. On the 25th a Dutch ship arrived from the Cape, and the next day two more from the same place. They put in at the island for water, and all three sailed for Holland on the 29th. On the 27th His Majesty's ships the <i>Colchester</i> and <i>Tribune</i>, and the Court's snow <i>Mercury</i>, also arrived, by which chance the Council received duplicates of the Court's letters sent by the <i>Triton</i> and <i>Royal Duke</i>. Interpretations The three Dutch ships watering at the island in paragraph two show again how St Helena served the shipping of other nations as a place of resort. Vessels homeward from the Cape put in for water and sailed on for Holland, which reveals the island as a watering station on a sea road used by the fleets of all Europe, its springs serving foreign traders as readily as the Company's own ships.
78	68	3 We are extremely glad to hear, that the five§ §China Ships, that were at the Bay of all Saints are§ §safe arrived, The Tavistock We hope, have likewise§ §reached You, long before this§ §4 The additional Ships You have been pleased§ §to take up, for the service you mention, We sincerely§ §wish Success to§ §5 The remainder of Goods Indented for, We§ §received by the Royal Duke; except the 20 T of§ §Riga Timber, from the want of which, We have been§ §put to great inconvenience, We request You will be§ §pleased to send Us, at least 30 T by the next Store Ship,§ §The ten working Days, allowed by Charter party for§ §unloading the Royal Duke, expiring the 6 of June,§ §We then gave the Captain his Dispatches, & sailing§ §Orders, to proceed on his Voyage§ §6 We observe, that You have come to the like§ §agreement, with the Owners of the Norfolk, as You§ §did, with those of the Triton, in case the Commander§	3: The Council was very glad to hear that the five China ships that had been at the Bay of All Saints were safe. It hoped the <i>Tavistock</i> had likewise reached the Court long before this. 4: The Council sincerely wished success to the additional ships the Court had taken up for the service it mentioned. 5: The remainder of the goods indented for came by the <i>Royal Duke</i>, except the 20 tons of Riga timber, for want of which the Council had been put to great inconvenience. It requested the Court to send at least 30 tons by the next store ship. The ten working days allowed by the charter party for unloading the <i>Royal Duke</i> expiring on the 6th of June, the Council then gave the captain his dispatches and sailing orders to proceed on his voyage. 6: The Council noted that the Court had come to the like agreement with the owners of the <i>Norfolk</i> as it had with those of the <i>Triton</i>. Should the commander of that ship, or any other, offer to pay the Council for goods short delivered or damaged, it would act in keeping with the Court's directions.

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		§of that Ship, or any other, should offer to pay Us, for§ §Goods deficient, or damaged, We shall be Governed by§ §your directions thereupon§ §7 It gives Us infinite pleasure, to hear, that§ §the Squadron, under the Command of Sir Edward Hawke,§ §has so effectually put an End to the Intended§ §Invasion of His Majestys Kingdoms, & from the§ §vigorous opposition, & defeat, which the Enemy have§ §met with, in all parts, during the course of this War§	7: The Council was very glad to hear that the squadron under the command of Sir Edward Hawke had so effectually put an end to the intended invasion of His Majesty's kingdoms, and of the vigorous opposition and defeat the enemy had met with in all parts during the course of the war. Interpretations The want of Riga timber in paragraph five reveals how the failure of a single item could hamper the settlement out of proportion to its bulk. Twenty tons of building timber went undelivered and put the island to great inconvenience, which shows how dependent a remote station was on particular materials it could not source itself, the shortfall of a specific consignment leaving needs unmet until the next ship could bring it. The defeat of the intended invasion in paragraph seven brought news of the wider war reaching its turning point at sea. Hawke's squadron had ended the threat of invasion to Britain itself, which reveals how the fortunes of the distant island were bound up with the great naval struggle in European waters, the security of the home kingdoms and of the trade route alike resting on the same command of the sea. The reference to the <i>Norfolk</i> agreement in paragraph six shows the Company extending a uniform contractual approach across its chartered fleet. The same terms for handling damaged and short-delivered goods applied to the <i>Norfolk</i> as to the <i>Triton</i>, which reveals how the Company standardised its dealings with the owners of hired ships, a common framework governing loss and delivery across the vessels it took up for its trade.
79	69	We make no doubt, but they will soon be brought to such§ §terms, as will produce a Peace, conducive to the Honor,§ §& Interest, of the British Nation§ §8 The difference in the price of the Rice We§ §bought of Captains Seldeman, & Evans, were owing§ §to the Settlements they came from, the Rice upon the§ §Malabar Coast, being greatly dearer, than that upon the§ §Coromandel, We have a constant demand for that§ §Article, which renders it absolutely necessary, to have§ §a large quantity always in Store, & was the reason, that§ §induced Us, to give so high a price at that Time,§ §whenever We purchase any thing for your Use of the§ §Commanders, We endeavour to get it as cheap as§ §possible, Captains Evan having assured Us, that he§ §spared it, at prime Cost, & it sometimes happens, that§ §the Inhabitants, are obliged to give it per hundred, for§ §Rice, they buy out of the Ships§ §9 We are pleased your Honors approve of the§ §Bomb proof Magazine, We made at Ruperts, that at§ §the Main Fort, is now finished, & very secure, in all respects§ §you may be assured, that every thing shall be put into§ §execution, that is necessary, for the Security, & defence§ §of this Island§ §10 It surprised Us to hear, that Mr Adamson, had§ §delivered to You, Plans, & Copies of your General Letters,§ §after the Death of her Husband, when he had assured§ §Us, upon his leaving this Place, that he had no§	The Council had no doubt the enemy would soon be brought to such terms as would produce a peace serving the honour and interest of the British nation. 8: The difference in the price of the rice bought from Captain Seldeman and Captain Evans arose from the settlements they came from, rice on the Malabar coast being much dearer than on the Coromandel. The Council had a constant demand for that article, which made it absolutely necessary to keep a large quantity always in store, and that was why it gave so high a price at that time. Whenever it bought anything for the island from the commanders, it tried to get it as cheap as possible. Captain Evans assured the Council he spared his rice at prime cost. It sometimes happened that the inhabitants were obliged to give sixteen per cent for rice they bought out of the ships. 9: The Council was pleased the Court approved of the bomb-proof magazine it made at Ruperts. That at the Main Fort was now finished. The Court could be assured that everything necessary for the security and defence of the island would be carried out. 10: It surprised the Council to hear that Mrs Adamson had delivered to the Court plans and copies of its general letters after the death of her husband, when he had assured the Council on leaving the island that he had no papers or writings whatever belonging to the Court. Interpretations The price of rice in paragraph eight reveals how the source of a commodity shaped its cost to the island. Rice from Malabar cost more than rice from Coromandel, and the Council had to pay dearly to keep a constant store of a staple in steady demand, which shows how the settlement's provisioning depended on the particular coasts its supplying ships came from and the premiums those markets commanded. The reappearance of Adamson's papers in paragraph ten confirms the suspicion the Council had earlier voiced about his removal of the Court's records. His widow delivered up plans and copies of

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		§Papers, or Writings, whatsoever, belonging to your§ §Honors§	general letters he had sworn he did not hold, which reveals that the departed officer had indeed carried off the Company's documents, the eventual surrender of the papers vindicating the Council's pursuit of them against his denial. The premium paid by inhabitants for shipboard rice in paragraph eight exposes how the islanders bore the cost of buying directly from passing ships. When they purchased rice out of the vessels they paid sixteen per cent, which shows how those outside the Company's own provisioning faced a markup for goods bought at the ship's side, the private buyer on a remote island paying a surcharge that reflected both scarcity and the seller's advantage.
80	70	Honors, and as We are sensible, of the ill consequence, that§ §may ensue from procedures of this kind, We shall observe§ §your directions, & prevent the like happening in future§ §11 We shall pay Mrs Gordwin fifty Pound per Year,§ §as You have been pleased to Order, & she begs leave to§ §return your Honors, her humble Thanks, for this instance§ §of your goodness, & bounty to her§ §12 We flatter ourselves, You will be able to get,§ §your Man Slave Essex, that We suppose deserted upon§ §your Ship Bombay Castle, & return him to Us again§ §13 As We were utter strangers to the real Names§ §of the French Prisoners, We were obliged to mention§ §them, by those they gave Us, We are Sorry this has occasioned§ §a delay in the repayment of the Money, We advanced them§ §& if it is possible for Us, to be more explicit in this§ §respect, in a similar circumstance in future, We shall§ §not fail to be so§ §14 The Brass field Pieces, & Howitzers by the§ §Royal Duke, We have received, as likewise the two fire§ §Engines§ §15 The Sailors Cloaths, We have received by the§ §Triton, & Royal Duke, are very sufficient, to replace§ §those damaged on board the Delawar, We have always§ §been very Anxious, in sending Our Indents as early as§ §possible, & the reason of their not coming to You in Time§ §the two last Years, were owing to the Late departure§ §of your Ships, from this Place, We embraced the early§ §opportunity, which offered by the Royal George, for§ §transmitting§	Being sensible of the ill consequences that might follow from proceedings of this kind, the Council would observe the Court's directions and prevent the like happening in future. 11: The Council would pay Mrs Godwin fifty pounds a year, as the Court had ordered, and she returned her humble thanks for this instance of the Court's goodness and bounty to her. 12: The Council hoped the Court would be able to get its man slave Ofsix, whom it supposed had deserted aboard the <i>Bombay Castle</i> , and return him to the island again. 13: Since the Council was an utter stranger to the real names of the French prisoners, and was obliged to name them by those they gave, it was sorry this had caused a delay in the repayment of the money it advanced them. If it could be more exact in this respect on a similar occasion in future, it would not fail to be so. 14: The brass field pieces and howitzers came by the <i>Royal Duke</i> , as likewise the two fire engines. 15: The sailors' clothes received by the <i>Triton</i> and <i>Royal Duke</i> were quite enough to replace those damaged aboard the <i>Delaware</i> . The Council had always been very anxious to send its indents as early as possible. The reason they did not reach the Court in time the previous two years was the late departure of the Court's ships from the island. It embraced the early chance offered by the <i>Royal George</i> for sending Interpretations The pursuit of the runaway slave Ofsix in paragraph twelve shows the Company treating an escaped man as recoverable property to be reclaimed. Having earlier recorded his flight aboard the <i>Bombay Castle</i> , the Council now asked the Court to retrieve him and send him back, which reveals how the reach of the Company's bureaucracy extended to tracing and demanding the return of a slave across the whole span of its shipping network. The false names of the French prisoners in paragraph thirteen expose how deception complicated the settlement of accounts between the warring companies. The prisoners gave names that were not their own, delaying the repayment of the maintenance advanced to them, which reveals how the reimbursement system depended on accurate identity, and how a captive's concealment of his true name could obstruct the orderly reckoning between enemies. The pension to Mrs Godwin in paragraph eleven shows the Company providing for the widows of its servants through fixed annual payments. A yearly sum of fifty pounds was settled on her by the Court's order, which reveals a disposition to support the dependents of former Company men, the pension serving as a recognised provision for a widow left behind by service on the island.
81	71	transmitting Our Indent this Season; & We hope they§ §will reach you in Time, to give the necessary	The Council sent its indent this season, and hoped it would reach the Court in time to give the necessary directions.

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		directions§ §therein§ §16 We have received the two Recruits, You were§ §pleased to send Us, by the Royal Duke, & have likewise§ §taken seventeen more out of the Number intended for§ §your Settlement of Bengall, they being desirous to stay§ §here, We have transmitted you a List of their Names§ §in Our Packet, & have duely Advised your President &§ §Council of Bengall, with the permission you have§ §been pleased to give Us, in this respect, & have likewise§ §forwarded the Original List to Them, We thought it§ §necesary, to add ten Men, to the Artillery Company, which§ §will complete it to seventy, the establishment of the others,§ §We therefore request, that your Honors will be pleased to§ §send Us, ten Suit of Matghee Cloaths, more than are§ §mentioned in the Indent, by the Royal George, with a§ §few more Articles, We found ourselves in want of since§ §framing that Indent, all which We have added to§ §the foot of the Duplicate, and likewise a Sloop's mast§ §to replace that We let Capt Jehyll have, as per Consultation§ §of the 16th of last Month§ §17 & We have not been able to furnish the Ships§ §this Season with fresh Provisions, so fully, as they require,§ §or We could wish, notwithstanding We had more Cattle§ §returned for Slaughter than usual, The Beef proves but§ §very small, & indifferent, owing to the failure of the§ §two last Seasons, And We are very apprehensive if§ §your§	16: The Council received the two recruits the Court sent by the <i>Royal Duke</i>, and had also taken seventeen more out of the number intended for the settlement of Bengal, they being desirous to stay at the island. It sent the Court a list of their names, and had duly provided the President and Council of Bengal, with the leave the Court had given, and forwarded the original list to them. The Council thought it necessary to add ten men to the artillery company, which would bring it to seventy, the establishment of the others. It therefore requested the Court to send ten suits of Matross clothes more than were mentioned in the indent, by the <i>Royal George</i>, with a few more articles it found itself in want of since framing that indent, all which it had added to the foot of the duplicate, and likewise a sloop's mast to replace the one it let Captain Jehyll have, as recorded in its consultation of the 16th of last month. 17: The Council had not been able to supply the ships this season with fresh provisions so fully as they required, or as it could wish, although it had more cattle marked for slaughter than usual. The beef proved very small and poor, owing to the failure of the two previous seasons. The Council was very apprehensive that if the Interpretations The retention of seventeen Bengal recruits in paragraph sixteen shows how the island filled its own establishment from men passing through on their way elsewhere. Soldiers meant for Bengal chose to stay, and the Council kept them with the Court's leave, which reveals how a station on the sea road could draw off manpower bound for other settlements, the flow of recruits through the island offering a means to make up its own numbers. The poor quality of the beef in paragraph seventeen shows how the long drought worked its way through into the failure of the island's central service. The cattle marked for slaughter yielded small and indifferent meat because of two failed seasons, which reveals how the settlement's ability to provision the ships that depended on it was undermined at the root by the weather, the drought reducing not just the number but the condition of the animals it could offer. The addition to the artillery company in paragraph sixteen reveals the Council building up the branch of the garrison most suited to a fortified island's defence. Ten men were added to bring the artillery to the strength of the other companies, which shows the settlement strengthening the arm on which its resistance to naval attack most depended, the guns of the fort needing men enough to serve them if the island were assailed.
82	72	your Honors Ships, should be detained here any Time the§ §next Year, We shall be under the same disadvantage§ §18 Capt Ons. Beale, Petitioned Us, in Consultation§ §of the 12th May last, for liberty to leave the Island, and§ §proceed to England, for the recovery of his Health, which§ §We granted, He accordingly takes his Passage, on the§ §Ship Delawar, And as he hath always behaved well in§ §the discharge of his Duty as an Officer in this Garrison§ §We agreed to continue him on your Books, & pay him§ §his Salary as Usual, The Surgeons Certificates of his§ §case, are entered in Our Consultation of that Day§ §19 As We find the contracted Time of stay of§ §your Military will expire the next Year, & cannot be§	The Council feared that if the Court's ships were detained at the island at any time the next year, it would be under the same disadvantage. 18: Captain Onesiphorus Beale petitioned the Council in its consultation of 12 May for leave to leave the island and proceed to England for the recovery of his health, which the Council granted. He accordingly took his passage aboard the <i>Delaware</i>. Since he had always behaved well in the discharge of his duty as an officer in the garrison, the Council agreed to continue him on the Court's books and pay him his salary as usual. The surgeon's certificate of his case was entered in the Council's consultation of that day. 19: Since the Council found the contracted term of service of the Court's military would expire the next year, and could not be certain how many of them might incline to re-enlist, it believed it would want the thirty recruits it wrote for by the <i>Royal George</i> to complete the establishment, although it

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		§certain how many of them, may incline to Relist, We§ §believe We shall want the thirty Recruits We wrote to§ §your Honors for by the Royal George, to complete our§ §establishment, notwithstanding We took nineteen out of§ §the Royal Duke, but if We should Relist more of them,§ §whose Times will expire the next Year, than We have§ §reason to expect, We will forward those We do not want,§ §to the Settlement the Ship is consigned to§ §20 We are informed, that His Majestys Ships§ §America, Medway &c parted with six of your Honors§ §outward bound Ships the 24th of April last, about 100§ §Leagues to the Eastward of Madera§ §21 Since writing to You by the Royal George§ §We have received further intelligence of the Success of§ §your Honors Troops, under the Command of Colonel Coote§ §the§	took nineteen out of the <i>Royal Duke</i>. Should more of the men re-enlist, whose terms would expire the next year, than the Council had reason to expect, it would forward those it did not want to the settlement the ship was consigned to. 20: The Council was informed that His Majesty's ships the <i>America</i> and <i>Medway</i>, etc., parted with six of the Court's outward bound ships on the 24th of April, about 100 leagues to the eastward of Madeira. 21: Since writing by the <i>Royal George</i>, the Council received further intelligence of the success of the Court's troops under the command of Colonel Coote, Interpretations The leave granted to Captain Beale in paragraph eighteen shows the Company keeping a sick officer on its books and pay while he sought recovery at home. Beale sailed for England for his health yet remained a paid servant of the Court, which reveals a settled care for officers who had served well, the continuation of salary during absence marking the value placed on retaining a capable man rather than discharging him when illness struck. The uncertainty over re-enlistment in paragraph nineteen exposes the difficulty of maintaining a garrison whose men served fixed terms. The Council could not know how many would stay on and so had to order recruits against the possibility of loss, which reveals how the expiry of contracted service left a remote station unable to plan its strength with confidence, obliged to hedge against a shortfall it could not predict. The disposal of surplus recruits in paragraph nineteen shows the island functioning as a distribution point for the Company's manpower. Men not needed to fill its own establishment would be forwarded to other settlements, which reveals how the station managed soldiers as a resource to be allocated across the Company's possessions, keeping what it required and passing the remainder on to where they were consigned.
83	73	the particular of which We transmit You herewith, As§ §likewise an Account, of the melancholy Affair, that§ §happened at the Negrais, Capt Allen acquaints Us that§ §he left Bengall the 17th March, & that their was no§ §Ship in the River at that Time, but one Dutch, he§ §further informs Us, that Major Caillaud had defeated§ §Shas Adar, near Patna, Our Army consisted of almost§ §1500 Men, His about 10000, and that We lost but very§ §few Men in the Engagement, Capt Harrison of His§ §Majestys Ship Yarmouth, tells Us, that he spoke with§ §the Stormount, & Houghton, the 17th April last, to the§ §Southward of Illichong, going to Bombay§ §22 Since the 27th of May last, the following Ships§ §have arrived viz§ §The Winchelsea on the 9th June§ §Drake§ §Prince of Wales 12th from China§ §Britannia§ §Tilbury 13§ §Prince Henry Packet 13, from Madrass§ §Walpole 14th from China§ §Hector§ §Essex§ §Chesterfield 16th from China§ §Rhoda§ §Clinton 16th from Bombay§ §His Majestys Ship Yarmouth 17th from Anjengo,	The Council sent the Court the particulars of this intelligence, along with an account of the melancholy affair that happened at the Negrais. Captain Allen reported that he left Bengal on 17 March, and that there was no ship in the river at that time but one Dutch. He further reported that Major Caillaud had defeated Shah Alam near Patna. The English army consisted of almost 1,500 men and his of about 10,000, and the English lost very few men in the engagement. Captain Harrison of His Majesty's ship the <i>Yarmouth</i> reported that he spoke with the <i>Stormont</i> and <i>Houghton</i> on 17 April to the southward of Achin, going to Bombay. 22: Since the 27th of May, the following ships arrived. The <i>Winchelsea</i> on the 9th of June. The <i>Drake</i> on the 12th from China. The <i>Prince of Wales</i> on the 12th from China. The <i>Britannia</i> on the 12th from China. The <i>Tilbury</i> on the 13th from China. The <i>Prince Henry</i> packet on the 13th from Madras. The <i>Walpole</i> on the 14th from China. The <i>Hector</i> on the 16th from China. The <i>Essex</i> on the 16th from China. The <i>Chesterfield</i> on the 16th from China. The <i>Rhoda</i> on the 16th from China. The <i>Clinton</i> on the 16th from Bombay. His Majesty's ship the <i>Yarmouth</i> on the 17th from Anjengo, with Admiral Pocock aboard. The <i>Edgecote</i> on the 22nd from China. The <i>Duke of Dorset</i> on the 25th from Bengal. Interpretations The defeat of Shah Alam near Patna in the first passage reveals how a small Company force could

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		with§ §Admiral Pocock on board§ §Edgecote 22d from China§ §Duke of Dorset 25 from Bengall§	overcome vast disparity of numbers in the field. Caillaud beat an army of about ten thousand with fewer than fifteen hundred men and trifling loss, which shows the decisive advantage that discipline and firepower gave the Company in India, and St Helena's value lay in receiving from arriving captains the account of this victory and relaying it to London. The great muster of shipping in paragraph twenty-two shows how the island stood at the convergence of the Company's homeward routes. Ships from China, Madras, Bombay and Bengal arrived within days of one another, along with a warship bearing an admiral, which reveals St Helena as the point where the scattered strands of eastern commerce and naval power drew together on the passage home, its road filling with vessels from every quarter of the trade. The reference to the melancholy affair at the Negrais in the first passage points to a disaster at the Company's settlement there. The Council forwarded an account of a calamity at the fledgling post on the Burmese coast, which reveals how even the Company's remote and minor establishments could suffer sudden catastrophe, the island serving as the channel through which news of the misfortune passed on its way to London.
84	74	23 The passengers on board the beforementioned Ships§ §are as follows viz§ §Colonel Draper§ §Capt Jasper on board of the Winchelsea§ §Capt Dickenson§ §Capt Maclean, on board of the Drake§ §Mr Lockhart, on board of the Prince of Wales§ §Mr Downe, on board of the Pce Henry§ §Mr Beorn, on board of the Chesterfield§ §Mr Straton§ §Mr Mackey on board of the Prince Henry§ §Packet§ §Govr Bouchier§ §Mr Maitland§ §Capt Wade§ §Mr Spragson§ §Mr Bouchier on board of the Clinton§ §Capt Jennings§ §Mr Thomas§ §Mr Bivin§ §Mr Talbot, on board of the Edgecote§ §Mr Gray§ §Mrs Gray§ §Mr Vaughan on board of the Duke of Dorset§ §Mr Webber§ §24 Captain Peter Rigou, applied to Us to pay§ §£100 into your Cash, which We have received, & given§ §him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honors, for that§ §that§ §Sum, payable to John Wescott, or Order, 90 Days after§ §sight§	23: The passengers aboard the ships already named were as follows. Colonel Draper, Captain Jasper and Captain Dickson aboard the <i>Winchelsea</i>. Captain Maclean aboard the <i>Drake</i>. Mr Lockhart aboard the <i>Prince of Wales</i>. Mr Downe aboard the <i>Prince Henry</i>. Mr Beovin aboard the <i>Chesterfield</i>. Mr Straton and Mr Mackey aboard the <i>Prince Henry</i> packet. George Bouchier, Mr Maitland, Captain Wade, Mr Loraghan, Mr Bouchier, Captain Jennings, Mr Thomas and Mr Bevin aboard the <i>Clinton</i>. Mr Talbot aboard the <i>Edgecote</i>. Mr Gray, Mrs Gray, Mr Vaughan and Mr Webber aboard the <i>Duke of Dorset</i>. 24: Captain Peter Rigou applied to the Council to pay one hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to John Wiscoat or order ninety days after sight.
85	75	sight, dated the 9th of June§ §25 Mr James Branch applied to Us, to pay £120§ §into your Cash, which We have received, & given him§ §Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors, for that Sum,§ §payable to John Whitelock, or Order, 90 Days after sight,§ §dated the 16th of June§ §26 Richard Becher Esq, applied to Us, to pay £280§ §into your Cash, which We have received, & given him Bills§ §of Exchange drawn on your Honors, for that Sum payable§ §to himself or order, 90 Days after sight, dated the 23	The bill to John Wiscoat was dated the 9th of June. 25: Mr James Branch applied to the Council to pay one hundred and twenty pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to John Whitelock or order ninety days after sight, dated the 11th of June. 26: Richard Becher Esquire applied to the Council to pay two hundred and eighty pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 23rd of June.

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		of§ §June§ §27 Mr Walter Maxwell applied to Us, to pay £30§ §into your Cash, which We have received, & given him§ §Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors, for that Sum§ §payable to Andrew Gardiner, or Order 90 Days after§ §sight dated the 23 of June§ §28 Mr William Lee, applied to Us to pay £30§ §into your Cash, which We have received, & given him§ §Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honors, for that Sum§ §payable to Thomas Lee, or Order, 90 Days after sight,§ §dated the 5 instant§ §29 The Governor hath paid £132 into your Cash§ §which we have received, & given him Bills of Exchange§ §drawn on your Honors, for that Sum, payable to himself§ §or Order, 90 Days after sight dated the 5 instant§ §30 Captain Rodam of the Majestic Ship Colchester§ §& the Purser, applied to Us for £180 which Sum We§ §have advanced them, & taken Bills drawn upon the§ §Commissioners§	27: Mr Walter Maxwell applied to the Council to pay thirty pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Andrew Gardiner or order ninety days after sight, dated the 23rd of June. 28: Mr William Lee applied to the Council to pay fifty pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Thomas Lee or order ninety days after sight, dated the 3rd of this month. 29: Governor Hutchinson had paid one hundred and thirty-two pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 3rd of this month. 30: Captain Rodham of His Majesty's ship the <i>Colchester</i> and the purser applied to the Council for one hundred and eighty pounds, which sum the Council had advanced them, and taken bills drawn upon the Commissioners
86	76	Commissioners for Victualling His Majestys Navy, payable§ §to your Honors, or Order, 30 Days after sight, dated the 14th§ §instant, the first Bill, & Letter of Advice goes herewith§ §31 Capt Jehyll of His Majestys Ship Rippon, &§ §his Purser, applied to Us for £176 12s 11d, which Sum We§ §have advanced them, & taken Bills drawn upon the§ §Commissioners for Victualling His Majestys Navy§ §payable to your Honors, or Order, 30 Days after sight§ §dated this Day, the first Bill, & Letter of Advice goes§ §herewith§ §32 Capt Brook Samson, likewise applied to Us§ §for £130 for the use of the Ship Hardwicke, which§ §We advanced him, & taken Bills, drawn upon John§ §Hallet Esq, for that Sum, payable to your Honors, or§ §Order 40 Days after sight, dated this Day, the first§ §Bill, & Letter of Advice goes herewith§ §33 We herewith transmit your Honors, Capt Jehylls§ §first Bill of Exchange, & Letter of Advice, drawn on the§ §Honorable the principal Officers, & Commissioners of His§ §Majestys Navy, for the Sum of £22 6s for the Sloops§ §Mast We spared him§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §5th July 1760§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servts§ §Signed Chs Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	The bills drawn upon the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy were payable to the Court or order thirty days after sight, dated the 14th of this month, and the first bill and letter of advice were sent with the letter. 31: Captain Jekyll of His Majesty's ship the <i>Rippon</i> and his purser applied to the Council for £176 12s 11d, which sum the Council had advanced them, and taken bills drawn upon the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy, payable to the Court or order thirty days after sight, dated this day. The first bill and letter of advice were sent with the letter. 32: Captain Brooke Sampson likewise applied to the Council for one hundred and thirty pounds for the use of the <i>Hardwicke</i>, which the Council advanced him, and taken bills drawn upon John Hallet Esquire for that sum, payable to the Court or order forty days after sight, dated this day. The first bill and letter of advice were sent with the letter. 33: The Council sent the Court Captain Jekyll's first bill of exchange and letter of advice, drawn on the principal officers and Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, for the sum of £22 0s 6d for the sloop's mast the Council spared him. The letter was sent from St Helena on 5 July 1760, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. Interpretations The advances to naval captains in paragraphs thirty to thirty-three reveal how the island served as a financial agent for the Royal Navy as well as the Company. Sums were advanced to the commanders and pursers of warships against bills drawn on the Navy's victualling commissioners, which shows the settlement extending credit across the two arms of the state at sea, its cash relieving the immediate wants of naval vessels that would be repaid through the Navy's own accounts at home. The recovery of the sloop's mast cost in paragraph thirty-three shows the careful accounting by which the island reclaimed even a single item supplied to the Navy. Having earlier spared a mast to a warship, the Council drew a bill on the Navy Board for its precise value, which reveals how the settlement

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			treated its dealings with the Crown's ships as strict transactions, every article furnished charged back through a formal bill rather than given freely.
87	77	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St§ §Helena per His Majestys Ship Yarmouth, dated the 5th July 1760§ §viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter, dated 5th July 1760§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 18 May Do§ §3 Consultations from 19 May to 5th July Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 21 April to 12th May Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet of Ship Royal George§ §6 Second Receipt for Do of Ship Earl of Holderness§ §7 List of Officers & Servant taken 5 July 1760§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee§ §10 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Winchelsea§ §11 Do of Do of Ship Drake§ §12 Do of Do of Ship Rhoda§ §13 Do of Do of Ship Tilbury§ §14 Do of Do of Ship Britannia§ §15 Do of Do of Ship Walpole§ §16 Do of Do of Ship Essex§ §17 Do of Do of Ship Hector§ §18 Do of Do of Ship Chesterfield§ §19 Do of Do of Ship Prince of Wales§ §20 Do of Do of Ship Edgecote§ §21 Do of Do of Ship Clinton§ §22 Do of Do of Ship Duke of Dorset§ §23 Duplicate of Ship Tritons Account§ §24 Do of Ship Royal Georges Account§	List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard His Majesty's ship the <i>Yarmouth</i> dated 5 July 1760. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 July 1760. 2: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 May. 3: Consultations from 19 May to 5 July. 4: Duplicate consultations from 21 April to 12 May. Item 5 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Royal George</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>. 7: List of officers and servants taken on 5 July 1760. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 10: Abstract of the <i>Winchelsea's</i> cargo. 11: Abstract of the <i>Drake's</i> cargo. 12: Abstract of the <i>Rhoda's</i> cargo. 13: Abstract of the <i>Tilbury's</i> cargo. 14: Abstract of the <i>Britannia's</i> cargo. 15: Abstract of the <i>Walpole's</i> cargo. 16: Abstract of the <i>Essex's</i> cargo. 17: Abstract of the <i>Hector's</i> cargo. 18: Abstract of the <i>Chesterfield's</i> cargo. 19: Abstract of the <i>Prince of Wales's</i> cargo. 20: Abstract of the <i>Edgecote's</i> cargo. 21: Abstract of the <i>Clinton's</i> cargo. 22: Abstract of the <i>Duke of Dorset's</i> cargo. 23: Duplicate account of the <i>Triton</i>. 24: The <i>Royal George's</i> account.
88	78	No 25 Ship Royal Dukes Account§ §26 Do Calcutta's Do§ §27 Do Hardwickes Do§ §28 Do Delawars Do§ §29 Do Winchelsea Do§ §30 Do Drakes Do§ §31 Do Rhoda's Do§ §32 Do Tilburys Do§ §33 Do Britannia's Do§ §34 Do Walpoles Do§ §35 Do Essex Do§ §36 Do Hectors Do§ §37 Do Chesterfields Do§ §38 Do Prince of Wales Do§ §39 Do Edgecotes Do§ §40 Do Clintons Do§ §41 Do Duke of Dorsets Do§ §42 Do Prince Henrys Packet Do§ §43 Time of the arrival of Ships Boats at Bankes§ §44 Duplicate Cash Acc from 12th March to 11th April 1760§ §45 Do Do from 12th April to 11th May Do§ §46 Do Do from 12 to 18 May Do§ §47 Cash Acc from 19 May to 11 June Do§ §48 Do from 12 June to 5 July Do§ §49 Duplicate List of the Packet per Ship Royal George§ §50 Do List of Garrisons Stores remaing 11th April 1760§ §51 Do of Stores remaing in the Honble Companys Ware House 11 Apl 1760§ §52 Do Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the year 1761§ §53 Do Indent of Medicines wanted for Do§	Item 25 was the <i>Royal Duke's</i> account. Item 26 was the <i>Calcutta's</i> account. Item 27 was the <i>Hardwickes's</i> account. Item 28 was the <i>Delaware's</i> account. Item 29 was the <i>Winchelsea's</i> account. Item 30 was the <i>Drake's</i> account. Item 31 was the <i>Rhoda's</i> account. Item 32 was the <i>Tilbury's</i> account. Item 33 was the <i>Britannia's</i> account. Item 34 was the <i>Walpole's</i> account. Item 35 was the <i>Essex's</i> account. Item 36 was the <i>Hector's</i> account. Item 37 was the <i>Chesterfield's</i> account. Item 38 was the <i>Prince of Wales's</i> account. Item 39 was the <i>Edgecote's</i> account. Item 40 was the <i>Clinton's</i> account. Item 41 was the <i>Duke of Dorset's</i> account. Item 42 was the <i>Prince Henry's</i> packet account. 43: Time of the arrival of the ships' boats at Bankes. 44: Duplicate cash account from 12 March to 11 April 1760. 45: Duplicate cash account from 12 April to 11 May. 46: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 18 May. 47: Cash account from 19 May to 11 June. 48: Cash account from 12 June to 5 July. Item 49 was a duplicate list of the packet by the <i>Royal George</i>. 50: Duplicate list of garrison stores remaining on 11 April 1760. 51: Duplicate list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouse on 11 April 1760. 52: Duplicate indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1761. 53: Duplicate indent of medicines wanted for the service of the year 1761.
89	79	No 54 Duplicate of Artillery Stores from 12 Oct 1759 to 11th Apl 1760§ §55 Do Account of Goods damaged on board of the Ship Triton§ §& paid for by the Captain§	54: Duplicate list of artillery stores from 12 October 1759 to 11 April 1760. 55: Duplicate account of goods damaged aboard the <i>Triton</i> and paid for by the captain. 56: List of seventeen soldiers detained out of the

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		§56 List of 17 Soldiers detained out of the Ship Royal Duke§ §57 Mr Rd Laws Report§ §58 Narrative of the Battle fought between Colonel Coote &§ §General Lally &c§ §59 Copy of a Letter from Capt Walter Alves, concerning the§ §melancholy Affair of the Negrais§ §60 Capt Rodams first Bill of Exchange & Letter of Advice§ §61 Capt Jehylls first Do & Do§ §62 Capt Samsons first Do & Do§ §63 List of Marriages &c§ §64 Capt Jehylls first Bill of Exchange for £22 6s for a§ §Sloops Mast§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices to your Honors went by His§ §Majestys Ship Yarmouth Admiral Pocock, which sailed§ §from hence the 6 July, with His Majestys Ships§ §Colchester, & Rippon, & 17 Sail of your Ships under§ §his Convoy§ §2 On the 27th of last Month, arrived the Ajax§ §the Honble Patrick Maitland Commander (late§ §Lindsay) from Madrass, which Place he left the§	<i>Royal Duke.</i> 57: Mr Richard Law's report. 58: Narrative of the battle fought between Colonel Coote and General Lally, etc. 59: Copy of a letter from Captain Walter Alves concerning the melancholy affair of the Negrais. 60: Captain Rodham's first bill of exchange and letter of advice. 61: Captain Jekyll's first bill of exchange and letter of advice. 62: Captain Sampson's first bill of exchange and letter of advice. 63: List of marriages, etc. 64: Captain Jekyll's first bill of exchange for £22 0s 6d for a sloop's mast. To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. 1: The last letter went to the Court aboard His Majesty's ship the <i>Yarmouth</i>, Admiral Pocock, which sailed from the island on the 6th of July, together with His Majesty's ships the <i>Colchester</i> and <i>Rippon</i> and seventeen sail of the Court's ships under her convoy. 2: On the 27th of last month the <i>Ajax</i>, Patrick Maitland commander, late Lindsay, arrived from Madras, which place he left the Interpretations The letter concerning the Negrais in item fifty-nine points again to the disaster at the Company's settlement on the Burmese coast. A commander's own account of the calamity was forwarded to London, which reveals how the island gathered documentary testimony of misfortune at the Company's remote posts and passed it home, the settlement serving as the channel through which the details of such distant catastrophes reached the Court.
90	80	the 17th August; He acquaints Us that they Sailed§ §from Bengall the 17th March, & arrived at Mocamow§ §the 25th April, when Mr Preston your President there§ §informed them, that a French Ship of 64 Guns, and§ §a Frigate, with about 500 Land forces on board, had§ §taken Natal the 7th Feby last, without any resistance§ §Tappanooly the 15 of the same Month, after two Days§ §Siege; And Fort Marlborough the 1 April, without§ §much opposition, And that your Honors Ship§ §Denham, that was in Marlborough Road at that§ §Time, was ordered to be burnt, to prevent her falling§ §into the Enemys Hands, & her Crew detached to§ §reinforce the Garrison of that place, & that it was§ §said that thirty Eight Chest of your Honors Treasure§ §was sometime before sent to Batavia, & put on board§ §your Ships, Valentine, & Suffolk, & by them carried§ §that they sailed from Mocamow the 17 April for Madrass, and§ §for China, He likewise acquaints Us, that they§ §were chased two Days off Nassau Island, by a§ §large Ship, they arrived at Madrass the 30 May§ §& found lying there, your Ships Pocock, & Shaftsbury§ §the former Sailed for China on the 15th June, the 27§ §of the same Month, arrived the Godolphin, Capt§ §Hutchinson from Bombay, with Advice that His§ §Majestys Ships Panther, & Norfolk, had joined§ §Admiral Stevens's Fleet off Cudalore, Capt Maitland§ §also informs Us, that on the 2nd July sailed the Duke§	The <i>Ajax</i> left Madras on 17 August. Maitland reported that they sailed from Bengal on 17 March and arrived at Mocha on 25 April, when Mr Preston, the Court's Resident there, informed them that a French ship of 64 guns and a frigate, with about 500 land forces aboard, had taken Natal on the 7th of February without any resistance, and Tappanooly on the 15th of the same month after two days' siege, and Fort Marlborough on 1 April without much opposition. The Court's ship the <i>Denham</i>, which was in Marlborough Road at that time, was ordered to be burnt to prevent her falling into enemy hands, and her crew detached to reinforce the garrison of that place. It was said that thirty-eight chests of the Court's treasure had been sent to Batavia some time before and put aboard the Court's ships the <i>Valentine</i> and <i>Suffolk</i>, which sailed from Mocha on 27 April for China. Maitland further reported that they were chased two days off Nassau Island by a large ship. They arrived at Madras on 10 May and found the Court's ships <i>Pocock</i> and <i>Shaftsbury</i> lying there, the former sailing for China on 15 June. On the 27th of the same month the <i>Godolphin</i>, Captain Hutchinson, arrived from Bombay, with news that His Majesty's ships the <i>Panther</i> and <i>Norfolk</i> had joined Admiral Stevens's fleet off Cuddalore. Maitland also reported that on the 2nd of July the <i>Duke</i>, a country vessel, sailed from Madras to cruise, as was supposed, off the Straits of Sunda, to give intelligence Interpretations The fall of the west coast settlements in the first passage marks a serious French stroke against the Company's pepper posts on Sumatra. A single French warship and frigate with a small land force took Natal, Tappanooly and Fort Marlborough in quick succession, which shows how exposed these isolated settlements were to a determined attack, and St Helena's value lay in receiving from an arriving

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		§a Country Vessel from Madrass, to Cruize as was§ §supposed off the Streights of Sunda, to give intelligence§	captain the account of their loss and relaying it to London. The burning of the <i>Denham</i> in the first passage reveals the harsh calculus by which a ship was sacrificed to deny it to the enemy. Rather than let the vessel fall into French hands, her own side destroyed her and put her crew to strengthening the garrison, which shows how the defence of a threatened settlement could demand the deliberate loss of a valuable ship, the vessel burnt and her men turned into infantry as the post fought for survival. The forwarding of treasure before the attack in the first passage shows a prudent removal of bullion ahead of danger. Thirty-eight chests were sent away to Batavia and shipped onward before the French struck, which reveals how the Company sought to protect its specie by moving it out of a threatened settlement in good time, the treasure carried clear on other ships while the post itself was left to fall.
91	81	to the Ships bound to Bencoolen, of that place§ §being in the Hands of the French; And that on the§ §13 of July, the Godolphin left Madrass for Bengal,§ §with Mr Vansittart on board, The 25 of the same§ §Month, arrived at Fort St George, the Onslow, on the§ §9 August, the Princess Augusta, Warwick, Lord§ §Mansfield, & Carnarvon, & on the 12th of that Month§ §the Falmouth§ §3 Notwithstanding the strict watch he kept upon§ §all Ships sailing from this Place, to prevent the§ §Desertion of Soldiers & Blacks, yet several Persons§ §got on board the Fleet, as you will please to observe§ §in our Consultation of the 7th July last, all of them§ §were sent on shore again, except a Soldier, & two§ §of your Honors Men Slaves, Grewen, & Joe, & a§ §Man Slave belonging to Forbes the Cooper, who got§ §quite away, We are in great hopes the Blacks§ §will be delivered to you, upon the arrival of those§ §Ships, & that you will be pleased to return them§ §by the first opportunity; it will undoubtedly be a§ §means, as they find their Elopements unsuccessful§ §of deterring them, & others from such Attempts in§ §future, Grewen is a Senelager, & a very useful Man,§ §but withal an artful, & most Notorious Villain, &§ §was the Person who broke open a Chest in the Castle,§ §& stole from thence, to the amount of near fifty Pounds§ §the particulars of which is inserted, in our Consultation§ §of the 24 March last, This with many other§ §instances§	The country vessel <i>Duke</i> was to give intelligence to the ships bound for Bencoolen of that place being in the hands of the French. On 13 July the <i>Godolphin</i> left Madras for Bengal with Mr Vansittart aboard. On the 25th of the same month the <i>Onslow</i> arrived at Fort St George, on the 9th of August the <i>Princess Augusta</i>, <i>Warwick</i>, <i>Lord Mansfield</i> and <i>Carnarvon</i>, and on the 12th of that month the <i>Falmouth</i>. 3: Despite the strict watch kept on all ships sailing from the island to prevent the desertion of soldiers and blacks, several persons got aboard the fleet, as recorded in the Council's consultation of 7 July. All of them were sent ashore again except one who had died, and two of the Court's man slaves, Grewen and Joe, and a man slave belonging to Torbet the cooper, who got quite away. The Council was very hopeful the blacks would be delivered to the Court on the arrival of those ships, and that the Court would return them by the first chance. Their recovery would undoubtedly help to deter them, and others, from such attempts in future, as they found their escapes unsuccessful. Grewen was a slave and a very useful man, but withal an artful and most notorious villain, and was the person who broke open a chest in the Castle and stole from it near fifty pounds, the particulars of which were entered in the Council's consultation of 24 March. This, with many other instances Interpretations The escape of the slaves aboard the fleet in paragraph three reveals once more how the shipping that served the island offered its slaves a path to freedom. Despite a strict watch, three men got clean away with the departing ships, which shows how the constant traffic of vessels created openings for flight that the Council could not close, the very fleet the settlement existed to serve carrying off the men it held in bondage. The Council's reasoning about deterrence in paragraph three exposes the calculated cruelty by which the Company sought to hold its slaves. It valued the return of the escaped men not only to recover them but to show others that flight was futile, which reveals how the recovery of runaways was meant to break the hope of escape itself, the punishment of failure designed to keep the rest in bondage by teaching them that no attempt could succeed. The theft by Grewen in paragraph three complicates the picture of the runaway as mere property. A slave the Council called useful yet a notorious villain had broken into the Castle and stolen near fifty pounds, which reveals the resistance and agency of a man held in bondage, his flight the culmination of a defiance that the Council recorded

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			with a mixture of grudging regard and condemnation.
22	82	instances of Burglarys, & Felonys, committed by the§ §Blacks, upon this Island, so frequently noticed in our§ §Consultations, makes it indispensably necessary to§ §represent, again to your Honors, that unless, we have§ §a Power to Execute, & make an example of some of§ §them, it will be impossible, to stop the growth of the§ §Mischiefs perpetrated by them, in all parts of the Island,§ §which daily encrease, & from experience We are§ §convinced, that severe Corporal punishments are quite§ §ineffectual, to remedy these Evils, Your former Governments§ §have been invested with this Power, as will appear§ §from the following taken from the Bye Laws, & Constitutions§ §of the Island, which we beg leave to Cite§ §The punishment of Blacks for§ §Burglary, & Felony according to the Laws, & Constitutions§ §of the Island is as follows viz§ §"For the first Offence to be Whipped§ §"at three different Times, & to be branded with the§ §"Letter R on the Forehead, For the second Offence, to§ §"wear a Chain, & Clog a Year, & for the third Offence to§ §"suffer Death, at the discretion of the Governor & Council§ §"The Slave to be Valued, & the master satisfied§ §"according to Estimation, by an Assessment on the whole§ §"Inhabitants§ §By the above its evident, that a power§ §was given for Executing such Criminals, & by Vertue§ §thereof, it appears from the Records here, that many§ §have formerly been put to Death, giving them§ §three§	These instances of burglary and felony committed by the blacks on the island, so often noticed in the Council's consultations, made it absolutely necessary to represent again to the Court that unless the Council had power to execute and make an example of some of them, it would be impossible to stop the growth of the mischief they did in all parts of the island. This daily increased, and from experience the Council was convinced that severe corporal punishments were quite ineffectual to remedy the evil. The island's former governments had been invested with this power, as appeared from the following, taken from the bye laws and constitutions of the island, which the Council quoted. The punishment of blacks for burglary and felony, according to the laws and constitutions of the island, was as follows. For the first offence, to be whipped at three different times and branded with the letter R on the forehead. For the second offence, to wear a chain and clog a year. For the third offence, either death, at the discretion of the Governor and Council, the slave to be valued and the master satisfied according to appraisal, by an assessment on the whole body of inhabitants. From the above it was evident that a power had been given for executing such criminals. In keeping with it, the records of the island showed that many had formerly been put to death, given them three Interpretations The graduated penal code in the second passage lays bare the brutal legal machinery by which the island governed its slaves. Whipping and branding for a first offence, a year in chains for a second and death for a third set out a formal scale of escalating cruelty, which reveals how the settlement embedded the control of its slave population in written law, the letter R burned into the forehead marking a man permanently as a convicted thief. The compensation of masters in the second passage exposes how the law reconciled punishment with the property interest in the slave. A slave put to death was valued and his owner repaid through a levy on all the inhabitants, which reveals how the community shared the cost of executing a man held as property, the collective assessment ensuring that the enforcement of criminal justice did not fall as a private loss on the individual master. The Council's argument for capital power in the first passage shows it pressing London to restore the harshest sanction against a rising defiance. Convinced that corporal punishment had failed, the Council sought authority to execute offenders as an example, which reveals how the settlement met the persistent resistance of its slaves by reaching for the ultimate penalty, framing the power to kill as a practical necessity for holding its human property in subjection. Speculations Confronted with mounting burglaries and felonies by its slaves, the Council could have continued to rely on the corporal punishments it already administered, the course that avoided the grave step of seeking authority to put men to death. Instead it pressed the Court to confirm a power of execution, digging out the island's old bye laws to show the sanction had once been exercised. The record shows the Council rejecting the familiar recourse of whipping, which it now judged useless, in favour of reviving capital punishment, the appeal to the written constitutions revealing a deliberate choice to escalate rather than persist with measures it had concluded could not check the defiance of those it held in bondage.

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23	83	three chances for their Lives, Amidst the excessive §Enormitys which are now so often committed by these§ §Delinquents, would in our opinion, be shewing them§ §at this Time, too much lenity, they should at least§ §We think, suffer upon being Convicted the second Time§ §before Us, The Inhabitants are all great sufferers§ §from these Depredations, & are very sensible, that it§ §is absolutely neccesary some Method, to secure their§ §properties, should be taken, & as none Occurs to Us§ §to be so effectual, as what we have here proposed.§ §We hope for these reasons, your Honors will be pleased§ §to take it into consideration; By bringing Atrocious§ §Offenders, to Condign punishments, the Honest will§ §be protected, & the Industrious encouraged, which are§ §the only motives, for our making this representation§ §4 We are sorry to acquaint you, that several§ §of your Honors Cattle, have died this Year, & still§ §continue to do so, not from the want of Foot, Having§ §had plenty of Grass in the Long Wood for some Months§ §past, but from a disorder we apprehend they have§ §contracted by Eating a grass growing lately, there§ §called Canary, some of which, for your further§ §satisfaction, we have sent in the Packet; As the Long§ §Wood is the only place upon the Island where Cattle§ §have been afflicted, it looks very suspicious, that§ §this Grass have been the cause, & we are the more§ §confirmed therein, from an experiment we made§ §in a Healthy young Beast, which was put in a§ §Place§	The offenders had been given three chances for their lives. Amid the excessive enormities now so often committed by these delinquents, allowing them three chances would in the Council's opinion be showing them too much leniency. They should at least, it thought, suffer on being convicted the second time before it. The inhabitants were all great sufferers from these depredations, and were very sensible that some method to secure their properties was absolutely necessary. Since none occurred to the Council so effectual as what it here proposed, it hoped the Court would take the matter into consideration. By bringing atrocious offenders to condign punishment, the Court would be protected and the industrious encouraged, which were the only motives for the Council making this representation. 4: The Council was sorry to report that several of the Court's cattle had died this year and still continued to die, not from want of food, having had plenty of grass in the Long Wood for some months past, but from a disorder the Council believed they had contracted by eating a grass that lately grew there, called canary. Some of it was sent in the packet for the Court's further satisfaction. Since the Long Wood was the only place on the island where cattle had been afflicted, it looked very suspicious that this grass had been the cause. The Council was the more confirmed in this from an experiment it made on a healthy young beast, which was put in a Interpretations The proposed hardening of the penal code in the first passage shows the Council pressing to execute offenders sooner than the old law allowed. Where the constitutions gave three chances before death, the Council now urged that a second conviction should suffice, which reveals how the settlement sought to tighten the machinery of capital punishment against its slaves, judging the existing scale of escalating cruelty too lenient for a defiance it found beyond corporal remedy. The cattle disorder in paragraph four reveals a settlement applying practical inquiry to a threat to its food supply. Suspecting a particular grass at the Long Wood, the Council tested its theory on a healthy beast and sent samples home for examination, which shows how the island reasoned from observation to isolate the cause of a mysterious ailment, its dependence on cattle driving a careful attempt to identify and confirm the source of the loss. The distinction drawn in paragraph four between want of food and disease marks a shift in the island's long anxiety over its livestock. Where earlier losses came from drought and short pasture, this mortality struck amid plenty of grass, which reveals a new and separate danger to the cattle, the Council recognising that abundance itself could conceal a poison and that the failure of its beasts was not always a matter of the weather. Speculations Faced with cattle dying amid plentiful grass, the Council could have set the loss down to some ordinary cause and let the matter rest, as it might have with the familiar deaths of drought. Instead it fixed on a particular grass at the Long Wood and deliberately put a healthy young beast to feed on it as a test, sending samples home for examination. The record shows the Council rejecting mere supposition in favour of a controlled experiment, the choice to prove the cause on a sound animal revealing a resort to practical trial where it might simply have guessed, driven by how much the settlement's survival rested on its herds.

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<u>94</u>	84	place, where it could get no other Food, but what§ §was given it, & fed entirely upon that Grass, about§ §eight Days after, it was taken with a trembling,§ §lost the use of its Limbs, & the Bowels contracted§ §in a surprising manner, but recovered soon, upon§ §changing the Food, & bleeding it plentifully, some§ §of them have a swelling in their Breast, & upon§ §opening, the Intestines are found quite decayed, all§ §of them, after they are seized with this disorder§ §have a contraction in the Bowels, & appear to be§ §quite mad, if these bad effects should not be§ §produced from this Grass, we are very apprehensive§ §that some fatal distemper is coming among them,§ §a circumstance melancholly, & Allarming, All methods§ §we could think of, for relieving them, have been tried,§ §but as yet proved ineffectual, immediately, after§ §making the experiment, we imployed several others§ §to onsy, & grub this Grass out of the Long Wood, & we§ §are in hopes, as it is an Annual, by proceeding in§ §this manner for a Year, or two, before the Seed comes§ §to perfection, entirely to exterpate it§ §5 Most of the Flour, we have received for§ §these two Year past, have proved uncommonly§ §Sour & bad, owing as the Bakers inform us, to its§ §being grown Flour, when first put up, some of the§ §Bthead made with it, is so very indifferent, that it is§ §hardly Eatable, We thought proper to mention this§ §to your Honors, to prevent our having cause of§	The healthy young beast was put in a place where it could get no other food but what was given it, and fed entirely on that grass. About eight days after, it was taken with a trembling, lost the use of its limbs and had its bowels contracted in a surprising manner, but recovered soon on changing its food and being bled plentifully. Some of the beasts had a swelling in their chest, and on opening others the intestines were found quite decayed. All of them, after being seized with the disorder, had a contraction in the bowels and appeared quite mad. If these bad effects did not come from this grass, the Council was very apprehensive that some fatal distemper was coming among the cattle, a circumstance melancholy and alarming. Every method the Council could think of for relieving them had been tried, but as yet proved ineffectual. Immediately after making the experiment, the Council employed several slaves to mow and grub the grass out of the Long Wood. Since it was an annual, the Council hoped that by proceeding in this manner for a year or two, before the seed came to perfection, to root it out entirely. 5: Most of the flour received these two years past proved uncommonly sour and bad, owing, as the bakers informed the Council, to its being ground when grown. Some of the bread made with it was so very poor that it was hardly eatable. The Council thought proper to mention this to the Court, to prevent its having cause of Interpretations The controlled feeding trial in the first passage shows the Council pursuing its inquiry into the cattle deaths to a genuine conclusion. The isolated beast sickened on the suspect grass and recovered when its food was changed, which reveals how the settlement reasoned from a deliberate experiment to a practical remedy, moving from suspicion to a considered programme of grubbing out the plant before its seed could spread. The eradication effort in the first passage exposes how the labour of slaves was turned to the island's agricultural survival. Several slaves were set to mow and root out the poisonous grass over a season or more, which reveals how the settlement deployed its bound workforce against a threat to its herds, the same men held as property set to the patient work of clearing the Long Wood to save the cattle on which the island depended. The spoiled flour in paragraph five shows how a defect in a shipped staple worked its way into the daily sustenance of the settlement. Flour ground while grown arrived sour and made bread barely fit to eat, which reveals how the island suffered from the condition in which its provisions were dispatched, a fault in the milling at the far end of the supply line reducing the quality of the bread on which the garrison and inhabitants relied.
<u>95</u>	85	complaint of this Article in future§ §6 The Gun Carriages we likewise received this§ §Season, are so bad, from their being made with Green§ §Elm Plank, that by the Time, they reach this place,§ §most of them are doted, & decayed, & quite unservicable§ §We for these reasons request, that you will be pleased§ §to Order them to be made of good seasoned Oak, instead§ §of Elm, for the heat of the Sun, is so intense here,§ §that it sends them all to pieces, when made of Green§ §Wood§ §7 The Governor hath paid £34 into your Cash,§ §which Sum we have received, & given him Bills of§	The Council mentioned this to prevent the Court having cause of complaint about the flour in future. 6: The gun carriages received this season were so poor, being made with green elm plank, that by the time they reached the island most of them were rotten, decayed and quite unserviceable. The Council therefore requested the Court to order them made of good seasoned oak instead of elm, since the heat of the sun was so intense at the island that it tore to pieces any carriage made of green wood. 7: Governor Hutchinson had paid thirty-four pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that amount, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 8th of this month.

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		§Exchange drawn on your Honors for that amount§ §payable to himself, or Order, 90 Days after sight§ §dated the 8th instant§ §8 Capt Clark applied to Us, to pay one thousand§ §two hundred & fifty Pounds into your Cash, which we§ §have received, & given him Bills of Exchange drawn§ §on your Honors for that Sum, payable to Capt§ §Charles Fowlis, or Order, 90 Days after sight, dated§ §the 8th instant§ §9 Capt Kirkpatrick, likewise applied to Us, to pay§ §one hundred & seventy Pounds, into your Cash, which we§ §have received, & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn§ §on your Honors for that Sum, payable to Captain James§ §Pallister, or Order, 90 Days after sight, dated the 8 instant§ §10 Wm Taylor a Marine belonging to His Majestys§ §Ship Rippon, Ths Griffin, & John Pink, two Boys, who§ §were§	8: Captain Clark applied to the Council to pay one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Captain Charles Foulis or order ninety days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 9: Captain Kirkpatrick likewise applied to the Council to pay one hundred and seventy pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Captain James Pallister or order ninety days after sight, dated the 8th of this month. 10: William Taylor, a marine belonging to His Majesty's ship the <i>Rippon</i>, Thomas Griffin and John Pink, two boys who were
26	86	were Captains Servants on board the Yarmouth,§ §were all found here, after the Convoy sailed, We§ §thought it advisable, to send them to England by§ §this opportunity, & for that purpose, have given§ §Capt Maitland an Order, to receive them on board§ §the Ajax, & have paid him £5 each for their§ §Passage, & allowed them for their support during§ §their stay here as follows viz§ §Ths Griffin & John Pink the two Boys at§ §6d Day each from the 6 July, to the 15th§ §Decr both Days included being 163 Days £8 3s§ §Wm Taylor Marine from the same Time§ §at 3s per Week 3 19s 7d§ §£12 2s 7d§ §11 We have likewise given Capt Maitland§ §a permission, to receive on board the Ship Ajax§ §Jas Brickett, who was left behind from the Walpole§ §As he has been sick the whole Time of his stay§ §here, we were under a neccesity to allow him 6d Day§ §for his subsistence, at the Hospital, which amounts§ §to £4 9s 10d the charge hereof we think reasonable§ §& suppose will be repaid you, either by the Capt or§ §Owners of that Ship, for as this Man was not in§ §a capacity to proceed the Voyage, Capt Fenner is§ §greatly to blame, in not acquainting Us with the§ §circumstances he was in, & should have made§ §provision for his support here, as is customary for§ §the Cpts on such occasions to do, Otherwise your§ §Honrs§	Taylor, Griffin and Pink were captains' servants aboard the <i>Yarmouth</i>, and were all found at the island after the convoy sailed. The Council thought it advisable to send them to England by this chance, and for that purpose had given Captain Maitland an order to receive them aboard the <i>Ajax</i>, paid him five pounds each for their passage and allowed them for their support during their stay as follows. Thomas Griffin and John Pink, the two boys, at 6d a day each from 6 July to 15 December, both days included, being 163 days, £8 3s 0d William Taylor, marine, from the same time at 3s 6d a week, £3 19s 7d Total, £12 2s 7d 11: The Council likewise gave Captain Maitland leave to receive aboard the <i>Ajax</i> James Brickett, who was left behind from the <i>Walpole</i>. Since he had been sick the whole time of his stay at the island, the Council was under a necessity of allowing him sixpence a day for his subsistence at the hospital, which amounted to £4 9s 10d. The Council thought this charge reasonable, and supposed it would be repaid by the captain or owners of the ship. Since this man was not in a condition to proceed the voyage, Captain Tanner was greatly to blame for not informing the Council of the circumstances he was in, and should have made provision for his support at the island, as it was customary for captains on such occasions to do. Otherwise Interpretations The stranded servants and sick sailor in these passages reveal how the island became responsible for the men that passing ships left behind. Captains' servants missed by the convoy and a sick seaman set ashore had to be maintained and then forwarded at the settlement's charge, which shows how St Helena absorbed the human stragglers of the fleet, feeding and housing them until it could ship them onward and recover the cost. The reproach to Captain Tanner in paragraph eleven exposes the customary obligation that bound commanders to provide for the men they landed. A captain who left a sick sailor without making provision for his keep had failed in an established duty, which reveals how the burden of stranded seamen was meant to fall on their own ships rather than on the island, the Council insisting that the cost be repaid and the neglect marked against the commander who caused it. The precise reckoning of subsistence in these passages shows the meticulous accounting by which

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			the island recovered every charge it bore for others. The support of each boy, marine and sick man was calculated to the day and the total drawn up for repayment, which reveals how the settlement treated the maintenance of stranded men as a strict debt, each sum entered exactly so that it could be reclaimed from the ships that had left them behind.
27	87	Honors expences would be often enhanced, from§ §occurrences of this kind§ §12 As the Ship Ajax, wanted five Men to§ §complete her complement, after the Capt had shipped§ §Js Bickett, & agreed to pay him Wages, We gave§ §a permission to Capt Maitland, to receive on board§ §his Ship, Ths Litchfield a discharged Soldier, & as§ §he could not procure any more Men, we took this§ §opportunity to put likewise on board, Wm Anderson§ §Jonas Dudley, John Hyde, & Wm Owen Invalid§ §Soldiers, to fill up his Ships Company, they have all§ §signed an Instrument in writing, as you have been§ §pleased to direct, that they will not demand any§ §Wages for their Voyage Home, which we transmit you§ §together with the Surgeons Certificate, in respects to§ §the Invalids§ §13 We transmit you by this opportunity your§ §Honors General Books of Accounts, balanced to the§ §11th October last§ §14 The Passengers on board the Ajax, are§ §Brigadier General Bussy, upon his Parole, Lieut§ §Colonels Chennely, & Murphy, Prisoners of War, Messrs§ §Metainty, & Bassulay Secretary to Mons. Bussy,§ §Messrs Fountaine, & four French Surgeons, with§ §several Servants, & five french Prisoners, Capt Vaughan§ §of Colonel Drapers Regiment, & Lieut Prescott of His§ §Majestys Ship Yarmouth, Mr Douglass, Capt Lowis§ §& Mr Fields§	Otherwise the Court's expenses would often be increased by occurrences of this kind. 12: Since the <i>Ajax</i> wanted five men to complete her complement after the captain had shipped James Brickett and agreed to pay him wages, the Council gave Captain Maitland leave to receive aboard his ship Thomas Litchfield, a discharged soldier. Since he could not procure any more men, the Council took this chance to put aboard likewise William Anderson, Jonas Dudley, John Hyde and William Owen, invalid soldiers, to fill up his ship's company. They had all signed an instrument in writing, as the Court had directed, that they would not demand any wages for their voyage home, which the Council sent, together with the surgeon's certificate concerning the invalids. 13: The Council sent the Court by this chance the general books of accounts, balanced to 11 October last. 14: The passengers aboard the <i>Ajax</i> were Brigadier General Bussy, on his parole, Lieutenant Colonels Chennelly and Murphy, prisoners of war, Messrs Metainky and Bassulay, secretary to Monsieur Bussy, Messrs Fountaine and four French surgeons, with several servants and five French prisoners, Captain Vaughan of Colonel Draper's regiment, Lieutenant Prescott of His Majesty's ship the <i>Yarmouth</i>, Mr Douglass, Captain Lowis and Mr Fields. Interpretations The captive Bussy travelling on parole in paragraph fourteen brings the most important French prisoner of the Indian war through the island on his way home. The ablest French commander in India passed St Helena as a prisoner released on his word not to escape, which reveals how the settlement lay on the route by which even the greatest captives were carried to England, the parole marking the honourable convention by which a senior officer was spared close confinement. The invalid soldiers filling the ship's complement in paragraph twelve show how the island turned its unfit men to use in manning departing vessels. Discharged and disabled soldiers who could not serve the garrison were shipped as crew to make up a short-handed vessel, which reveals how the settlement disposed of men it could no longer use by placing them aboard ships that needed hands, the waiver of their wages making them a convenient resource for a captain short of a full company. The renunciation of wages in paragraph twelve confirms once more the Company's standing guard against claims from those it sent home as makeshift crew. The invalid soldiers signed away any demand for wages before sailing, which reveals the settled practice of extracting a written waiver from every such man, the Company ensuring that its expedient of filling ships with stranded and disabled men created no liability for their pay.
28	88	15 The two French Colonels, Chennely, & Murphy, applied§ §to Us for twenty Days subsistence, the Time of their§ §being here, at six Rupees each per Day, what they§ §assure Us, your President, & Council of Fort St George§ §allowed them there, & told them, as they acquaint Us,§	15: The two French colonels, Chennelly and Murphy, applied to the Council for twenty days' subsistence, the time of their being at the island, at six rupees each a day, which they assured the Council the President and Council of Fort St George had allowed them there. The Council had told them, as they reported, that if they should be in want of money at the island it would supply them in the same manner. It therefore advanced it to them

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		§that if they should be in want of Money here, that§ §we would supply them, in the same manner, we§ §therefore advanced it to them accordingly, & have§ §taken their Receipt for the same, which go in the§ §Packet§ §16 Since our last Advices to you, we have had§ §a tolerable Winter Season, but the Country at present§ §is very dry, & without the Summer Rains set in soon§ §we are apprehensive the Cattle intended for Slaughter§ §the next Year, will be but very small, & indifferent§ §& that we shall not be able to supply the homeward§ §bound Ships, so fully as we could wish§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §18th Decr 1760§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servts§ §(Signed) Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §Matt Purling§	accordingly, and had taken their receipt for it, which was sent in the packet. 16: Since the last letter, the Council had had a tolerable winter season, but the country was at present very dry. Unless the summer rains set in soon, it was apprehensive the cattle meant for slaughter the next year would be but very small and poor, and that it would not be able to supply the homeward bound ships so fully as it could wish. The letter was sent from St Helena on 18 December 1760, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. Interpretations The maintenance of the French colonels in paragraph fifteen shows again how prisoner subsistence was standardised across the Company's settlements. The captives claimed the rate Fort St George had allowed them, and the Council matched it at six rupees a day, which reveals how a prisoner's upkeep was governed by a recognised figure that followed him from one Company centre to the next, the island honouring the scale set in India for officers passing through in captivity. The return of the drought anxiety in paragraph sixteen shows how the island's central dependence on rain persisted year after year. A tolerable winter gave way to a dry country and renewed fear for the next year's cattle, which reveals how the settlement's ability to provision the homeward fleet turned perpetually on the timing of the summer rains, the same apprehension recurring whenever the weather threatened the pasture on which its beasts depended.
99	89	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St§ §Helena per Ship Ajax dated the 18th December 1760 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated the 18th Decr 1760§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated the 5th July Do§ §3 Consultations from the 7th July to the 15th Decr Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 19 May to the 5th July Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet of His Majestys Ship§ §Yarmouth§ §6 Second Receipt for Do of Ship Royal George§ §7 List of Officers & Servant taken Decr 18th 1760§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Muster Rolls of the Garrison§ §10 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee§ §11 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Ajax§ §12 Duplicate of Ships Boats arrival at Bankes & Do§ §the arrival of Ship Ajaxs Boat§ §13 Ship Ajaxs Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Royal Dukes Accounts§ §15 Do Calcuttas Do§ §16 Do Hardwicks Do§ §17 Do Delawars Do§ §18 Do Winchelsea Do§ §19 Do Drakes Do§ §20 Do Rhoda's Do§ §21 Do Tilburys Do§ §22 Do Britannia's Do§	List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Ajax</i> dated 18 December 1760. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 December 1760. 2: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 July. 3: Consultations from 7 July to 15 December. 4: Duplicate consultations from 19 May to 5 July. Item 5 was the first receipt of the packet by His Majesty's ship the <i>Yarmouth</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt of the packet by the <i>Royal George</i>. 7: List of officers and servants taken on 18 December 1760. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Muster rolls of the garrison. 10: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 11: Abstract of the <i>Ajax</i>'s cargo. 12: Duplicate of the ships' boats' arrival at Bankes, and the arrival of the <i>Ajax</i>'s boat. Item 13 was the <i>Ajax</i>'s account. Item 14 was a duplicate of the <i>Royal Duke</i>'s account. Item 15 was a duplicate of the <i>Calcutta</i>'s account. Item 16 was a duplicate of the <i>Hardwicke</i>'s account. Item 17 was a duplicate of the <i>Delaware</i>'s account. Item 18 was a duplicate of the <i>Winchelsea</i>'s account. Item 19 was a duplicate of the <i>Drake</i>'s account. Item 20 was a duplicate of the <i>Rhoda</i>'s account. Item 21 was a duplicate of the <i>Tilbury</i>'s account. Item 22 was a duplicate of the <i>Britannia</i>'s account.
100	90	No 23 Duplicate Ship Walpoles Account§ §24 Do Essex Do§ §25 Do Hector Do§ §26 Do Chesterfields Do§ §27 Do Prince of Wales Do§ §28 Do Edgecote Do§ §29 Do Clintons Do§ §30 Do Duke of Dorset Do§ §31 Do Prince Henrys Packet Do§ §32 Do Cash Acc from 19 May to 11th June 1760§ §33 Do Do from 12th Idner to 5th July Do§	Item 23 was a duplicate of the <i>Walpole</i>'s account. Item 24 was a duplicate of the <i>Essex</i>'s account. Item 25 was a duplicate of the <i>Hector</i>'s account. Item 26 was a duplicate of the <i>Chesterfield</i>'s account. Item 27 was a duplicate of the <i>Prince of Wales</i>'s account. Item 28 was a duplicate of the <i>Edgecote</i>'s account. Item 29 was a duplicate of the <i>Clinton</i>'s account. Item 30 was a duplicate of the <i>Duke of Dorset</i>'s account. Item 31 was a duplicate of the <i>Prince Henry</i>'s packet account. 32: Duplicate cash account from 19 May to 11 June 1760.

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		§34 Cash Acc from 6 to the 11th July Do§ §35 Do from 12th July to 11 Aug Do§ §36 Do from 12th Aug to 11 Sepr Do§ §37 Do from 12 Sepr to 11 Octr Do§ §38 Do from 12 to the 31 Octr Do§ §39 Do for the month of Nov Do§ §40 Do from the 1 to 18th Decr Do§ §41 Duplicate List of the Packet of His Majestys Ship§ §Yarmouth§ §42 Capt Rodams Second Bill of Exchange & Letter§ §of Advice§ §43 Capt Jehylls Do & Do§ §44 Capt Samsons Do & Do§ §45 Capt Jehylls Do for £22 6s§ §for a Sloops Mast§ §46 List of Familys taken the 11th Octr 1760§ §47 Do of Rents taken the 11th Octr Do§	33: Duplicate cash account from 12 June to 5 July. 34: Cash account from 6 to 11 July. 35: Cash account from 12 July to 11 August. 36: Cash account from 12 August to 11 September. 37: Cash account from 12 September to 11 October. 38: Cash account from 12 to 23 October. 39: Cash account for the month of November. 40: Cash account from 1 to 18 December. Item 41 was a duplicate list of the packet by His Majesty's ship the <i>Yarmouth</i>. Item 42 was Captain Rodham's second bill of exchange and letter of advice. Item 43 was Captain Jekyll's second bill of exchange and letter of advice. Item 44 was Captain Sampson's second bill of exchange and letter of advice. Item 45 was Captain Jekyll's second bill of exchange for £22 0s 6d for the sloop's mast. 46: List of families taken on 11 October 1760. 47: List of rents taken on 11 October.
101	91	No 48 List of the Honble Companys Slaves taken 11th Octr 1760§ §49 Do of Cattle returned Slaughtered for the Year Do§ §50 Courts Martial from 31 Decr 1759 to 15th Decr Do§ §51 General Books of Acc for the Year end g the 11 Oct Do§ §52 Duplicate Narrative of the Battle fought, between§ §Colonel Coote & General Lally &c§ §53 List of a Discharged Soldr & 4 Invalids§ §54 Surgeons Certificate of 4 Invalid Soldiers§ §55 Instrument in Writing from 5 Discharged Soldiers§ §56 Duplicate List of 17 Soldiers detached out of the§ §Ship Royal Duke§ §57 Canary Grass & Seed§ §58 Capt Maitland Receipt for £15§ §59 Colonels Chennelys & Murphys Receipts for £27§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §We addressed You last, by your Ship Ajax§ §that sailed from hence the 19th of December 1760§ §On the 5 instant, arrived your Honrs Ships§ §Harcourt, Stormont, & Houghton from Bombay, which Place§ §they left the 21 of Nov last, And the 13 arrived the Shaftsbury§ §from Madrass, having sailed from thence on the 5th Nov, Capt§ §Inglis acquaints Us, that he heard the Triton arrived at§ §Bengall, about the middle of Sept, they having been§ §informed on their entering the Streights of Banca, that§ §two§	48: List of the Company's slaves taken on 11 October 1760. 49: List of cattle returned and killed for the year. 50: Court martial from 31 December 1759 to 15 December 1760. 51: General books of accounts for the year ending 11 October. 52: Duplicate narrative of the battle fought between Colonel Coote and General Lally, etc. 53: List of a discharged soldier and four invalids. 54: Surgeon's certificate of four invalid soldiers. 55: Instrument in writing from five discharged soldiers. 56: Duplicate list of seventeen soldiers detached out of the <i>Royal Duke</i>. 57: Canary grass and seed. 58: Captain Maitland's receipt for £15 0s 0d. 59: Colonels Chennelly and Murphy's receipt for £27 0s 0d. To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Ajax</i>, which sailed from the island on the 19th of December 1760. On the 5th of this month the Court's ships <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Stormont</i> and <i>Houghton</i> arrived from Bombay, which place they left on the 21st of November. On the 13th the <i>Shaftsbury</i> arrived from Madras, having sailed from there on the 5th of November. Captain Inglis reported that he heard the <i>Triton</i> arrived at Bengal about the middle of September, having been informed on their entering the Straits of Banca that two Interpretations The list of the Company's slaves in item forty-eight, taken with the returns of cattle and the general accounts, marks once more the routine enrolment of slaves as a standing asset of the settlement. Counted on their own register alongside the livestock and the books of account and forwarded to London, the island's slaves were entered into the ordinary annual reckoning of the station, a human population held in bondage tallied as regularly as the beasts and the finances of the place.
102	92	two French Cruisers, were in those Streights, upon which,§ §they intended going for Madrass, but were drove by contrary§ §Winds & currents past that Place; And that your Honors§ §Treasure, that was on board that Ship, was to be sent§ §for Madrass, He also gives Us the follows Account of§ §Ships arrival, & departure, to & from Madrass viz§	Two French cruisers were in the Straits of Banca. On this the <i>Triton</i> intended going for Madras but was driven past that place by contrary winds, and the Court's treasure aboard her was to be sent for Madras. Captain Inglis also gave the Council the following account of ships' arrivals at and departures from Madras. Princess Augusta, departed 1 September, for China Warwick, departed 1 September, for China Carnarvon, departed 1 September, for China

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		§Ships, Arrival, Departure, To what Place§ §Princess Augusta§ §Warwick§ §Carnarvon 1 Sepr China§ §Lord Mansfield 16th Do§ §Onslow 18th Do§ §Sandwich§ §Prince Edward 7th Sepr 26 Do Bengal§ §Latham 8 Do 29 Do§ §Lord Anson 10th Do 1 Octr§ §Falmouth§ §Admiral Watson 30th Aug remain at Madrass§ §3 Your President & Council of Madrass, acquaint§ §Us, that all the Outworks of the Enemy at Pondicherry, are§ §in our Possession, & that they were closely shut up in§ §that Place, & greatly distressed, from whence they conclude§ §that unless the Enemy meet with speedy Succours, there§ §is great probability of that important Settlement§ §surrendering to the British Arms§ §4 We hear Admiral Stevens, went from the§ §Coast, about the 20th Octr & left Capt Haldane, in the§ §America, with the Panther, & Newcastle, lying to the§ §Northward§	Lord Mansfield, departed 16 September, for China Onslow, departed 18 September, for China Sandwich, arrived 7 September, departed 26 September, for Bengal Prince Edward, arrived 7 September, departed 26 September, for Bengal Latham, arrived 8 September, departed 29 September, for Bengal Lord Anson, arrived 10 September, departed 1 October, for Bengal Falmouth, remained at Madras Admiral Watson, arrived 30 August, remained at Madras 3: The President and Council of Madras reported that all the enemy's outworks at Pondicherry were in the Company's possession, and that the French were closely shut up in that place and greatly distressed. From this they concluded that unless the enemy met with speedy help, there was great probability of that important settlement surrendering to the British. 4: The Council heard that Admiral Stevens went from the coast about 20 October and left Captain Haldane in the <i>America</i>, with the <i>Panther</i> and <i>Newcastle</i>, lying to the northward Interpretations The investment of Pondicherry in paragraph three brings news of the impending fall of the chief French settlement in India. Its outworks taken and the garrison shut up and distressed, the place stood on the edge of surrender, which shows the war in the Carnatic reaching its decisive close, and St Helena's value lay in receiving from arriving captains the account of this culminating siege and relaying it to London ahead of any official word. The treasure driven past Madras in the first passage shows how the hazards of wind and enemy combined to disrupt the movement of the Company's bullion. The <i>Triton</i>, carrying specie meant for Madras, was blown past her destination while French cruisers lurked in the straits, which reveals how the safe delivery of treasure depended on both weather and the fortunes of war, the Council recording the diversion so the bullion could be redirected to its intended port.
103	93	Northward of Pondicherry, in about thirty fathom of Water we§ §have also been Told, that the French Fleet, had not been§ §seen, or heard of, when the Shaftesbury left Madrass§ §5 Capt Newton, upon his arrival here, informed§ §Us that he had got on board his Ship, John Thompson &§ §Matt Sperin, two Deserters, the former from your Honors§ §Settlement of Bombay, the latter from your Ship§ §Guardian, whom he hath, delivered up to Us§ §6 As the Ship Houghton, wanted fourteen Men§ §to complete her Company, We have put on board the§ §following discharged Soldiers viz Wm Smith, George Hall, Jas§ §Edwards, John Grounds, Henry Simmonds, George Brown, Edward§ §Preston, Wm Spencer, John Box, Jost Thomp, Petr Bellin§ §Wm Holbrook, Willm Rippon, & Wm Dixon§ §7 We have also put on board the Ship Shaftesbury§ §Danl Hull, Ths Pilkington & George Fee, three more§ §discharged Soldiers, towards completing her Company§ §8 And have, likewise given Capt Webber a§ §permission, to receive on board his Ship, John Miller, late§ §Servant to John Skottowe Esq & Ths Dunn a	The fleet lay to the northward of Pondicherry in about thirty fathoms of water. The Council was also told that the French fleet had not been seen or heard of when the <i>Shaftesbury</i> left Madras. 5: Captain Newton, on his arrival at the island, reported that he had got aboard his ship John Thompson and Matthew Sperin, two deserters, the former from the Court's settlement of Bombay and the latter from the Court's ship <i>Guardian</i>, whom he had delivered up to the Council. 6: Since the <i>Houghton</i> wanted fourteen men to complete her company, the Council put aboard the following discharged soldiers, namely William Smith, George Hill, James Edwards, John Groves, Henry Simmonds, George Brown, Edward Preston, William Spencer, John Box, Joseph Thorne, Peter Bellin, William Holbrook, William Rippon and William Dixon. 7: The Council also put aboard the <i>Shaftesbury</i> Daniel Hull, Thomas Pilkington and George Fee, three more discharged soldiers, towards completing her company. 8: The Council likewise gave Captain Webber leave to receive aboard his ship John Miller, late servant to John Skottowe Esquire, and Thomas Dunn, a discharged soldier, who had signed an instrument in writing, as the Court had directed, that they would not demand any wages for their voyage home, which the Council sent. 9: Captain Harold reported that on his arrival at St Augustine's Bay on the 24th of October he was

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		discharged§ §Soldier who have signed an instrument in Writing, as you§ §have been pleased to direct, that They will not demand§ §any Wages, for their Voyage Home, which We transmit§ §you herewith§ §9 Capt Harrold acquaints Us, that on his§ §arrival at St Augustine Bay on the 24th Octr he§ §was informed by one of the Country Princes, that§ §your Ships Neptune, York, & Fort Temple, touched§ §there§	informed by one of the country princes that the Court's ships <i>Neptune</i>, <i>York</i> and <i>Fort Temple</i> had touched there Interpretations The discharged soldiers manning the ships in paragraphs six and seven show once more how the island turned its released men to use as makeshift crew. Fourteen were put aboard one vessel and three aboard another to complete short-handed companies, which reveals how the settlement disposed of soldiers no longer needed for the garrison by shipping them home as hands, the constant traffic of undermanned vessels absorbing the men the island had let go. The surrender of the deserters in paragraph five reveals how the island served as a point of recovery for men who fled the Company's service. A captain delivered up two deserters, one from Bombay and one from a Company ship, which shows how the settlement functioned within a wider system of recapture, runaways from distant posts and vessels handed over to the Council as the fleet passed through on its homeward way. The renunciation of wages in paragraph eight confirms the settled practice by which the Company shielded shipowners from the claims of men carried home. The former servant and discharged soldier signed away any demand for wages before sailing, which reveals how every such passenger was bound in advance against seeking pay, the Company closing off the liability that its expedient of filling ships with released men might otherwise create.
104	94	there on their Voyage to India§ §10 The Passengers on board these Ships, are as§ §follows viz§ §Mr Hunningham§ §Mr Hough§ §Mrs Stevens On board the Harcourt§ §Mr Walsh§ §Mr Bodham§ §Major Frazer§ §Mr Hughet On board the Stormont§ §Capt Warner§ §Mr Hall§ §Mr Price On board the Houghton§ §Mr Brereton§ §Miss Brereton§ §Mrs Stuart§ §Mr Forster On board the Shaftesbury§ §Capt Carney§ §Capt Illzey Prisoners, taken at Wandewash§ §11 The Governor hath paid two hundred Pounds§ §into your Cash, which we have received, & given him§ §Bills of Exchange drawn on your Honors, for that§ §Sum, payable to himself or Order, 90 Days after§ §sight dated the 23 instant§ §12 Capt Wm Webber, applied to Us, to pay§ §£604 19s 5d into your Cash, which We have received§ §& given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your§ §Honors for that Sum, payable to himself, or Order, 90§ §Days after sight, dated the 23 instant§	The ships <i>Neptune</i>, <i>York</i> and <i>Fort Temple</i> touched at St Augustine's Bay on their voyage to India. 10: The passengers aboard these ships were as follows. Mr Cunningham, Mr Hough, Mrs Stevens and Mr Walsh aboard the <i>Harcourt</i>. Mr Bodham, Major Frazer, Mr Hughet, Captain Warner and Mr Hall aboard the <i>Stormont</i>. Mr Price aboard the <i>Houghton</i>. Mrs Brereton, Miss Brereton, Mrs Stuart and Mr Forster aboard the <i>Shaftesbury</i>. Captain Carney and Captain Ilbery, prisoners taken at Wandiwash, aboard the <i>Shaftesbury</i>. 11: Governor Hutchinson had paid two hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 23rd of this month. 12: Captain William Webber applied to the Council to pay £604 19s 5d into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 23rd of this month. Interpretations The two captured French officers travelling aboard the <i>Shaftesbury</i> in paragraph ten show the island once more on the route by which prisoners of the Indian war were carried home. Officers taken at Wandiwash passed through as captives bound for England, which reveals how the settlement lay on the path along which the human trophies of the Carnatic campaign were conveyed, the victory at Wandiwash still sending its prisoners westward months after the battle.
105	95	13 Samuel Hough Esq, applied to Us, to pay§ §£300 into your Cash, which We have received, and§ §given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honors,§ §for that Sum, payable to Samuel Hough, & Andrew§ §Moffat Esqrs or their Order, 90 Days after sight,	13: Samuel Hough Esquire applied to the Council to pay five hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Samuel Hough and Andrew Moffat Esquires or their order ninety days after sight, dated the 23rd of this month.

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		dated§ §the 23 instant§ §14 Captain Cornelius Inglis applied to Us, to pay§ §£400 into your Cash, which We have received, & given§ §him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honors for§ §that Sum, payable to himself, or Order, 90 Days after§ §sight dated the 23 instant§ §15 Captain Carney, & Hazey belonging to General§ §Lallys Regiment, applied to Us, for twelve Days§ §Subsistence the time of their being here, at four Rupees§ §each per Day, what they assure Us, your President and§ §Council of Fort St George, allowed them there, & told them§ §as they acquaint Us, that if They should be in want of§ §Money here, that We would supply them, in the same§ §manner, We therefore Advanced it to them accordingly§ §& have taken their Receipts for the same, which go in§ §the Packet§ §16 We informed you, in our Letter by the Ajax, of§ §the situation of the Country at that Time, since when, We have§ §had but very little Rain, but there is at present, some§ §appearance of the Season setting in, as We have lately§ §had a few Showers§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §24th Feby 1761§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servts§ §Signd Chs Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	14: Captain Cornelius Inglis applied to the Council to pay four hundred pounds into the Court's cash, which the Council had received, and given him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order ninety days after sight, dated the 23rd of this month. 15: Captain Carney and Captain Hazey, belonging to General Lally's regiment, applied to the Council for twelve days' subsistence, the time of their being at the island, at four rupees each a day, which they assured the Council the President and Council of Fort St George had allowed them there. The Council had told them, as they reported, that if they should be in want of money at the island it would supply them in the same manner. It therefore advanced it to them accordingly, and had taken their receipt for it, which was sent in the packet. 16: The Council informed the Court in its letter by the <i>Ajax</i> of the state of the country at that time. Since then it had had very little rain, but there was at present some appearance of the season setting in, as it had lately had a few showers. The letter was sent from St Helena on 24 February 1761, the Council subscribing itself the Court's most obedient and most humble servants, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Matthew Purling. Interpretations The maintenance of the two captured officers in paragraph fifteen shows once more how prisoner subsistence followed a fixed scale across the Company's settlements. The captives claimed the rate Fort St George had allowed them, and the Council matched it at four rupees a day, which reveals how a prisoner's upkeep was governed by a recognised figure that travelled with him from India to the island, the settlement honouring in sterling the allowance set for officers passing through in captivity. The faint hope of rain in paragraph sixteen shows the island watching anxiously for the turn of the season on which its cattle depended. A few showers raised the prospect of the rains setting in after a dry spell, which reveals how closely the settlement marked every sign of the weather, its provisioning of the homeward fleet resting on whether the season would break in time to bring on the pasture.
106	96	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena per Ship Harcourt§ §dated the 24th Feby 1761 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils Genl Letter dated 24th Feby 1761§ §2 Duplicate Govr & Councils Genl Letter dated 18th Decr 1760§ §3 Consultns from 22 Octr 1760 to the 23 Feby 1761§ §4 Duplicate Do from 7 July to 15th Decr 1760§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet of Ship Ajax§ §6 Second Receipt for Do of His Majestys Ship Yarmouth§ §7 List of Officers & Servant taken 24th Feby 1761§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Muster Rolls of Do§ §10 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee§ §11 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Harcourt, Stormont, Houghton§ §& Shaftesbury§ §12 Time of the arrival of Ships Boats at Bankes§ §13 Duplicate of Ship Ajaxs Account§ §14 Ship Harcourts Do§ §15 Do Stormonts Do§ §16 Do Shaftesburys Do§ §17 Duplicate Cash Acc from 6th to 11th July 1760§ §18 Do Do from 12 July to 11 Augt Do§ §19 Do Do from 12 Aug to 11 Sepr Do§	List of the Company's packet sent from St Helena aboard the <i>Harcourt</i> dated 24 February 1761. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 24 February 1761. 2: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 18 December 1760. 3: Consultations from 22 October 1760 to 23 February 1761. 4: Duplicate consultations from 7 July to 15 December 1760. Item 5 was the first receipt of the packet by the <i>Ajax</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt of the packet by His Majesty's ship the <i>Yarmouth</i>. 7: List of officers and servants taken on 24 February 1761. 8: Effective state of the garrison. 9: Muster rolls of the garrison. 10: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee. 11: Abstract of the cargoes of the <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Stormont</i>, <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Shaftesbury</i>. 12: Time of the arrival of the ships' boats at Bankes. Item 13 was a duplicate of the <i>Ajax</i>'s account. Item 14 was the <i>Harcourt</i>'s account. Item 15 was the <i>Stormont</i>'s account. Item 16 was the <i>Shaftesbury</i>'s account. 17: Duplicate cash account from 6 to 11 July 1760. 18: Duplicate cash account from 12 July to 11 August.

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		§20 Do Do from 12 Sepr to 11 Octr Do§ §21 Do Do from 12 to 31 Octr Do§ §22 Do Do for the Month of Novr Do§ §23 Do Do from the 1st to the 18 Decr Do§	19: Duplicate cash account from 12 August to 11 September. 20: Duplicate cash account from 12 September to 11 October. 21: Duplicate cash account from 12 to 23 October. 22: Duplicate cash account for the month of November. 23: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 18 December.
107	97	No 24 Cash Account from the 19th to the 31 Decr 1760§ §25 Do for the month of Jany 1761§ §26 Do from the 1st to the 24th Feby Do§ §27 Duplicate List of the Packet of Ship Ajax§ §28 Do List of Familys taken 11 Octr 1760§ §29 Do List of Rents taken 11 Octr Do§ §30 Do List of the Honble Compys Slaves taken 11th Octr Do§ §31 Do List of Cattle returned killed for the Year Do§ §32 Instrument of writing from John Miller & Ths Dunn§ §33 List of four Discharged Soldiers§ §34 Copy of Col Chennelys & Murphys Receipts for £27§ §35 Do of Capt Maitland Receipt for £5§ §36 Capt Carneys & Hazey's Receipts for £10 16s§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices to your Honors,§ §went by the Ship Harcourt, which sailed from hence§ §on the 25 of Feby in company with the Stormont, &§ §Shaftsbury§ §2 Your Ship Prince Henry Captain§ §Haggis arrived here, on the 6 of April, & sailed on§ §the 26th of that Month, the orders we recd by that Conveyance§ §shall in all respects, be implicitly complied with, and§ §Dually Observed§	24: Cash account from 19 to 31 December 1760. 25: Cash account for the month of January 1761. 26: Cash account from 1 to 24 February. Item 27 was a duplicate list of the packet by the <i>Ajax</i>. 28: Duplicate list of families taken on 11 October 1760. 29: Duplicate list of rents taken on 11 October. 30: Duplicate list of the Company's slaves taken on 11 October. 31: Duplicate list of cattle returned and killed for the year. 32: Instrument in writing from John Miller and Thomas Dunn. 33: List of four discharged soldiers. 34: Copy of Colonels Chennelly and Murphy's receipt for £27 0s 0d. 35: Copy of Captain Maitland's receipt for £5 0s 0d. 36: Captain Carney and Hazey's receipt for £10 16s 0d. To the Honourable the Court, etc. Honourable Sirs. 1: The last letter went to the Court aboard the <i>Harcourt</i>, which sailed from the island on the 25th of February in company with the <i>Stormont</i> and <i>Shaftsbury</i>. 2: The Court's ship the <i>Prince Henry</i>, Captain Haggis, arrived at the island on the 6th of April and sailed on the 26th of that month. The orders received by that conveyance would in every way be carried out exactly and duly observed.
108	98	3 As we find, we can furnish ourselves, with§ §Cash sufficient for the Service of the present Year,§ §by drawing Bills upon your Honrs are consigned§ §the two Chests of treasure, to your Supra Cargoes§ §at Canton§ §4 Yesterday in the forenoon, arrived a Dane§ §Ship from China, called the Queen of Denmark,§ §Capt Holm, burthen about 800 Tons, carries 28 Guns§ §& 135 Men, laden with Tea, & China Ware, The§ §Capt acquaints Us, that he left Canton the 2th§ §of Jany & that your Ships the Griffin, Pocock,§ §Oxford, Valentine, & Suffolk, sailed from thence§ §early in that Month§ §5 Yesterday Evening arrived likewise your§ §Honors Snow London, Capt George Baker, the Capt§ §informs Us, that he left Pondicherry the 11th of Feby§ §& brings Us the agreeable News of the Reduction§ §of that important Settlement, the 17th of Jany last,§ §which we beg leave to congratulate your Honors§ §upon, He likewise brought Us the melancholy§ §accounts, of the loss of His Majestys Ships Duke§ §of Acquiton, Sunderland, Newcastle, & Queensborough§ §& your Ships Protector, & Duke, on the 1st of Jany§ §at Night, in a violent Storm in Pondicherry Road,§ §Capt Baker further acquaints Us, he heard that§ §the Duke of Richmond, & Norfolk, were safe at§ §Malacca in January last§ §6 This Day arrived the Royal Duke, from§ §Bengal§	3: Since the Council found it could raise enough cash for the service of the present year by drawing bills on the Court, it had consigned the two chests of treasure to the supercargoes at Canton. 4: On the forenoon of the previous day a Danish ship from China arrived, called the <i>Queen of Denmark</i>, Captain Holm, of about 800 tons burthen, carrying 28 guns and 135 men, laden with tea and China ware. The captain reported that he left Canton on the 26th of January, and that the Court's ships the <i>Griffin</i>, <i>Pocock</i>, <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Valentine</i> and <i>Suffolk</i> had sailed from there early in that month. 5: On the evening of the previous day the Court's snow <i>London</i>, Captain George Baker, also arrived. The captain reported that he left Pondicherry on the 11th of February, and brought the welcome news of the reduction of that important settlement on 17 January, on which the Council congratulated the Court. He also brought the melancholy account of the loss of His Majesty's ships the <i>Duke of Aquitaine</i>, <i>Sunderland</i>, <i>Newcastle</i> and <i>Queenborough</i>, and the Court's ships <i>Protector</i> and <i>Duke</i>, on the 1st of January at night in a violent storm in Pondicherry Road. Captain Baker further reported that he heard the <i>Duke of Richmond</i> and <i>Norfolk</i> were safe at Malacca in January. 6: The <i>Royal Duke</i> arrived this day from Bengal. Interpretations The fall of Pondicherry in paragraph five brings the news that completed the destruction of French power in India. The reduction of the chief French settlement on 17 January marked the effective end of the long contest in the Carnatic, and St Helena's value lay in receiving from an arriving captain the

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			account of this decisive triumph and relaying it to London with the Council's congratulations. The storm at Pondicherry in paragraph five reveals how nature could inflict losses to rival those of battle. Six ships, four of them the King's, were destroyed in a single violent night on an open road, which shows how the fleet that had reduced the French settlement was itself shattered by weather at the moment of victory, the sea claiming in one storm what the enemy could not take in years of war. The decision to consign the treasure in paragraph three shows the Council again choosing paper credit over shipped bullion to meet its needs. Able to raise its funds by bills on the Court, it sent the two chests of specie onward to Canton rather than draw on them, which reveals how the settlement financed itself without landing coin, forwarding the treasure to where the Company needed it while covering its own charges through drafts payable at home.
109	99	Bengal, Capt Sivow acquaint Us, that he left the §Pilots the 29th of Jan[...] last, and that the Latham §& Lord Anson, were to be (dispatched for Europe soon §after. §7 As this Snow saile to Day we cannot have §time to Answer your Letter recd by the Prince §Henry in a proper manner by this opportunity §neither can we transmit the Copys of our §Consultations, but the Duplicates, & most of the §other usual Papers, we enclose you herewith. §8 We have put on board the Snow London §seven discharged Soldiers as p List enclosed, and §John Melody a Seaman who diverted from the Snow §Mercury, they have all signed an instrument in §writing as you have been pleased to Direct, §that they will not demand any Wages for §their Voyage Home, which we transmit you §herewith. §9 The Passenger on board of the Royal §Duke, are Mr Fras Sykes, Capt John Mills, & §Lieut Abram Lyle. And on board the Snow §London, a French Lieut Colonel & a Captain, §Prisoners of War. §We are §St Helena §13th May 1761. §Honble Sirs §Yr most Obedt & most humble Servts §(Signed) Rot Hotchinson §John Shottowe §John Clark §Math Purling	The commander of the <i>Bengal</i>, Captain Pigou, reported that he had left the pilot on 29 January that year, and that the <i>Latham</i> and <i>Lord Anson</i> were to sail for Europe soon afterwards. 7: Because the snow sailed that day, there was no time to answer in full the Court's letter received by the <i>Prince Henry</i>. The Council could not send copies of its consultations by this opportunity, but enclosed the duplicates and most of the other usual papers. 8: The Council put aboard the snow <i>London</i> seven discharged soldiers, named in an enclosed list, together with John Melody, a seaman who had deserted from the snow <i>Mercury</i>. All of them had signed an instrument, as the Court had directed, agreeing that they would demand no wages for the voyage home, and this too was enclosed. 9: The passengers aboard the <i>Royal Duke</i> were Mr Francis Sykes, Captain John Mills and Lieutenant Abraham Lyle. Aboard the snow <i>London</i> were a French lieutenant-colonel and a captain, both prisoners of war. The letter closed from St Helena on 13 May 1761, signed by Robert Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The instrument the soldiers signed was a formal written undertaking to waive wages for the passage home. Discharged men returning to England would otherwise have had a claim on the Company for their keep and pay during the voyage, so requiring this waiver in writing turned a potential liability into a condition of free passage, and gave the Company an enforceable document should any man later press a claim. John Melody's inclusion sits apart from the discharged soldiers. As a deserter from the <i>Mercury</i> he was being returned rather than released, and grouping him with the others under the same wage waiver let the Council move an unwanted man off the island at no cost while treating his passage as a matter of discipline rather than employment. The French lieutenant-colonel and captain reflect the wider Seven Years War, which reached the sea routes around St Helena. Prisoners of war taken at sea were commonly carried to England aboard returning Company ships, the island serving as a staging point on the long passage between the Indian Ocean and Europe.
110	100	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena §p the Snow London, dated the 13th May 1761 viz §No 1 Genl Harwicks General Letter Dated 13th May 1761 §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 24th Feby §3 Dto Consultations from 22d Decr 1760 to 23d Feby Do	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard the snow <i>London</i>, dated 13 May 1761, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 13 May 1761 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 24 February

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		§4 Second Receipt for the Packets p Ship Ajax§ §5 First Receipt for Do p Ship Harcourt§ §6 Genl Letter to the Secret Committee§ §7 Duplicate Ship Harcourts Account§ §8 Do Ship Stormont Do§ §9 Do Ships Shaftsbury Do§ §10 Prince Henrys Account§ §11 Snow London Do§ §12 Duplicate Cash Acct from 1st to the 31st Decr 1760§ §13 Do Do for the Month of Jany 1761§ §14 Do Do from the 1st to the 24th Feby Do§ §15 Cash Acct from the 25th to the 28th Feby Do§ §16 Do for the month of March Do§ §17 Do for the month of April Do§ §18 Do from the 1 to the 13th May Do§ §19 Duplicate Captains Carney & Purjers Receipt§ for £10.16§ §20 Instrument of Writing from 7 Discharged Soldiers§ §& John Melody, who diverted from the Mercury Snow§ §21 List of 7 Discharged Soldiers§	3: Duplicate consultations from 22 December 1760 to 23 February 4: Second receipt for the packet, per the ship Ajax 5: First receipt for the same, per the ship Harcourt 6: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 7: Duplicate ship Harcourt account 8: Duplicate ship Stormont account 9: Duplicate ship Shaftesbury account 10: Prince Henry account 11: Snow London account 12: Duplicate cash account from 19 to 31 December 1760 13: Duplicate cash account for the month of January 1761 14: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 24 February 15: Cash account from 25 to 28 February 16: Duplicate cash account for the month of March 17: Duplicate cash account for the month of April 18: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 13 May 19: Duplicate Captains Carney and Pigou's receipt for £10 16s 0d 20: Instrument of writing from seven discharged soldiers and John Melody, who deserted from the Mercury snow 21: List of seven discharged soldiers The receipt at item 19 and the ship names at items 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 were, in the enclosed papers, tied to the vessels <i>Ajax</i>, <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Stormont</i> and <i>Shaftesbury</i>, and to the packet carried by the snow <i>London</i>.
111	101	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We addressed you last, by the Snow London, which§ §sailed from hence on the 13th Instant§ §2 As we acquainted You by that opportunity§ §that we had not time then to Answer, as we intended§ §your Letter received by the Prince Henry, but were§ §Obliged to defer it, until another Conveyance, & this§ §being the first that have since Offered, We now beg§ §leave to Congratulate You upon the safe arrival Of§ §the several Ships, despatched from this Place, the§ §last Year; those now on their return, together with§ §what you have been pleased to take into your Service§ §for carrying on your Trady, the current Year, we§ §flatter ourselves, will have the like Success, answer§ §all the purposes intended, & in due time, be returned§ §to You in safety, with every advantage expected in§ §the Commercial way.§ §3 The intelligence we have communicated from§ §time to time, in our several Letters, we are pleased§ §has met with your approbation, this shall be§ §continued in the usual explicit manner, & in future§ §when your Ships sail under Convoy of His Majestys§ §Ships, a Duplicate of our Letter by such Conveyance§ §shall be put under the charge of the Senior Captain§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council had last written by the snow <i>London</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 13 May that month. 2: The Council had explained by that opportunity that there had been no time to answer, as intended, the Court's letter received by the <i>Prince Henry</i>, and that a reply had to wait for another conveyance. This being the first to offer since, the Council congratulated the Court on the safe arrival of the several ships sent from St Helena the previous year. It expressed confidence that the ships now returning, together with those newly taken into the Court's service to carry on its trade that year, would meet with the same success, answer every purpose intended and in due course return safely with every commercial advantage expected. 3: The Council was pleased that the intelligence sent from time to time in its several letters had met with the Court's approval, and undertook to continue this in the usual full manner. In future, when the Court's ships sailed under convoy of His Majesty's ships, a duplicate of the Council's letter would be placed in the charge of the senior captain.
112	102	in your Service. As it has been always custom ary§ §to transmit your Packets by the Ships of War, we§ §apprehend, were we to alter that custom, it might§ §give Offence to the Capts of His Majestys Ships§ §therefore hope, that the Method we propose to follow§ §will be satisfactory§ §4 All Orders received from the Gentlemen of the§ §Secret Committee, or the Committee for the time being,§ §shall be Duely Observed, & complied with, by the Person§ §or Persons, to whom they are, or may be addressed§	Because it had always been the custom to send the packets by the ships of war, the Council feared that any change would give offence to the captains of His Majesty's ships, and hoped the method now proposed would prove satisfactory. 4: All orders received from the gentlemen of the Secret Committee, or of the Committee for the time being, would be duly observed and complied with by whoever they were addressed to. 5: The stores the Court had consigned by the ship <i>Prince Henry</i> would, the Council had no doubt, answer all demands for the current year. That ship discharged her cargo within the time allowed, except

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		§5 The Stores you have been pleased to Consign§ §Us, by the Ship Prince Henry, we make no doubt will§ §answer all Demands for the present Year. That§ §Ship discharged her Consignments within the time§ §limited, except one Day, which we were under an§ §unavoidable necessity to Allow, on Account Of§ §Proclaiming His Royal Majesty King George the§ §Third. As this work could be performed that Day, her§ §regular Time of dispatch, striking out the Sundays§ §that intervened, did not come on, until the 26 of April§ §therefore on that Day, we gave the Captain his§ §dispatches, & sailing Orders, & on the 28th of that Month§ §he proceeded on his Voyage, which was as soon as he§ §possibly could get away.§ §6 As the Clause introduced the last Year, in§ §the Charterpartys, is still continued, in respect to the§ §Adjustment & Payment for damages, & Goods lost,§ §& undelivered, we shall, upon all Occurrences of the§	for one day granted out of unavoidable necessity, on account of the proclaiming of His Royal Majesty King George the Third. As this work could be done that day, her regular date of dispatch, leaving out the Sundays in between, fell on 26 April. On that day the captain was given his dispatches and sailing orders, and on 28 April he sailed on his voyage, getting away as soon as he possibly could. 6: The clause introduced the previous year in the charter parties, concerning the adjustment and payment for goods damaged, lost or undelivered, was still in force, and the Council would, on every occasion of the kind. Interpretations The proclaiming of George the Third marks the accession that followed the death of George the Second in October 1760, news of which reached St Helena only by the spring of 1761. The single day's delay to the <i>Prince Henry</i> shows how a ceremony of loyalty was allowed to interrupt the tight commercial schedule that governed a ship's turnaround, the Council recording the reason with care because any day beyond the charter's limit had to be justified to the Court. The charter-party clause on damaged, lost or undelivered goods was a device for allocating risk between the Company and the ship owners who contracted their vessels to it. By fixing in advance how such losses would be assessed and paid for, it spared both sides a dispute over each cargo, and the Council's undertaking to apply it on every occasion shows the island acting as the point where these accounts were settled as ships passed through.
113	103	kind happening here, particularly attend thereto, &§ §observe your directions thereupon, & for that end,§ §shall be very exact in describing, & ascertaining§ §how & in what manner the Damages, & short§ §Deliverys appear to have proceeded from, together,§ §with every information that Occurs, necessary to be§ §communicated on the Subject, in order to enable you§ §to settle the same with the respective Owners. We are§ §concerned to find that your Honors Trady this Year,§ §will be attended with a greater Charge than usual,§ §by the encrease of Freight & demorage§ §7 We shall avoid putting You to any expence§ §for the Passage & Accommodation, of any Person, who§ §may be under the necessity to Order on board your§ §Ships, that are to be Dieted at the Captains Table.§ §The five Pounds p Head, you have been pleased to§ §Order, shall be paid only on account, of your§ §Invalid Military under the Rank of a Commissiond§ §Officer§ §8 We are glad your Honors have Adjusted all§ §Accounts with Mr R Bendy, & others of the Swift§ §Long Boats Crew§ §9 Notwithstanding your injunctions to the§ §several Commanders, to supply themselves fully with§ §Wood, & provisions in India, that their demands here§ §may be as little as possible, in those Articles, many§ §of them lately, have been much in want, & we§ §have been Obligated to supply them, the Consumption§	The Council would attend to every such case and follow the Court's directions, being exact in describing and establishing how and in what way the damage, loss or short delivery appeared to have arisen. It would pass on every piece of information needed on the subject, so as to enable the Court to settle each matter with the respective owners. The Council was concerned to find that the Court's trade that year would carry a greater charge than usual, through the increase of freight and demurrage. 7: The Council would avoid putting the Court to any expense for the passage and accommodation of any person it might have to order aboard the Court's ships, to be fed at the captain's table. The five pounds a head the Court had ordered would be paid only for invalid military men below the rank of commissioned officer. 8: The Council was glad the Court had adjusted all accounts with Mr Bendy and the others of the <i>Swift</i> longboat's crew. 9: Despite the Court's instructions to the several commanders to supply themselves fully with wood and provisions in India, so that their demands at St Helena might be as small as possible in those articles, many of them lately had been much in want. The Council had been obliged to supply them, and the consumption. Interpretations Demurrage was the charge a ship owner levied when a chartered vessel was detained beyond the agreed period for loading or discharge. Coupled with rising freight, it explains the Council's warning that the year's trade would cost the Court more than usual, since every extra day a ship lingered at St Helena or elsewhere added directly to the Company's bill. The five pounds a head, restricted to invalid soldiers below commissioned rank, drew a deliberate line through the cost of passage. Officers were expected to pay their own way at the captain's table, so the Company confined its subsidy to the men it was obliged to move home for reasons of service

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			rather than rank, controlling a recurring expense by fixing both a rate and the class of person it applied to. The commanders' failure to victual in India, despite standing orders to do so, shifted a burden onto St Helena that the island could ill afford. As a small settlement dependent on its own harvests and on passing shipping, it was repeatedly forced to draw down its stores for ships that should have arrived self-sufficient, a tension between the Court's written instructions and the practical habits of its captains that the Council was careful to put on record.
114	104	of Wood thereby occasioned, greatly distress the Island§ §& will, if not timely prevented, produce the worst§ §consequences, in order therefore to remedy this Evil§ §before it is too late, We beg you will be pleased§ §to supply Us Yearly, with what Coals we shall§ §Indent for, that we may furnish the Captains with§ §them instead of Wood, for Fewel in their Homeward§ §bound Passage, finding by experience, that there§ §is no relying on their supplying themselves§ §sufficiently, with Wood in India, for their consumption§ §during their Stay here, & passage home.§ §10 We have received the Long Boat framed§ §which will certainly be much more serviceable than§ §any we purchase from the Commanders, we think§ §it very reasonable that the Captains should make§ §good any damages the Boats may suffer in the§ §use they make of them, in Watering their Ships§ §& ca but the misfortune is, that those Damages are,§ §seldom discovered before it is too late for it to be§ §made good by their repairing them. There is no§ §detaining a Ship on that Account, & when several§ §of the Commanders alternately use them, it is§ §sometimes very difficult to fix where, & by whom,§ §the damages have been done§ §11 We return your Honors thanks for the Stores§ §you have been pleased to furnish Us with, by the§ §Prince Henry, of which we shall take due care, &§ §dispose of to the best Advantage§	The drain on wood greatly distressed the island, and would, if not checked in time, bring the worst consequences. To remedy this before it grew too late, the Council asked the Court to supply it yearly with whatever coal it indented for, so that the captains could be furnished with coal instead of wood for fuel on their homeward passage. Experience had shown that there was no relying on the ships to victual themselves sufficiently with wood in India for their consumption during their stay at St Helena and their passage home. 10: The Council had received the framed longboat, which would prove far more serviceable than any bought from the commanders. It thought it very reasonable that the captains should make good any damage the boats suffered in the use they made of them in watering their ships and the like. The difficulty was that such damage was seldom found before it was too late to be repaired, so no ship could be detained on that account. When several commanders used the boats by turns, it was sometimes very hard to fix where, and by whom, the damage had been done. 11: The Council returned the Court its thanks for the stores furnished by the <i>Prince Henry</i>, of which it would take due care and dispose to the best advantage. Interpretations The request to substitute coal for wood turned a local shortage into a supply problem for the Court to solve from England. Wood was the island's own fuel and its stands were being stripped by passing ships that failed to victual in India, so the Council proposed shifting the burden of homeward fuel onto imported coal, sparing St Helena's timber and giving the captains a stored commodity they could not exhaust from the land. The framed longboat was a boat sent out ready-built, or in prepared sections for assembly, rather than one bought secondhand from a ship's commander. The Council preferred it because a purpose-supplied craft outlasted the worn boats it had been reduced to buying, and its remarks on shared use expose a genuine gap in accountability: when a common boat passed between several ships for watering, no single captain could be pinned with the damage, so the cost of repair tended to fall on the island that owned it.
115	105	12 Finding we have a prospect to supply§ §ourselves sufficiently with Cash, by drawing Bills upon§ §you, to answer all demands your Service requires,§ §for the Current Year we forwarded the two Chests of§ §Treasure, you were pleased to Consign to Us, to your§ §Supra Cargoes at Canton, with Invoice & Bill of Lading§ §& wrote them off, that which was for this Place§ §13 We flatter ourselves that in due time, we shall§ §receive the several Articles from China, Agreeable to§	12: Since the Council saw a prospect of supplying itself sufficiently with cash by drawing bills upon the Court, enough to answer all the demands of its service for the current year, it forwarded the two chests of treasure the Court had consigned to its supercargoes at Canton, together with the invoice and bill of lading. The Council also wrote off the portion of it that was meant for St Helena. 13: The Council hoped that in due course it would receive the several articles from China, in keeping with its indent and the orders the Court had given upon it. 14: Having so ample a stock of salt provisions on hand would be no small relief in meeting the

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		§our Indent, & the orders you were pleased to give§ §thereupon§ §14 Our having so ample a Stock of Salt Provisions§ §on hand, will not be the least relief, or lessen the§ §demands of Foreign, or your own Ships, for fresh§ §Provisions, the latter being what they want for§ §refreshing their People, & recovering their Sick, in§ §which the former is of no use, as most of them have§ §a sufficient quantity of Salt Provisions for their§ §Voyage Home. The demand of fresh, & consequently§ §the consumption thereof, for the Salutary purpose§ §of Refreshments, will not be lessened, or altered§ §15 By way of China, we addressed your several§ §Providences for Sugar, & other Articles wanted for the§ §use of this Island§ §16 The four Chests of Claret, we have recd & will§ §be appropriated for the use, & Entertainment of those§ §Gentlemen you mention§	demands of foreign ships, and of the Court's own, for fresh provisions. Fresh was what the ships wanted to refresh their people and recover their sick, whereas salt provisions were of no use to them, since most already carried enough for their voyage home. The demand for fresh provisions, and so the consumption of them for the purpose of refreshment, would be neither lessened nor altered. 15: By way of China the Council had sent its several orders for sugar and other articles wanted for the use of the island. 16: The four chests of claret the Court had received would be set aside for the use and entertainment of the gentlemen the Court mentioned. Interpretations The two chests of treasure and the bill drawn upon the Court reveal how the settlement financed itself without holding a fixed reserve. Rather than keeping the consigned silver, the Council forwarded it to the supercargoes at Canton, where the Company needed bullion to buy its China cargoes, and met its own local costs by drawing bills on London instead, so the specie moved to where the trade required it while the island's expenses were carried on paper. The distinction between salt and fresh provisions turned on what ships actually needed at a mid-ocean call. Vessels left port already stocked with salted meat for the long passage, so what they sought at St Helena was fresh food to restore crews weakened by months at sea and to recover the sick, which is why a large salt stock, though reassuring against shortage, did nothing to reduce the steady demand the island's gardens and herds had to meet.
116	106	17 We recd the two Sets of Mill Stones, your§ §Supra Cargoes sent from China the last Season, for§ §the use of Fort Marlborough, & shall according to§ §your directions, forward them in sets by the first§ §opportunity, that Offer, to either of your Presidencies§ §with an accompanying Invoice, & Bill of Lading§ §for the same,§ §18 To prevent your losing by the Pyed Brandy§ §you sent Us last Year, we were under a necessity§ §to raise, the Price thereof above the price usually§ §fixed for Spirituous Liquors, to your Servants, and§ §the Planters, & although it came thereby dear to§ §them, we have got Ried of most of it, at some profit§ §19 When we have experienced the goodness of§ §the Pitch sent Us this Year, we shall not fail,§ §to inform you, whether it is preferable, & answers§ §better, than that which we have heretofore received§ §20 As we had very little Timber remaining§ §the thirty pieces of Riga Timber, you were§ §pleased to Send Us by the Prince Henry, were§ §very acceptable, being much wanted§ §21 If we find upon inspection, that the§ §Flour you took out of the Royal Duke the last§ §Year, & now recd should not be so good as that§ §since provided, we shall take care in that case,§ §to expend it first, & hope the whole will prove§ §better than what were the last Year, a great part§ §of which was very bad§	17: The Council had received the two sets of millstones that the Court's supercargoes sent from China the previous season for the use of Fort Marlborough. Following the Court's directions, it would forward them in sets by the first opportunity to either of its presidencies, with an invoice and bill of lading for the same. 18: To prevent the Court losing by the Persia brandy sent out the previous year, the Council had been obliged to raise its price above the rate usually fixed for spirituous liquors, charging both the Court's servants and the planters more. Although this made the brandy dearer for them, most of it had been sold off at some profit. 19: Once the Council had tried the goodness of the pitch sent that year, it would not fail to report whether it was preferable to, and answered better than, that received before. 20: As very little timber remained on hand, the thirty pieces of Riga timber the Court sent by the <i>Prince Henry</i> were very acceptable, being much wanted. 21: Should the Council find on inspection that the flour taken out of the <i>Royal Duke</i> the previous year, and now received, was not as good as that provided since, it would take care to use it first, and hoped the whole would prove better than the last year's, a great part of which was very bad. Interpretations The millstones bound for Fort Marlborough show St Helena working as a relay in the Company's wider network rather than only as a victualling station. Goods bought by the supercargoes in China were landed at the island and then trans-shipped onward to the Company's other settlements, so the Council held and forwarded stock destined for Sumatra, keeping the invoice and lading to preserve the accounting chain across each leg. Raising the price of the Persia brandy above the usual rate for spirits was a deliberate move to protect

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			the Court against a loss on a poor or costly consignment. By passing the higher cost to servants and planters alike, the Council recovered the outlay and even turned a small profit, using its control of the local liquor price as a mechanism to clear stock that would otherwise have sat as a dead charge on the Company's books. Riga timber, shipped from the Baltic port of Riga, was prized for the length and soundness of its fir and pine, used for masts, spars and heavy construction. Its arrival mattered on a treeless island whose own wood was being consumed for fuel, since sound structural timber could not be grown locally and had to come the whole way from northern Europe by way of England.
117	107	22 We never purchase any thing of the Commanders§ §on your Account, but in cases of Necessity, & then§ §endeavor to procure them at the lowest rate, we§ §constantly Judent to Bengal, & your other Settlements§ §for as large a quantity of Rice, as the Tonnage§ §will Admit of, leaving room only, for Arrack,§ §Sugar, & some necessary Articles, which we§ §cannot do without§ §23 Upon the Axletrees recd last Year by the§ §Triton, being reported by the Master Gunner to Us,§ §as unserviceable, we ordered a Survey of them§ §Carpenters thereon, who upon inspection confirmed§ §their defects, we therefore judged it most advisable to§ §return them to You, that you might Obtain satisfaction§ §of the Person who provided them, & cannot help§ §being surprised to hear, that those very Axletrees should§ §be deemed on a Survey in England, good & serviceable§ §the latter report differing so widely, from the Gunners§ §leaves us room to say no more on the Subject, we§ §hope the Event will prove they are equally as§ §serviceable to your Honors, as the proof Master, &§ §your Surveyors have deemed them§ §24 Nothing is ever wrote off your Books, as worn§ §out, & unserviceable, but what are really so, we§ §shall not in this, or in any other circumstance§ §increase your Expences, unless there is an absolute§ §Necessity for it§	22: The Council never bought anything from the commanders on the Court's account except in cases of necessity, and then tried to get it at the lowest rate. It constantly indented to Bengal and the Court's other settlements for as large a quantity of rice as the tonnage would allow, leaving room only for arrack, sugar and some other necessary articles it could not do without. 23: The axletrees received the previous year by the <i>Triton</i> had been reported unserviceable by the master gunner, so the Council ordered a survey by the carpenters, who on inspection confirmed the defects. It therefore judged it best to return them to the Court, so that satisfaction might be had from the person who supplied them. The Council could not help being surprised to hear that these very axletrees had been passed as good and serviceable on survey in England. This latter report differed so widely from the gunner's that there was no more to say on the matter, and the Council hoped the outcome would prove them as serviceable as the proof master and the Court's surveyors had deemed them. 24: Nothing was ever written off the Court's books as worn out and unserviceable but what was really so, and the Council would not, in this or any other case, add to the Court's expenses unless there was an absolute necessity for it. Interpretations The priority given to rice in the Bengal indent, with tonnage yielded only reluctantly to arrack, sugar and a few essentials, shows how tightly the island rationed its own carrying capacity. Rice was the bulk staple that fed the settlement and its slaves, so the Council filled its ships with it first and let everything else compete for the space that remained, a standing calculation of subsistence over comfort in every consignment from India. The dispute over the axletrees exposes the machinery by which the Company held its home suppliers to account across a half-world of distance. An axletree was the fixed timber or iron beam carrying the wheels of a gun carriage, and the master gunner's condemnation of parts already certified sound in England set two official surveys against each other. By returning the rejected pieces the Council forced the loss back onto the supplier who had passed them, using the survey and the proof master's certificate as the paper trail that decided who bore the cost of faulty stores.
118	108	25 The kind concern you have been pleased to§ §express at the misfortunes we laboured under, the two§ §preceeding Years, in respect to the Sterility of the§ §Season, excites in Us a warmth of Gratitude, &§ §acknowledgments for so tender a regard. We have§ §the pleasure now to acquaint you, that our§ §apprehensions have in a great measure been§ §Alleviated, by the favorable Summer Rains it hath§ §pleased God to bless Us with, which have produced§	25: The kind concern the Court had expressed at the hardships the island suffered over the two preceding years, through the barrenness of the seasons, stirred warm gratitude in the Council for so tender a regard. It now had the pleasure to report that its fears had largely eased, thanks to the favourable summer rains it had pleased God to send. These rains had produced plenty of herbage, which would greatly benefit the cattle set aside for slaughter that year. Even so, many of the beasts were very

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		§ plenty of Herbage, & will no doubt be of great source§ § to the Cattle designed for Slaughter this Year,§ § but notwithstanding, as many of them are very small§ § & the returns for Slaughter this Season far by less than§ § the last Year, makes us apprehensive we shall be§ § put to the Utmost difficulties to supply their Ships,§ § if they continue here any Time, & from the little§ § increase, of Cattle of all kinds, together with the§ § loss sustained from the want of Food, the two§ § preceding Years, we are sorry to inform you, that§ § we have a very indifferent prospect of furnishing§ § much Provisions for the Year 1762.§ § 26 It gives Us great satisfaction, that your§ § Honrs approve of the several Rules & Regulations§ § we have lately made for preventing Abuses, and§ § suppressing many Enormities, which we shall take§ § care to see punctually, & duly executed. And we§ § hope the Methods we have taken, & the Fines we§ § Laid, on the several Offenders last Year, will have§	small, and the number fit for slaughter that season fell far below the last, leaving the Council afraid it would face the utmost difficulty in supplying the ships should they stay any time. Given the small increase of cattle of every kind, together with the losses from want of food over the two preceding years, the Council was sorry to report a very poor prospect of furnishing much provision for the year 1762. 26: The Council took great satisfaction in the Court's approval of the several rules and regulations it had lately made to prevent abuses and suppress many irregularities, which it would see punctually and duly carried out. It hoped the methods adopted, and the fines laid on the several offenders the previous year, would have their effect. Interpretations The account of the summer rains and the herbage they raised ties the island's whole provisioning capacity to a single variable it could not control. Two barren seasons had thinned the herds and left many beasts undersized, so even a good year of rain could not at once restore the numbers fit for slaughter, and the Council measured its ability to feed passing ships directly against the state of the pasture rather than against any stock it could lay in. The fines imposed on offenders reveal how the settlement enforced its internal order through pecuniary penalty rather than mere command. By setting rules and then backing them with money penalties reported to the Court, the Council built a self-documenting system of discipline in which each breach carried a fixed cost, and its concern that the methods should have their effect shows it treating deterrence as something to be tested by results, not assumed.
119	109	due Effects on their Conducts in future§ § 27 We do not apprehend, that the frequent§ § Desertion of Slaves, proceeds from any severe§ § Corporal Punishments inflicted on them, this they§ § never meet with, but for Capital Offences, such as§ § would take any Mans Life away, by the Laws§ § of England. The Method you have been pleased§ § to prescribe of Imprisoning them, with a scanty§ § Diet, we conceive will have very little Effect, as§ § they are a set of People Naturally Indolent, and§ § Lazy, would look on this Method, rather encouraging,§ § than curing their evil Habits, besides the Imprisonments§ § would be of great disadvantage to their Masters, who§ § during the time of such Confinement, would lose all§ § Service & Labour from them§ § 28 We endeavor to keep your Fortifications in§ § as good repair, as the Nature of their Construction§ § will admit of, & your Honor may rely on our doing§ § our Utmost to defend them, in case we should be§ § Attacked, There constantly has been & is a proper§ § quantity of Powder & all Necessarys for the Artillery§ § at every Battery & those so disposed, as to be§ § come at, upon all Occasions without Confusion§ § 29 Should your Settlements on the West Coast,§ § be again put into your Possession which we§ § sincerely hope will soon be, we could not possibly§ § spare any of your Slaves that are Stonelayers,§ § those Handcrafts are extremely useful, at present§	The Council hoped the fines would have a due effect on the offenders conduct in future. 27: The Council did not believe that the frequent desertion of slaves arose from any severe corporal punishment inflicted on them, since they never met with such except for capital offences, of the kind that would cost a man his life under the laws of England. The method the Court had prescribed, of imprisoning them on a scanty diet, would in the Council's view have very little effect. Being a set of people naturally indolent and lazy, they would find such a method rather an encouragement than a cure for their bad habits. Imprisonment would also greatly disadvantage their masters, who would lose all service and labour from them during the time of confinement. 28: The Council kept the fortifications in as good repair as the nature of their construction would allow, and the Court could rely on it to do its utmost to defend them if attacked. There had always been, and still was, a proper quantity of powder and everything needed for the artillery at every battery, disposed so as to be got at on all occasions without confusion. 29: Should the Court's settlements on the West Coast be restored to its possession, which the Council sincerely hoped would soon be, it could not possibly spare any of its slaves that were stonemasons, those handicrafts being extremely useful at present. Interpretations The Council's rejection of the Court's prescribed penalty rested on a cold calculation of labour rather than any objection to its cruelty. Confining a slave on short rations removed him from his master's work for the whole term of imprisonment, so the Council argued the punishment fell hardest on the owner who lost the labour, and dismissed it as no deterrent to men it chose to characterise as idle,

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			weighing the measure purely by its effect on productive output. The refusal to part with skilled slaves reveals how the settlement valued trained craft over mere numbers. A stonemason able to build and maintain the fortifications was worth far more to the island than an unskilled hand, so even against the prospect of restoring the West Coast settlements the Council meant to retain such men, treating the handicrafts embodied in particular slaves as a scarce capital asset it could not readily replace. The reference to the West Coast settlements points to the Company's factories on Sumatra, of which Fort Marlborough was the chief, lost during the war and hoped soon to be recovered. St Helena stood on the sea road between these eastern possessions and England, which is why the Council both forwarded stores to them and reckoned on returning skilled men once they were back in Company hands.
120	110	we have not more than are necessary to carry on your§ §Works here§ §30 Our appointment of Messrs Matth Bazett§ §& David Alcock, we are glad met with your§ §approbation, they beg leave to return your Honors§ §their most sincere, & humble thanks, for this favour,§ §& to Assure you, that they will exert themselves§ §upon all Occasions in the faithful discharge of their§ §Duty. The Writers Covenants are Executed, & go§ §enclosed in the Packet, We have directed him to§ §write to two Gentlemen in England to be his Security§ §31 The Govr is much Obliged to your Honrs for§ §the permission you have been pleased to give him,§ §in appointing two Writers, to be his Assistants, if he§ §can find any of the Youths, belonging to the Island,§ §properly qualified to discharge that Duty. They§ §shall be Entertained accordingly§ §32 The Establishment You have been pleased§ §to put Fort Marlborough on, we take due notice of,§ §& shall Address ourselves accordingly to the Presidents§ §& Council there§ §33 We recd by the Prince Henry only 25 of the§ §30 Recruits we desired the last Year, & as we have§ §lately discharged near 40 of your Military, whom§ §we could not prevail on to Relist, added to which the§ §Casualties that have happened in the Year, reduces§ §our Garrison lower than we could wish, we shall want§ §for the Service of the next Year at least 40 Recruits§	The Council had no more slaves than were necessary to carry on the Court's works at St Helena. 30: The Council was glad its appointment of Matthew Bazett and David Alcock had met with the Court's approval. Both men returned the Court their most sincere and humble thanks for the favour, and gave assurance that they would exert themselves on all occasions in the faithful discharge of their duty. The writers covenants were executed and enclosed in the packet, and the Council had directed each man to write to two gentlemen in England to stand as his security. 31: The Governor was much obliged to the Court for the permission to appoint two writers as his assistants, if he could find any of the youths belonging to the island properly qualified to discharge that duty. Such youths would be taken into service accordingly. 32: The Council took due notice of the establishment the Court had settled upon Fort Marlborough, and would address itself accordingly to the president and council there. 33: The Council received by the <i>Prince Henry</i> only 25 of the 30 recruits it had asked for the previous year. Having lately discharged near 40 of the Court's military, whom it could not prevail on to re-enlist, and reckoning the deaths that had occurred during the year, its garrison was reduced lower than it wished. For the service of the next year the Council would want at least 40 recruits. Interpretations The requirement that the two writers each name two gentlemen in England as security shows how the Company bound its overseas clerks to good conduct across an ocean of distance. A writer handled money and records, so before confirming the appointment the Council demanded named guarantors at home who would answer for any default, turning private sureties into the enforcement mechanism that protected the Company's property where direct supervision was impossible. The manpower figures expose a garrison steadily wasting away faster than it could be replenished. Only 25 of 30 requested recruits arrived, near 40 men refused to re-enlist and further deaths thinned the ranks, so the Council found itself asking for 40 fresh men merely to hold its position. The gap between recruits requested and recruits received, set against the drain of discharge and mortality, marks the chronic difficulty of keeping a remote island adequately manned. A writer was the Company's junior civil rank, a clerk who kept accounts and correspondence and formed the bottom of the ladder that led to factor and merchant. The covenants these men executed

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			were the formal indentures binding them to the Company's service on fixed terms, which is why they were carefully enclosed for the Court alongside the sureties that vouched for them.
121	111	which we hope you will be pleased to send Us§ §34 As Capt Or Beale Case appeared to Us worthy§ §of Compassion, we could not deny his Request of§ §proceeding to England, for the recovery of his Health,§ §on the Terms he desired, your approbation of the§ §permission we Granted him, is a fresh instance of§ §your Honrs benevolence, & will be of great Service§ §to his Widow & Family, we have paid his Executor§ §his Salary to the Time of his Death, no extraordinary§ §Charge has Accrued from this Furlough, & we shall§ §not make this a precedent, unless in Cases of§ §Absolute Necessity§ §35 As we thought Corporal Austins misfortune was§ §really deplorable, & he acquainting Us, that he was§ §quite destitute of support, induced Us to recommend§ §him to your Honrs Compassion, at the same Time we§ §were sensibly, & made him so, that he was not intitled§ §to any Bounty from you, but must rely entirely on your§ §favour & Goodness§ §36 We shall demand your Man Slave Essex,§ §of Capt Fowler, upon the Arrival of the Ship Admiral§ §Watson, And are Obligated to you for returning Grewer§ §to Us, by the Prince Henry, Although he is a serviceable§ §Mason, he is a very Artful, & designing Fellow, &§ §as you thought proper to forgive him he has not§ §been punished for this Desertion, We were in great§ §hopes, he would have been sent hither in Irons, & to be§ §punished, in order to deter others from the like Villainy§	The Council hoped the Court would be pleased to send these recruits. 34: Since Captain Osborn Beale appeared worthy of compassion, the Council could not deny his request to proceed to England for the recovery of his health on the terms he wished. The Court's approval of the permission granted him was a fresh instance of its benevolence, and would greatly benefit his widow and family. The Council had paid his executor his salary up to the time of his death, no extraordinary charge had arisen from the furlough, and it would not make this a precedent except in cases of absolute necessity. 35: As the Council thought Corporal Austin's misfortune truly deplorable, and he had told it that he was quite without support, it was moved to recommend him to the Court's compassion. At the same time it was keenly aware, and made him aware too, that he had no entitlement to any bounty from the Court but must rely entirely on its favour. 36: The Council would demand from Captain Fowler his slave man Essex on the arrival of the ship <i>Admiral Watson</i>. It was obliged to the Court for returning the slave Grewer by the <i>Prince Henry</i>. Although Grewer was a serviceable mason, he was a very artful and designing fellow, and as the Court thought proper to forgive him he had not been punished for his desertion. The Council had greatly hoped he would be sent out in irons, to be punished, so as to deter others from the like villainy. Interpretations The handling of Captain Beale's furlough shows the Council managing a compassionate gesture as a controlled financial exception. It granted the sick man his passage home yet was careful to record that his salary ceased at death, that no extra cost fell on the Company and that the case set no precedent, so that mercy to one officer's widow and family did not open a standing claim other servants might press. The demand for the return of the two slaves, Essex and Grewer, treats them explicitly as recoverable Company property carried off on departing ships. The Council's frustration that Grewer, a skilled mason, escaped punishment through the Court's pardon reveals the tension between the value of his craft and the need to make an example, since an unpunished desertion by a useful man threatened the deterrent the settlement relied on to hold the rest of its enslaved labour force.
122	112	and we are fully convinced that impunity in these Cases§ §rather helps to increase, than cure the Evil, this fellow§ §we are informed, Boasts of the indulgence he recd from§ §you, & industriously spreads among his Brethren, a§ §Notion of the great liberty, allowed in England, &§ §says it was in his Option, whether to have returned§ §to the Island or not, with all he wrong the Assurance to§ §appear upon his first landing, in a Dress very§ §unbecoming a Slave, & which no Gentleman would§ §have thought beneath them to wear, shewed but§ §little remorse, for the Crime he had committed, & besides§ §propagating the above Sentiments among the Blacks§ §may have a very bad & pernicious Effect, & be the§ §means to encourage Desertion more than Ever. All§ §Methods that can be thought of, or Suggested to§	The Council was fully convinced that going unpunished in these cases helped to increase rather than cure the evil. It had been informed that Grewer boasted of the indulgence he had received from the Court, and was busily spreading among his fellow slaves a notion of the great liberty allowed in England. He claimed it was his own choice whether or not to return to the island. Appearing on his first landing in a dress very unbecoming a slave, of a kind no gentleman would have thought beneath him to wear, he showed but little remorse for the crime he had committed. By spreading such ideas among the slaves he might do very bad and pernicious harm, and become the means of encouraging desertion more than ever. The Council had constantly pursued every method that could be thought of to prevent this growing evil. By the Governor's standing orders to the garrison, for some days before the ships sailed, Port Liberty was closed, sentinels were placed at the watering place and guard boats were ordered to row about the

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		§prevent, this encreasing Evil constantly, have been &§ §are pursued. By the Govrs standing Orders to the Garrison§ §for some Days before the Ships sail, Port liberty is§ §stoped, Sentinels placed at the Waterside, Guard Boats§ §are Likewise Ordered to Row about the Bay, when a§ §number of Ships are near Sailing, with strict Orders§ §to suffer neither Soldier, or Black to pass, or go on board§ §of them, without a Permit, & during which Time, the§ §Rolls are called thrice a Day, & when either Soldier§ §or Black are found missing, a Report thereof is§ §instantly made, & immediately their Ships are searched§ §& every other means taken that may best tend to a§ §recovery. Yet notwithstanding all these precautions§	bay when a number of ships were near sailing. Strict orders were given to let neither soldier nor slave pass or go aboard without a permit. During that time the rolls were called three times a day, and whenever a soldier or slave was found missing a report was made at once. The ships were then immediately searched, and every other means taken that might tend to a recovery. Yet despite all these precautions. Interpretations Grewer's account of English liberty shows why the Council feared his talk more than his flight. He had learned in England that the law there did not recognise the same bondage as the island, and by carrying that knowledge back and dressing above his station he offered the other slaves a picture of a place where their condition dissolved, which the Council saw as a direct incitement to desertion far more dangerous than any single escape. The elaborate closing routine reveals how the settlement turned the departure of ships into a policing operation against its own labour force. Because a homeward vessel was the one real route off the island, the Council shut the harbour, posted sentries, patrolled the bay by boat and mustered the rolls three times daily in the days before sailing, treating every ship as a potential means of escape and mounting a systematic search whenever a man was found missing. Port Liberty was the point on the waterfront through which lawful movement to and from shipping was controlled, its closure the central lever in the whole system. By stopping traffic there and guarding the watering place where boats came ashore, the Council sealed the only practicable openings to the sea, so the measure names the specific chokepoint on which the island's control of desertion depended.
123	113	many both Soldiers, & Blacks, do get quite away, the§ §Captains are duely apprised of the penalty they§ §expose themselves to, by carrying any Deserters from§ §the Island, & in justice we cannot impute any§ §fault to them, in this respect, verily believing they§ §all Secret themselves on board, without the Captains§ §knowledge or Consent, & therefore imagine it is§ §owing to the neglect of the Officers on board. The§ §most probable method we can think of, to prevent§ §this Evil, & deter them from such Attempts, we§ §think would be the sending backs to the Island such§ §Offenders, by the first opportunity. Agreeable to§ §your Orders, we have signified to the Inhabitants§ §to be careful in restraining their Blacks from§ §going off to the Shipping, & not to expect you§ §should put yourselves to the inconveniency arising§ §from the Desertion of them, as this is an Affair that§ §Affects their Interest, we make no doubt of their§ §care herein, but with all the precautions they can§ §make use of, some of them will Elope, when that§ §happens, we think it would be for the advantage§ §of the Island, if your Honors thought proper to direct§ §even these to be returned, though at the Expence of§ §the Persons whose property they are§ §37 Agreeable to your Orders, the Reverend§ §Mr Nevil Mackelyne, & Mr Robert Waddington§ §shall be accommodated in a suitable manner§ §with Diet, & Apartments, at the Companys§	Despite every precaution, many soldiers and slaves still got clean away. The captains were well aware of the penalty they faced for carrying off any deserter from the island, and in fairness the Council could impute no fault to them in this. It truly believed the men concealed themselves aboard without the captains knowledge or consent, and put the matter down to the neglect of the officers on board. The most likely way to prevent this evil and deter such attempts, the Council thought, was to send the offenders back to the island by the first opportunity. Following the Court's orders, it had told the inhabitants to be careful in restraining their slaves from going off to the shipping, and not to expect the Court to put itself to the inconvenience arising from their desertion. Since this was a matter that touched the inhabitants own interest, the Council had no doubt of their care. Yet with all the precautions they could take, some slaves would still escape. When that happened, the Council thought it would benefit the island if the Court saw fit to order even these men returned, though at the expense of the owners whose property they were. 37: Following the Court's orders, the Reverend Nevil Maskelyne and Mr Robert Waddington would be accommodated in a suitable manner, with a diet and apartments at the Company's expense. Interpretations The Council's proposal that deserters be shipped back at their owners cost turned recovery into a charge on the individual planter rather than the Company. By making the inhabitants bear the expense of returning their own runaways, and reminding them that desertion touched their own interest, the Council shifted both the burden of control and its cost onto the slaveholders, using their financial stake as the lever to secure their vigilance.

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			The care taken to clear the captains of blame preserved a working relationship the island could not afford to sour. Since every homeward ship was also a supplier and a carrier the settlement depended on, the Council was anxious not to accuse the commanders of connivance, laying the fault instead on subordinate officers and on stowaways hidden without consent, so that the pursuit of deserters did not disturb the commerce on which St Helena lived. The two men to be housed at Company expense were the astronomer Nevil Maskelyne and his assistant Robert Waddington, sent to St Helena by the Royal Society to observe the transit of Venus of 1761. Their maintenance at the Company's charge reflects the island's role as a southern observing station, its position in the South Atlantic making it a chosen site for a measurement intended to help fix the scale of the solar system.
124	114	Expence, we have already Erected an Observatory for them§ §in the Country, on a spot they have judged most proper,§ §for the purpose, & shall from Time to Time, furnish§ §them with Matereals, Workmen, or what ever else§ §the Service they are upon may require, and on their§ §return to England, will provide them a Passage upon§ §one of your Ships, & when requested of Us, will advance§ §them the respective Sums you mention. The other§ §two Gentlemen Mess Mason, & Dixon, upon their§ §arrivals here, shall be likewise accommodated as§ §you have directed§ §38 A Copy of your Secretarys Letter last Year§ §to the President & Council of Fort St George, on this§ §Subject, we recd we do not find there is any one§ §here, that can give those two Gentlemen any§ §assistance in their Astronomical Observations§ §39 It gave Us a very sensible concern to§ §hear of the Death of our late Sovereign Lord George§ §the Second of blessed Memory the next Day after§ §this News reached Us, being the 7th of April, We in§ §Obedience to your Orders, Assisted by your Officers§ §Civil & Military, & several of the Inhabitants, at the§ §head of your Garrison under Arms, Proclaimed§ §His Royal Majesty King George the Third, with§ §all due Solemnity, & expressions of Loyalty &§ §Duty, ordered a discharge of the Artillery, & small§ §Arms, & performed every Ceremony customary, &§ §becoming so important an Occasion, every of the§	At the Company's expense the Council had already built an observatory for the two gentlemen in the country, on a spot they judged most suitable for the purpose. It would from time to time supply them with materials, workmen or whatever else their work required, and on their return to England would provide them a passage on one of the Court's ships. As the Court requested, the Council would advance them the respective sums it mentioned. The other two gentlemen, Mr Mason and Mr Dixon, would likewise be accommodated on their arrival as the Court had directed. 38: The Council received a copy of the Secretary's letter of the previous year to the President and Council of Fort St George on this subject. It could find no one at St Helena able to give the two gentlemen any assistance in their astronomical observations. 39: The Council felt very real concern to hear of the death of the late sovereign Lord George the Second, of blessed memory. The next day after the news reached St Helena, being 7 April, in obedience to the Court's orders and assisted by the civil and military officers and several of the inhabitants, with the garrison under arms at its head, it proclaimed His Royal Majesty King George the Third. This was done with all due solemnity and every expression of loyalty and duty. The Council ordered a discharge of the artillery and small arms, and performed every ceremony customary and becoming so important an occasion. Interpretations The observatory built at Company cost, together with the supply of materials, workmen and an advance of funds, shows the settlement furnishing the whole practical apparatus of a scientific expedition. St Helena provided not merely lodging but a working station and its upkeep, the Council treating the Royal Society's astronomers as a charge to be maintained until their return, which marks the island's function as a fixed southern platform for observations that could not be made from Europe. The astronomers named here belonged to the wider effort to observe the 1761 transit of Venus, coordinated across widely separated stations so that timings taken far apart could be compared. Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, expected at the island, had in fact been redirected to the Cape of Good Hope, while Maskelyne and Waddington remained at St Helena, the Company acting as host and paymaster to observers dispatched to the southern hemisphere for a measurement of global reach. The proclamation of George the Third the day after the news arrived shows how a distant possession performed its allegiance the moment word of a royal death reached it. With the garrison under arms and the guns fired, the Council enacted

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			the transfer of sovereignty through prescribed ceremony, converting the Court's written orders into a public display of loyalty that bound the remote island into the ritual life of the crown.
125	115	the Proclamation is Entered in our Consultation of the§ §13th of April last§ §40 By the Ajax we informed your Honrs fully§ §of the impression the Enemy had unfortunately made§ §on your several Settlements upon the West Coast§ §41 The Files received by the Prince Henry, being§ §reported to Us by Mr John Bland, & Thos Townsend Masons,§ §to be very bad, & of so soft a Nature, that they will§ §decay in a few Years, We therefore desire you will be§ §pleased to Order those we now Indent for, to be of a§ §better sort§ §42 We desire your Honors will be pleased to Send§ §Us, the fresh Pork we have Indented for, if it can be§ §procured, as it comes much Cheaper, & is as good as§ §the English§ §43 We likewise request, you will be pleased§ §to Order, the Wines for the use of your Honors Table,§ §to be sent in Chests, as it does not keep so well in§ §Casks, & it is very difficult to get Bottles§ §44 The two Vacant Commissions Occasioned by§ §the Death of Capt Chas Beale, & Capt Wm Kennedy§ §we have filled up by appointing Lt Henry Bazett§ §to the Command of the Third Company, in the room of Capt§ §Beale, & Lieut Rd Beale to Command the fourth§ §Company, in the stead of Capt Wm Kennedy, Lieuten§ §Samuel Price who was the Senior Lieut, we came to§ §a resolution to set a Side, as we have likewise done§ §Lt Chs Gosfreing both for the reasons inserted in our§	The proclamation was entered in the Council's consultation of 13 April that year. 40: By the <i>Ajax</i> the Council had fully informed the Court of the impression the enemy had unfortunately made on its several settlements upon the West Coast. 41: The tiles received by the <i>Prince Henry</i> had been reported by Mr John Boland and Thomas Townsend, the masons, to be very bad, and so soft and shallow that they would decay within a few years. The Council therefore asked the Court to order those it now indented for to be of a better quality. 42: The Council asked the Court to send it the first pork it had indented for, if it could be got, since that came much cheaper and was as good as the English. 43: The Council likewise requested that the wine for the use of the Court's table be sent in chests, since it did not keep so well in casks and bottles were very difficult to get. 44: Two commissions had fallen vacant through the deaths of Captain Oswald Beale and Captain William Kennedy. The Council filled them by appointing Lieutenant Henry Bazett to command the third company, in the room of Captain Beale, and Lieutenant Robert Beale to command the fourth company, in the stead of Captain William Kennedy. Lieutenant Samuel Price, who was the senior lieutenant, the Council resolved to set aside, as it had likewise done Lieutenant Charles Gossing, both for the reasons set out in its consultation. Interpretations The complaint over the soft, shallow tiles points to how far a treeless, resource-poor island depended on the quality of what its ships brought. Building materials that decayed within a few years wasted both the freight that carried them and the labour that laid them, so the masons formal condemnation gave the Council grounds to demand better stock, the survey by named tradesmen serving as the check on goods that had to travel half the world before their faults appeared. The decision to pass over Lieutenants Price and Gossing for promotion, both set aside for reasons recorded elsewhere, shows the Council exercising a real discretion over the military line rather than advancing men by seniority alone. Filling the two captaincies from further down the list meant deliberately breaking the expected order, and the reference back to its own consultation marks the point where the Council documented a contested exercise of patronage it evidently expected to have to justify. The preference for imported pork and for wine shipped in chests reflects the hard practicalities of provisioning at a remote station. Salt pork from England came cheaper and kept as well as any, while wine in cask spoiled and bottles could scarcely be had, so the Council's requests were shaped less by taste than by what would survive a long sea passage and a lengthy hold on the island.
126	116	Consultation of the 11th of May, to which we beg leave to§ §refer your Honors, & have put them upon half Pay§ §The Vacancies by the Promotions of Lieuts Bazett§ §& Bealy, we have filled up with the Sergeants John§ §Bridgewater, & Thos Leech, And have Likewise appointed§ §in the places of Lieuts Price, & Gsfring, Sergeants§	The Council referred the Court to its consultation of 11 May, and had put the two set-aside lieutenants on half pay. The vacancies left by the promotions of Lieutenants Bazett and Beale it filled with the sergeants John Bridgewater and Thomas Leech. In the places of Lieutenants Price and Gossing it appointed Sergeant Samuel Bestfountain and Ensign Delacine. The two last named were to receive only

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		§Samuel Bestfountain, & Ely Delacour, the two last§ §are to receive but half Pay, until Vacancies happen§ §when they are to be put upon whole Pay, by which§ §means your Honors will be at no extraordinary§ §Expence by these Promotions§ §45 Captain Petr Pigou applied to Us to pay§ §£100 into your Cash, which we have recd & given§ §him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honrs for§ §that Sum, payable to Mr John Pigou, or Order, 90§ §Days after sight dated this 25 instant§ §46 Capt Thr Kirkpatrick, applied to Us to pay§ §£200 into your Cash, which we have recd & given§ §him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your Honrs for§ §that Sum, payable to John Whiter, or Order, 90§ §Days after sight, dated the 25th instant§ §47 Lieut Solomon St Maurice Likewise applied§ §to Us to pay £50 into your Cash, which we have§ §recd & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on your§ §Honrs for that Sum, payable to Mr Harriet St§ §Maurice, or Order, 90 Days after sight, dated the§ §25th instant§ §48 We have put on board the Ship Royal Duke§	half pay until vacancies arose, when they would be put on full pay, so that the Court would be at no extraordinary expense through these promotions. 45: Captain Peter Pigou asked the Council to pay £100 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him a bill of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Mr John Pigou or order, 90 days after sight, dated 25 May that month. 46: Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick asked the Council to pay £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him a bill of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to John Whitor or order, 90 days after sight, dated 25 May that month. 47: Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice likewise asked the Council to pay £50 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him a bill of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Mr Harriet St Maurice or order, 90 days after sight, dated 25 May that month. 48: The Council put aboard the ship <i>Royal Duke</i>. Interpretations The staggering of the new appointments onto half pay until vacancies fell in exposes the fine budgetary discipline the Council worked under. By promoting men in title but withholding full pay until a funded place opened, it filled its officer line without adding a penny to the Court's wage bill, converting the timing of promotion into a device for keeping the establishment cost neutral. The three bills of exchange record the mechanism by which private individuals moved money between the island and England without shipping coin. Officers paid their cash into the Company's chest at St Helena, where specie was wanted, and received in return a paper order payable in London to a nominated party after ninety days, so the Company gained ready money on the island while the payee collected at home, the bill serving as both remittance and short-term credit across the whole distance of the voyage.
127	117	James Collet, Saml Austin, Wm Jarvis & Rd Fleetwood§ §four Discharged Soldiers to complete that Ships§ §Company, And as Capt Newton, was in want of they§ §Men, to complete his, we have likewise put on board§ §the Houghton Wm Golding, John Wodd & Jacob§ §Duvall three other discharged Men§ §49 On the 24th instant arrived a Dane Ship from§ §China, called the Count Mülth Capt Smit, burthen§ §about 600 Tons, carries 20 Guns, & 136 Men, Laden§ §with Tea & China Ware, bound to Copenhagen, The§ §Capt informs Us, he left Canton the 26 of January§ §in company with the Queen of Denmark, & that§ §he has not seen a Ship since parting with her,§ §50 This waits on you, by your Ship Houghton§ §which sails in company with your Honbles Ship§ §Royal Duke§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §26th May 1761§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servts§ §(Signed)§ §Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §Matt Purling§	The four discharged soldiers James Collet, Samuel Austin, William Jarvis and Peter Fleetwood were sent to complete that ship's company. As Captain Newton was in want of three men to complete his, the Council likewise put aboard the <i>Houghton</i> three other discharged men, William Golding, John Wood and Jacob Duvall. 49: On 24 May a Danish ship from China arrived, called the <i>Count Mitch</i>, commanded by Captain Smit, of about 600 tons burden, carrying 20 guns and 136 men, laden with tea and China ware and bound for Copenhagen. The captain reported that he left Canton on 26 January in company with the <i>Queen of Denmark</i>, and that he had not seen a ship since parting with her. 50: This letter came by the Court's ship <i>Houghton</i>, which sailed in company with the Court's ship <i>Royal Duke</i>. The letter closed from St Helena on 26 May 1761, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The report of the Danish East Indiaman shows St Helena serving as a clearing house for shipping intelligence gathered from every flag that called. A vessel of another nation, homeward from Canton to Copenhagen, gave the Council the date it had left China and word of its consort, which the Council duly recorded, the island's position on the return route making it the place where the movements of foreign traders could be noted and passed to London. The distribution of discharged soldiers among outbound ships to make up their crews reveals a practical exchange between the garrison and the

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			merchant fleet. Men released from military service were used to fill gaps in ships short of hands, so the island turned its surplus soldiers into working seamen for the passage home, meeting the captains manning needs while clearing its own rolls of men it no longer had to keep.
128	118	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Houghton, dated the 26 May 1761 viz§ §No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 26th May 1761§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated the 13 do Do§ §3 Consultations from the 2d March to the 25 of do do§ §4 First Receipt for the Packet p Snow London§ §5 Second Receipt for Do p Ship Harcourt§ §6 List of Officers & Servts taken the 26th of May 1761§ §7 Effective State of the Garrison§ §8 Muster Rolls of Do§ §9 Govrs Letter to the Secret Committee§ §10 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Royal Duke§ §11 Duplicate of Ship Prince Henrys Accedent§ §12 Do of Snow London Do§ §13 Ship Houghtons Do§ §14 Ship Royal Dukes Do§ §15 Cash Ac from the 14th to the 26 May 1761§ §16 Duplicate Do from the 26th to the 26 Feby do§ §17 Do for the month of March Do§ §18 Do for the month of April Do§ §19 Do from the 1st to the 13th May Do§ §20 List of Garrison Stores remg the 31st March Do§ §21 Do of Artillery Stores from the 11th Apl 1760 to the§ §31 March 1761§ §22 Do of Stores remg in the Honble Companys Ware§ §House the 31st March 1761§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard the ship <i>Houghton</i>, dated 26 May 1761, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 26 May 1761 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 13 May 3: Consultations from 2 March to 25 May 4: First receipt for the packet, per the snow London 5: Second receipt for the same, per the ship Harcourt 6: List of officers and men taken 26 May 1761 7: Effective state of the garrison 8: Muster rolls of the same 9: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 10: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Royal Duke 11: Duplicate of ship Prince Henry account 12: Duplicate of snow London account 13: Ship Houghton account 14: Ship Royal Duke account 15: Cash account from 14 to 26 May 1761 16: Duplicate cash account from 26 to 28 February 17: Duplicate cash account for the month of March 18: Duplicate cash account for the month of April 19: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 13 May 20: List of garrison stores remaining 31 March 21: Duplicate of artillery stores from 11 April 1760 to 31 March 1761 22: Duplicate of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouse 31 March 1761 The receipts at items 4 and 5, and the accounts at items 11 to 14, were, in the enclosed papers, tied to the vessels <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Prince Henry</i>, <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Royal Duke</i>, and to the packet carried by the snow <i>London</i>.
129	119	No 23 Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1762§ §24 Do of Medicines wanted for Do§ §25 Duplicate List of the Packet p Snow London§ §26 List of 7 Discharged Soldiers§ §27 Covenants of Mr David Alcock Writer§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices to your Honors, went by the§ §Ship Houghton, which sailed from hence on the 26th of§ §May in company with your Ship Royal Duke§ §2 On the 6 instant arrived His Majestys Ship§ §Portland, by that opportunity, we received a Packet§ §from your Honors, which we opened & read, and§ §agreeable thereto, have given Publick Notice to all§ §Persons upon the Island, of your Orders relative to§ §their leaving it, which shall be punctually complied§ §with§ §3 The next Day arrived the Lily Cutter, when we§ §likewise received a Packet containing your Honors Letters to§ §Us, by the Prince Henry, & Portland, Duplicate§ §4 The following Ships have arrived from India§ §since our last Address to You viz§ §Thos Suffolk 27 May§ §& Valentine§ §Pocock 6 June from China§ §Oxford§	23: Indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1762 24: Indent of medicines wanted for the same 25: Duplicate list of the packet, per the snow London 26: List of seven discharged soldiers 27: Covenants of Mr David Alcock, writer The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last advice to the Court went by the ship <i>Houghton</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 26 May in company with the Court's ship <i>Royal Duke</i>. 2: On 6 June His Majesty's ship <i>Portland</i> arrived. By that opportunity the Council received a packet from the Court, which it opened and read. Following its orders, it gave public notice to everyone on the island of the Court's directions about their leaving it, which would be punctually complied with. 3: The next day the <i>Lily</i> cutter arrived, when the Council likewise received a packet containing the Court's letters to it, brought by the <i>Prince Henry</i> and the <i>Portland</i>, together with a duplicate. 4: The following ships had arrived from India since the Council's last address to the Court. The <i>Suffolk</i> and <i>Valentine</i> arrived on 27 May, and the <i>Pocock</i> and <i>Oxford</i> on 6 June, all from China. The <i>Latham</i> followed. Interpretations The public notice to everyone on the island about the terms of their leaving it shows the Council

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			enforcing the Court's control over who could quit the settlement. Departure from St Helena was not a private matter but one governed by the Company, so orders arriving from London had to be proclaimed to all inhabitants, the island functioning as a place people could leave only on the Company's conditions. The cluster of arrivals from China within a fortnight marks the seasonal rhythm that governed the island's year. Homeward East Indiamen returning from Canton converged on St Helena in the early summer to water and refresh before the Atlantic passage, so the Council's register of ships reaching it in late May and early June records the annual pulse of the China fleet on which much of the settlement's provisioning burden and its news of the East depended.
130	120	Latham 11th June from Bengal§ §Oxlox 13th Do from Madrass§ §5 We are sorry to acquaint You, of the unfortunate§ §loss of your Ship Griffin, which happened on the 20th of§ §January last, at Night, among the Phillippin§ §Islands, but luckily all their People were saved§ §6 Capt Moffatt acquaints Us, that, he left§ §Bengal the 9th of March, & that the Lord Anson was§ §to Leave that Place about a fortnight after, for§ §Europe, Capt Hinde likewise acquaints Us, he sailed§ §from Madrass the 9th of March, & that it was said the§ §Falmouth, Prince Edward, & Admiral Waters were to§ §be dispatched soon after for England, all with French§ §Prisoners. We are also informed that His Majestys§ §Ship Chatham, & all your Honors Bombay Ships§ §were arrived in December last upon the Coast of§ §Malabar, & that the Troops that were on board§ §those Ships, had taken the French Settlement§ §of Mahie, about the middle of February§ §7 The Passengers on board the beforementioned§ §Ships, are as follows viz§ §Senr Francisco Duttaya§ §Senr Francisco Manuel§ §Mr Hamed§ §Mr Sumption§ §Capt Newton§ §Mr & mrs Lambe§ §Monsr Le flote a Prisoner§ §Don Sebastian a Spaniard§ §Passengers on board the Suffolk§ §on board the Valentine§ §on board the Pocock§ §on board the Oxford§	The <i>Latham</i> arrived on 11 June from Bengal, and the <i>Oxford</i> on 13 June from Madras. 5: The Council was sorry to report the unfortunate loss of the Court's ship <i>Griffin</i>, which happened on the night of 20 January that year among the Philippine Islands, though luckily all her people were saved. 6: Captain Moffatt reported that he had left Bengal on 9 March, and that the <i>Lord Anson</i> was to leave that place about a fortnight after him for Europe. Captain Hinde likewise reported that he sailed from Madras on 9 March, and that the <i>Falmouth</i>, <i>Prince Edward</i> and <i>Admiral Watson</i> were to be dispatched soon after for England, all carrying French prisoners. The Council was also informed that His Majesty's ship <i>Chatham</i>, with all the Court's Bombay ships, had arrived in December that year upon the coast of Malabar, and that the troops aboard those ships had taken the French settlement of Mahé about the middle of February. 7: The passengers aboard the ships named above were as follows. Senhor Francisco Duttaya and Senhor Francisco Manuel were engaged on the establishment and were aboard the <i>Valentine</i>. Mr Hamond and Mr Sumption were also aboard the <i>Valentine</i>. Captain Newton and Mr and Mrs Lambe were aboard the <i>Pocock</i>. Monsieur Le Flote, a prisoner, and Don Sebastian, a Spaniard, were aboard the <i>Oxford</i>. Interpretations The taking of Mahé sets the island's traffic against the wider war being fought along the coasts of India. Mahé was France's principal settlement on the Malabar coast, and its capture in early 1761 by Company troops carried on the Bombay ships was part of the systematic reduction of French posts during the Seven Years War, the French prisoners now filling homeward ships being the human residue of that campaign as it passed through St Helena. The loss of the <i>Griffin</i> among the Philippines with all hands saved shows how the Council gathered and forwarded the fate of Company shipping from waters far beyond its own. A wreck in the eastern seas became known at St Helena through the reports of later ships and was entered for the Court, the island working as the point where scattered news of the Company's distant losses was collected and sent home. The passenger list distinguishes those engaged on the establishment from ordinary travellers and prisoners of war, marking the different footings on which people moved through the settlement. Company servants bound into its service, private passengers and captured enemy officers all passed the same way, and the Council's careful separation of their status reflects how the island tracked not merely who sailed but on what terms each person was carried.

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131	121	Mr & Mr Waller§ §Mr Fullerton§ §Mr Barton§ §Capt Gould§ §Mr Drsdell§ §Mr Weatherburn§ §Capt Hislop§ §Capt Jervis§ §Mr Milton§ §Mr Downey§ §Mr McLachlin§ §General Lally§ §Monsr Chapponais§ §Neagle§ §Guillemain§ §Poultry§ §French§ §Rocket§ §on board the Latham§ §on board the Onslow§ §Prisoners§ §8 Some of your Ships being in want of Salt§ §Provisions, We were under a necessity of supplying§ §them, And if those Ships should be dispatched from§ §Madrass with Prisoners, as it is reported, they consequently§ §will be in great want, We therefore request you will§ §be pleased to send Us, as soon as possible, some Salt§ §Provisions, We shall require at least 100 Casks more§ §then what we Indented for by the Houghton, We have§ §also added to the Duplicate of our Indent some§ §Materials for the Snow Mercury, & Lily Cutter, with a§	The passengers continued as follows. Mr and Mrs Waller, Mr Fullerton, Mr Barton, Captain Gould and Mr Drysdell were aboard the <i>Latham</i>. Mr Weatherburn, Captain Hislop, Captain Jarvis, Mr Milton, Mr Downey and Mr McLachlin were aboard the <i>Onslow</i>. General Lally, Monsieur Chapponar, Neagle, Guillemain, Poultry, French and Rocket were prisoners. 8: Since some of the Court's ships were in want of salt provisions, the Council was obliged to supply them. If the ships reported to be coming from Madras with prisoners were dispatched, they too would be in great want. The Council therefore asked the Court to send it some salt provisions as soon as possible, requiring at least 100 casks more than it had indented for by the <i>Houghton</i>. It had also added to the duplicate of its indent some materials for the snow <i>Mercury</i> and the <i>Lily</i> cutter, with a few. Interpretations The prisoner named General Lally was Thomas Arthur, comte de Lally, the French commander in India whose surrender at Pondicherry in January 1761 ended French power in the Carnatic. His passage through St Helena as a captive marks the island as the transit point on the route by which the most senior figures taken in the eastern war were carried home, the defeat of France in India passing literally across the settlement in the persons of its prisoners. The demand for a hundred casks of salt provisions beyond the standing indent shows how the arrival of prisoner ships strained a supply system already stretched. Every extra vessel carrying captives added mouths the island had not provisioned for, so the Council had to enlarge its order to London to cover a burden imposed by the war rather than by trade, the prisoners of the Indian campaign turning into a fresh charge on the settlement's stores.
132	122	few other Articles we found We should want the next Year§ §which We hope you will be pleased to send Us§ §9 Captain John Clark acquainting Us, that he§ §purposed to leave the Island the next Season, & go to§ §England, on Account of his indifferent State of Health§ §we therefore take this opportunity, of informing your§ §Honors with his intention§ §10 Edmond Smith Gardener, having resigned your§ §Service, We gave Capt Moffatt a permission to receive§ §him on board, & carry him to England, he having signed§ §an instrument, in Writing, that, he will not demand§ §any Wages for his Voyage Home, which We transmit§ §you herewith§ §11 Mr Robert Waddington acquainting Us, that§ §he intended to proceed to England in the Ship Oxford§ §We thereupon gave Capt Webber an Order to receive§ §him on board, & to provide him with proper accommodations§ §& Diet at his Table, at your Honors Expence§ §12 We have granted Bills of Exchange drawn§ §on your Honors for the following Sums viz§ §13 To John Shottowe Esqr One Set for £40§ §payable to himself or Order 90 Days after sight§ §dated the 22 instant§ §14 To Capt John Clark One Set for £23.10§ §payable to Matthias Knightwell, or Order 90 Days§ §after sight dated the 22d instant§	The Council had added a few other articles it found it would want the next year, which it hoped the Court would be pleased to send. 9: Captain John Clark reported that he intended to leave the island the next season and go to England, on account of his poor state of health. The Council took the opportunity to inform the Court of his intention. 10: Edmund Smith, the gardener, having resigned the Court's service, the Council gave Captain Moffatt permission to take him aboard and carry him to England. Smith had signed a written instrument agreeing that he would demand no wages for his voyage home, which the Council transmitted with this letter. 11: Mr Robert Waddington reported that he intended to proceed to England in the ship <i>Oxford</i>. The Council thereupon gave Captain Webber an order to receive him aboard, and to provide him with proper accommodation and a diet at his table, at the Court's expense. 12: The Council had granted bills of exchange drawn on the Court for the following sums. 13: To John Skottowe, one bill for £40 0s 0d, payable to himself or order, 90 days after sight, dated 22 June that month. 14: To Captain John Clark, one bill for £23 10s 0d, payable to Matthias Brightwell or order, 90 days after sight, dated 22 June that month. 15: To Mr Matthew Purling, one bill for £100 0s 0d, payable to John Wigginer or order, 90 days after sight, dated 22 June that month. Interpretations The departure of Robert Waddington, granted a passage home at Company expense, marks the winding up of the island's part in the transit of

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		§15 To Mr Matth Purling One Set for £100§ §payable to John Wigener Esq or Order 90 Days after§ §sight dated the 22 instant§	Venus observations. Having come out as assistant to Maskelyne, he now returned once the work was done, the Council settling his accommodation on a homeward Indiaman as it had earlier arranged his keep, so that the scientific mission it had hosted was closed out through the same machinery of order and expense that had brought it. The requirement that the resigning gardener sign away any claim to wages for his passage repeats the device the Council used for discharged soldiers. A man leaving the Company's service had no right to be carried home at its cost, so before granting him a berth the Council took a written waiver, converting a potential future claim into a documented renunciation and protecting the Company against any later demand for pay during the voyage.
133	123	16 To Mr Matth Bazett One Set for £200 payable§ §to Mr H J Reddall, or Order 90 Days after sight dated§ §this Day§ §17 To Capt James Moffatt One Set for £400§ §payable to Andrew Moffatt Esq, or Order 90 Days§ §after sight dated this Day§ §18 Capt Arbuthnot of His Majestys Ship Portland§ §& his Purser, applied to Us for £108.19.2 which§ §Sum we have advanced them, & taken Bills of Exchange§ §drawn upon the Commissioners for Victualling His§ §Majestys Navy, payable to your Honors or Order 30 days§ §after sight dated this Day, the first Bill & Letter of§ §Advice goes herewith§ §19 Lieutenant General Lally likewise applied§ §to Us for £100, which Sum we have advanced§ §him, & taken Bills of Exchange, drawn on the§ §French East India Company in Paris payable to§ §your Honors, or order, 30 Days after sight dated§ §the 27th instant, the first Bill & Letter of Advice§ §goes herewith§ §20 The following French Officers applied to Us§ §for Subsistence the time of their being here, we have§ §therefore Advanced them the respective Sums viz§ §To Lt Colonel Guillemer for 16 Days at 6 Rupees p Day§ §To Capt Nagle for 16 Days at 4 Rupees p Day§ §To Capt Chapponay for 16 Days at 4 Rupees p Day§ §To Mr Poultly Bevoot for 16 Days at 4 Rupees p Day§ §To Mr French Chaplain for 16 Days at 4 Rupees p Day§ §To Lt Laffote for 22 Days at 3 Rupees p Day§	16: To Mr Matthew Bazett, one bill for £200 0s 0d, payable to Mr H J Reddall or order, 90 days after sight, dated that day. 17: To Captain James Moffatt, one bill for £400 0s 0d, payable to Andrew Moffatt or order, 90 days after sight, dated that day. 18: Captain Arbuthnot of His Majesty's ship <i>Portland</i> and his purser applied to the Council for £108 19s 2d, which sum it advanced them, taking bills of exchange drawn upon the commissioners for victualling His Majesty's navy, payable to the Court or order, 30 days after sight, dated that day. The first bill and letter of advice went with this letter. 19: Lieutenant General Lally likewise applied to the Council for £100 0s 0d, which sum it advanced him, taking a bill of exchange drawn on the French East India Company in Paris, payable to the Court or order, 30 days after sight, dated 27 June that month. The first bill and letter of advice went with this letter. 20: The following French officers applied to the Council for subsistence during the time they were at St Helena, and it advanced them the respective sums. To Lieutenant Colonel Guillemer, for 16 days at 6 rupees a day, 4 pounds 4 shillings To Captain Neagle, for 16 days at 4 rupees a day, 7 shillings 4 pence To Captain Chapponay, for 16 days at 4 rupees a day, 7 shillings 4 pence To Mr Poultly, provost, for 16 days at 4 rupees a day, 7 shillings 4 pence To Mr French, chaplain, for 16 days at 4 rupees a day, 7 shillings 4 pence To Lieutenant Laffote, for 22 days at 3 rupees a day, 8 pounds 6 shillings Interpretations The advance to General Lally against a bill drawn on the French East India Company in Paris shows the two rival companies honouring each other's paper even in the middle of war. Though France and Britain were enemies, a captured French commander could still be subsisted by the English Company at St Helena and the cost recovered from his own company in Paris, the bill of exchange functioning as a channel of credit that crossed the lines the fighting had drawn. The subsistence rates set French officers on a scale that reflected rank, with a lieutenant colonel drawn at six rupees a day and lesser officers at four or three. Prisoners of war were maintained according to their standing rather than uniformly, so the Council fixed each man's daily allowance by his rank and recovered it through the bills, treating the upkeep of captives as a graded and recoverable charge rather than an act of charity. The advance to Captain Arbuthnot against bills on the navy's victualling commissioners marks the intersection of Company and royal naval finance at the island. A King's ship short of funds could draw

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			on the Company's chest at St Helena and repay through the government office in London, so the settlement served as a place where the Crown's ships were financed on credit, the Company advancing cash it would reclaim from the state.
134	124	21 We have the pleasure to acquaint You, that§ §we have had a good Summer Season, & that your Honors§ §Pastures & Plantations are at present, in good§ §Condition§ §We are§ §Humble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servants§ §S.t Helena§ §29th June 1761§ §(Signed) Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St§ §Helena p His Majestys Ship Portland dated the 29th June 1761 viz§ §No 1 Govr Councils General Do dated the 29th June 1761§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated the 26th May Do§ §3 Consultations from the 1st to the 29th June Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 2d March to the 25 May Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Houghton§ §6 Second Receipt for Do p Snow London§ §7 List of Officers & Servants taken the 29th June 1761§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Govrs Letter to the Secret Committee§ §10 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Suffolk, Valentine§ §Pocock, Oxford, Latham, & Onslow§	21: The Council had the pleasure to report that the island had enjoyed a good summer season, and that the Court's pastures and plantations were at present in good condition. The letter closed from St Helena on 29 June 1761, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard His Majesty's ship <i>Portland</i>, dated 29 June 1761, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 29 June 1761 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 26 May 3: Consultations from 1 to 29 June 4: Duplicate consultations from 2 March to 25 May 5: First receipt for the packet, per the ship <i>Houghton</i> 6: Second receipt for the same, per the snow <i>London</i> 7: List of officers and men taken 29 June 1761 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 10: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Valentine</i>, <i>Pocock</i>, <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Latham</i> and <i>Onslow</i> The receipts at items 5 and 6, and the cargo abstract at item 10, were, in the enclosed papers, tied to the vessels <i>Houghton</i>, <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Valentine</i>, <i>Pocock</i>, <i>Oxford</i>, <i>Latham</i> and <i>Onslow</i>, and to the packet carried by the snow <i>London</i>.
135	125	No 11 Time of the Arrival of Ships Book at Bankiss§ §12 Duplicate of Ship Houghtons Ac§ §13 Do of Ship Royal Dukes Do§ §14 Ship Suffolks Do§ §15 Do Pococks Do§ §16 Do Oxfords Do§ §17 Do Lathams Do§ §18 Do Onslows Do§ §19 Do Valentines Do§ §20 Duplicate Cash Act from the 14 to the 26 May 1761§ §21 Cash Acct from the 27th to the 31 May Do§ §22 Do from the 1st to the 29 June Do§ §23 Instrument in Writing from Edm Smith Gardener§ §24 Duplicate List of Garrison Stores remg the 31 March 1761§ §25 Do List of Artillery Stores from the 11 of April 1760§ §to the 31 March 1761§ §26 Do List of Stores remg in the Honble Companys Ware House§ §the 31 March 1761§ §27 Do Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the§ §Year 1762 with an Additional Indent§ §28 Do Indent of Medicines wanted for the Year 1762§ §29 Do List of the Packet p Ship Houghton§ §30 List of Marriages & ca§ §31 Capt Arbuthnots first Bill of Exchange & Letter of Advice§ §32 Lt General Lallys Do & Do§ §33 French Officers Receipt for £47.6§	The list of enclosed papers continued. 11: Time of the arrival of ships book at Bankit The account at item 12 was tied to the <i>Houghton</i>, that at item 13 to the <i>Royal Duke</i>, that at item 14 to the <i>Suffolk</i>, that at item 15 to the <i>Pocock</i>, that at item 16 to the <i>Oxford</i>, that at item 17 to the <i>Latham</i>, that at item 18 to the <i>Onslow</i> and that at item 19 to the <i>Valentine</i>, each being a duplicate ship account. 20: Duplicate cash account from 14 to 26 May 1761 21: Cash account from 27 to 31 May 22: Cash account from 1 to 29 June 23: Instrument in writing from Edmund Smith, gardener 24: Duplicate list of garrison stores remaining 31 March 1761 25: List of artillery stores from 11 April 1760 to 31 March 1761 26: Duplicate list of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouse 31 March 1761 27: Duplicate indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1762, with an additional indent 28: Duplicate indent of medicines wanted for the year 1762 29: Duplicate list of the packet, per the ship <i>Houghton</i> 30: List of marriages and the like 31: Captain Arbuthnot's first bill of exchange and letter of advice 32: Lieutenant General Lally's first bill of exchange and letter of advice 33: French officers receipt for £47 6s 0d
136	126	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors.

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		§1 We Addressed You last under date of the 29th§ §of June, by His Majestys Ship Portland which§ §sailed from hence, in company with six of your§ §Honrs Ships§ §2 On the 2d instant, arrived your Ship Lord§ §Anson, from Bengal, which Place Capt Chick§ §informs Us, he left the 23 of March§ §3 The 6 instant arrived His Majestys Ship§ §Lion, by which oppy We recd a Letter from your§ §Honrs dated the 14th Iany last, which We opened§ §& read§ §4 On the 21 of this Month likewise arrived§ §a Dutch Ship from Batavia, called the Vreedesteyn§ §Capt Bieten, Burthen about 600 Tons, carries 26§ §Guns, & 100 Men, Loaden with Sugar, Coffee, Pepper§ §Tin, & Sappan Wood, bound to Rotterdam§ §5 Mr Garden a Passenger on board the§ §Dutch Ship, acquaints Us, that the Caern arwon, and§ §Warwick, arrived at Batavia in Novr last, & left§ §that Place the begining of Iany follg for China, he§ §likewise tells Us, the Warwicks Main Mast, was§ §much damaged by Lightning off the South Coast§	1: The Council's last letter to the Court was dated 29 June, sent by His Majesty's ship <i>Portland</i>, which sailed from St Helena in company with six of the Court's ships. 2: On 2 July the Court's ship <i>Lord Anson</i> arrived from Bengal, which place Captain Chick reported he left on 23 March. 3: On 5 July His Majesty's ship <i>Lion</i> arrived, by which opportunity the Council received a letter from the Court dated 14 January that year, which it opened and read. 4: On 21 July a Dutch ship from Batavia likewise arrived, called the <i>Vrede Steyn</i>, commanded by Captain Pieters, of about 600 tons burden, carrying 26 guns and 100 men, laden with sugar, coffee, pepper, tin and sappanwood, and bound for Rotterdam. 5: Mr Garden, a passenger aboard the Dutch ship, reported that the <i>Cairn Arwon</i> and <i>Warwick</i> arrived at Batavia in November that year, and left that place at the beginning of January, both bound for China. He also said that the <i>Warwick</i>'s mainmast was much damaged by lightning off the south-east coast. Interpretations Sappanwood, one of the Dutch ship's cargoes, was a dense red timber from the East Indies valued for the dye extracted from its heartwood, which yielded a range of reds used in textiles before cheaper synthetic dyes existed. Its shipment alongside sugar, coffee, pepper and tin marks the character of the Batavia trade the Dutch carried home, and its appearance in the Council's record shows the island noting the composition of rival nations cargoes as they passed. The intelligence gathered from a passenger aboard a Dutch ship shows how St Helena drew news of British shipping from foreign vessels crossing its anchorage. Word of two Company ships at Batavia and of storm damage to one of them reached the Council not through its own fleet but through a traveller on a Rotterdam-bound trader, the island serving as the point where scattered reports of distant Company movements were collected regardless of whose ship carried them.
137	127	of Java, & that Capt Hutchinson told him, that Capt§ §Addison of Ship Princess Augusta who was in§ §company with them, at the time the Warwick, met§ §with the Accident, left him while he was waiting§ §for that Ships coming up, he further informs Us,§ §that the Norfolk, & Duke of Richmond, were to sail§ §from Malacca the 20 of April for China, Mr Garden§ §likewise acquaints Us, that the French entirely destroyed§ §Fort Marlbo & burnt all the Stores & ca in the Place, &§ §left it some time in April last, carrying away several§ §of the Chinesess with their Wives & Children, in Order to make§ §them Slaves, their behaviour were so very Cruel at§ §Bencoulen, that the Mallays harrassed them all they§ §could, during their stay there, & the French being§ §extremely Sickly, were Obligated to Abandon the Place,§ & sailed with five small Vessels, & two other Ships, for§ §Maurehius, one of the Vessels meeting with some bad§ §Weather, was Obligated to put into Batavia in April§ §last, where She was refitting, & intended as soon as She§ §was in a condition to proceed to Maurehius§ §6 The Passengers upon the Lord Anson, are§ §Mr Holwell, & Mr Pye french & Wife§ §7 Mrs Mary Smith, Wife of Mr Bashon Smith§	Captain Hutchinson had told Mr Garden that Captain Baddison of the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i>, who was in company with them when the <i>Warwick</i> met with the accident off Java, left him while he was waiting for that ship to come up. Garden further reported that the <i>Norfolk</i> and <i>Duke of Richmond</i> were to sail from Malacca on 20 April for China. He also reported that the French had entirely destroyed Fort Marlborough and burnt all the stores in the place, leaving it some time in April that year. They carried away several of the Chinese with their wives and children in irons to make them slaves. Their conduct was very cruel at Bencoolen, and the Malays harassed them all they could during their stay. The French, being extremely sickly, were obliged to abandon the place, and sailed with five small vessels and two other ships for Mauritius. One of the vessels, meeting with bad weather, was obliged to put into Batavia in April that year, where she was refitting and meant to proceed to Mauritius as soon as she was fit. 6: The passengers aboard the <i>Lord Anson</i> were Mr Holwell, Mr Pigou, French, and his wife. 7: Mrs Mary Smith, wife of Mr Bashaw Smith, late of Bencoolen, died on 20 May that year, leaving several effects. The Council ordered them to be sold, and after paying her respective debts received the balance of her account, amounting to £124 5s 0d, into the Court's cash, which it had written off to the account current at London. Interpretations

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		§late of Bencoolen, who died the 20th of May last, having§ §left several Effects, We ordered them to be Sold, & after§ §paying her respective Debts, recd the Balance of§ §her Account amounting to £124.5.1 into your Honrs§ §Cash, which We have wrote off to Acct Current§	The destruction of Fort Marlborough confirms the loss the Council had earlier only feared, and shows the war reaching the Company's own settlements in the East Indies. Fort Marlborough was the Company's principal post at Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra, and its burning by the French, together with the carrying off of Chinese residents into slavery, marks the reduction of a British possession whose stores St Helena had lately been forwarding, the news arriving through the same traffic of passing ships. The handling of Mrs Smith's estate reveals how the settlement served as an informal probate authority for those who died in transit or in the Company's distant service. Her effects were sold on the spot, her debts settled and the residue paid into the Company's chest and carried to the London account, so the island turned a deceased person's scattered property into a clean balance in the Company's books, discharging the estate through the same accounting machinery it used for every other transaction.
138	128	London, Besides the above Balance, there is a Ring§ §set with eight Diamond Sparks, from not knowing§ §the real value thereof we did not dispose of it, but§ §kept it until we should hear from her Husband§ §8 We have granted five Set of Bills drawn on§ §your Honrs one to Capt John Clark, for £2000 payable§ §to Capt Chs Fowler, or Order, 90 Days after sight§ §dated the 20 instant, One set to Mr Fras Wrangham§ §for £377.17.3 payable to Mr George Herginson or§ §Order, 90 Days after sight dated the 20 instant, &§ §another set to Mr Jona Doveton for £105 payable§ §to Capt George Cuming, or Order 90 Days after sight§ §dated likewise the 20 instant, One Set to Charles§ §Hutchinson Esq for £200 payable to Saml Clough§ §Esq, or Order 90 Days after sight, dated the 27th instant,§ §And one Set to Mr Wm Lee for £100 payable to§ §Mr Thos Lee, or Order 90 Days after sight, dated§ §also the 27th instant§ §9 For this Month past, inflammatory Colds§ §have raged so much in the Island, that most of the§ §Inhabitants have been Afflicted with that disorder§ §in a very severe manner, but it has not proved§ §Mortal to many, two of your Honrs Men Slaves§ §have died with it, & many other of your Blacks§ §have been ill, but the Violence of the disorder we§ §hope is abated, as most People that laboured§ §under it, are at present better§	Besides the balance from Mrs Smith's estate, there was a ring set with eight diamond sparks. Not knowing its real value, the Council did not dispose of it, but kept it until it should hear from her husband. 8: The Council had granted five bills of exchange drawn on the Court. One to Captain John Clark, for £2,000 0s 0d, payable to Captain Charles Fowler or order, 90 days after sight, dated 20 July that month. One to Mr Francis Wrangham, for £377 17s 3d, payable to Mr George Higinson or order, 90 days after sight, dated 20 July that month. Another to Mr Jonathan Doveton, for £105 0s 0d, payable to Captain George Cuming or order, 90 days after sight, dated 20 July that month. One to Charles Hutchinson, for £200 0s 0d, payable to Samuel Slough or order, 90 days after sight, dated 27 July that month. And one to Mr William Leech, for £100 0s 0d, payable to Mr Thomas Lee or order, 90 days after sight, dated 27 July that month. 9: For the past month, inflammatory colds had raged so much in the island that most of the inhabitants had been afflicted with the disorder in a very severe manner, though it had not proved fatal to many. Two of the Court's men slaves had died of it, and many other of its slaves had been ill. The Council hoped the violence of the disorder was abating, as most people who suffered under it were now better. Interpretations The diamond ring held back from the estate sale shows the Council distinguishing between property it could readily value and property whose worth it could not judge. Rather than sell an item of uncertain value and risk short-changing the absent husband, it kept the ring until instructions came, a careful piece of trusteeship that reveals the settlement handling a deceased person's goods with an eye to the claims of those still living far away. The outbreak of inflammatory colds recorded here marks the island's exposure to epidemic illness carried by the very shipping it depended on. A remote community refreshed by crews from across the world was vulnerable to whatever they brought ashore, and the Council's note that the sickness struck most inhabitants and killed two of its slaves shows respiratory disease sweeping a confined population, its toll registered particularly among the enslaved labourers whose loss the Company counted as a loss of property.
139	129	10 Two Invalid Soldiers from Bengal, both of§ §the name of Wm Brown, were left here out of Ship§	10: Two invalid soldiers from Bengal, both named William Brown, were left at St Helena out of the

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		§Ship Latham, We have been under a necessity to§ §support them, one at C the other who is Sick, in the§ §Hospital at G p Day, the former We have put on§ §board the Lord Anson, his expencies here for 28 Days§ §amounts to £-14- He has signed an instrument§ §in Writing, that he will not demand any Wages for§ §his Voyage Home, The other who has a Dysentery§ §upon him, is not in a condition to go by this conveyance,§ §but as soon as he is recovered, & an oppy Offers, We§ §will send him to England, & acquaint your Honors§ §with the Exence You have been at upon his Acct§ §We have paid Capt Chick £5 for the Passage§ §of the said Wm Brown, both which Sums, with what§ §money We may advance upon Acct of the other§ §We suppose will be repaid to your Honrs either by§ §the Capt or Owners, of the Ship Latham, For these§ §reasons We hope you will be pleased to give the§ §Commanders Orders, with respect to this circumstance§ §to prevent the inconveniencies & extraordinary Expence§ §to your Honrs occasioned from the Neglect of their§ §not sending them on board, some time before they§ §sail§ §11 We have likewise given Capt Chick a permission§ §to receive on board his Ship, Wm Perry a discharged§ §Soldier, & have also put on board the Lord Anson, Richd§ §Humphrys Wm Weekey, Saml Wright, & Saml Chace§	ship <i>Latham</i>. The Council was obliged to support them, one on the island and the other, who was sick, in the hospital. The former it put aboard the <i>Lord Anson</i>, his charges at St Helena for 28 days amounting to £[...]. He had signed a written instrument agreeing that he would demand no wages for his voyage home. The other, who had dysentery, was not fit to go by this conveyance, but as soon as he recovered and an opportunity offered, the Council would send him to England and inform the Court of the charge it had been at on his account. The Council had paid Captain Chick £5 0s 0d for the passage of the said William Brown. Both these sums, together with any money it might advance on account of the other, it supposed would be repaid to the Court by either the captain or owners of the <i>Latham</i>. For these reasons the Council hoped the Court would be pleased to give the commanders orders about this matter, to prevent the inconvenience and extraordinary expense caused by their neglect in not sending such men aboard some time before they sailed. 11: The Council had likewise given Captain Chick permission to receive aboard his ship William Perry, a discharged soldier. It had also put aboard the <i>Lord Anson</i> Richard Humphry, William Wesley, Samuel Wright and Samuel Chace, four. Interpretations The two invalid soldiers left behind by the <i>Latham</i> expose a recurring cost the ships pushed onto the island by simply landing their sick and sailing. Men set ashore had to be fed and, when ill, hospitalised at the Company's charge until another ship could take them, so the Council pressed for orders compelling commanders to embark such men before departure, seeking to recover the expense from the ship's owners and to stop the practice by which St Helena became the involuntary keeper of other vessels invalids. The care to record every shilling spent on the two soldiers, down to the passage money paid to Captain Chick, shows the settlement building a documented claim for reimbursement against the ship responsible. By fixing each charge to a named vessel and its owners, the Council turned the burden of maintaining stranded men into a recoverable debt, using its accounts as the instrument by which a cost unfairly imposed could be pushed back onto the party that created it.
140	130	four Invalids, & have paid the Capt £20 for their§ §Passages, they have all signed an instrument in§ §Writing, that they will not demand any Wages for§ §their Voyage Home, which We transmit herewith,§ §together with the Surgeons Certificate, in respect,§ §to the Invalids, John Belton another discharged§ §Sold has Entered on board of His Majestys Ship§ §Lion§ §12 Capt Sefrass of His Majestys Ship Lion, &§ §his Purser, applied to Us for £122.6.8 which Sum§ §We have advanced them, & taken Bills of Exchange§ §drawn upon the Commissioners for Victualling His§ §Majestys Navy, payable to your Honrs or Order, 30§ §Days after sight, dated the 25 instant, the first§ §Bill, & Letter of Advice goes herewith§ §13 The distemper among the Cattle, We informed§ §your Honrs of last Year, by the Ajax, still continues,§ §but has not raged in that violent manner, only a few§ §have since died, & we flatter ourselves by changing§ §their Food, & bleeding them plentifully, as soon as the§ §disorder appears, that We shall be able to preserve§ §most of them, that are seized with it, as we are in no§ §want of Herbage, & by the present appearances of§ §the Weather, have a prospect of a good Winter	The four invalids named above were put aboard the <i>Lord Anson</i>, and the Council paid the captain £20 0s 0d for their passages. All of them had signed a written instrument agreeing that they would demand no wages for their voyage home, which the Council transmitted with this letter, together with the surgeon's certificate concerning the invalids. John Belton, another discharged soldier, had entered aboard His Majesty's ship <i>Lion</i>. 12: Captain Le Cras of His Majesty's ship <i>Lion</i> and his purser applied to the Council for £122 6s 8d, which sum it advanced them, taking bills of exchange drawn upon the commissioners for victualling His Majesty's navy, payable to the Court or order, 30 days after sight, dated 25 July that month. The first bill and letter of advice went with this letter. 13: The distemper among the cattle, of which the Council informed the Court the previous year by the <i>Ajax</i>, still continued, though not in so violent a manner. Only a few had died since. The Council flattered itself that by changing their food and bleeding them plentifully as soon as the disorder appeared, it would be able to save most of those seized with it, being in no want of herbage and, from

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		Season§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §30th July 1761§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most Humble Servts§ §(Signed) Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	the present appearance of the weather, having a prospect of a good winter season. The letter closed from St Helena on 30 July 1761, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The treatment of the cattle distemper by altering feed and copious bleeding reflects the veterinary practice of the day, when bloodletting was the standard response to disease in animals as in people. The Council's confidence that it could now save most stricken beasts, set against the heavier losses of the previous year, shows the island learning to manage a recurring epizootic on which its whole capacity to victual ships depended, its herds being the irreplaceable source of the fresh meat every passing vessel sought. The soldier who entered aboard the <i>Lion</i> points to a route off the island that bypassed the Company altogether. By enlisting on a King's ship rather than waiting for Company passage, a discharged man could leave on naval terms, and the Council's bare record of it shows the garrison's released soldiers moving into royal service as ships of the navy called, an outlet for surplus men distinct from the merchant fleet.
141	131	List of the Honble Compys Packet from St Helena p his§ §Majestys Ship Lion, dated the 30 July 1761 viz§ §No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated 30th July 1761§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 29 June Do§ §3 Consultations from 6th to the 27 July Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 1 to the 29 June Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p His Majestys Ship Portland§ §6 First Do for a Paper Do p Ship Onslow§ §7 Second Do for the Packet p Ship Houghton§ §8 List of Officers & Servts taken 30 July 1761§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Muster Rolls of Do§ §11 Govrs Letter to the Secret Committee§ §12 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Lord Anson§ §13 Duplicate of Ship Suffolks Acct§ §14 Do Pococks Do§ §15 Do Oxfords Do§ §16 Do Lathams Do§ §17 Do Onslows Do§ §18 Do Valentines Do§ §19 Cash Act for the 30 June 1761§ §20 Do from 1 to the 30 July Do§ §21 Duplicate Cash Ac from 27 to the 31 May Do§ §22 Do Do from 1 to the 29 June Do§ §23 Do List of the Packet p His Majestys Ship Portland§ §24 Do Additional Indent wanted for the Service of the Year 1762§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard His Majesty's ship <i>Lion</i> , dated 30 July 1761, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 30 July 1761 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 29 June 3: Consultations from 6 to 27 July 4: Duplicate consultations from 1 to 29 June 5: First receipt for the packet, per His Majesty's ship Portland 6: First receipt for a paper of the same, per the ship Onslow 7: Second receipt for the packet, per the ship Houghton 8: List of officers and men taken 30 July 1761 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Muster rolls of the same 11: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 12: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Lord Anson 13: Duplicate of ship Suffolk account 14: Duplicate of ship Pocock account 15: Duplicate of ship Oxford account 16: Duplicate of ship Latham account 17: Duplicate of ship Onslow account 18: Duplicate of ship Valentine account 19: Cash account for 30 June 1761 20: Cash account from 1 to 30 July 21: Duplicate cash account from 27 to 31 May 22: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 29 June 23: Duplicate list of the packet, per His Majesty's ship Portland 24: Duplicate additional indent wanted for the service of the year 1762
142	132	No 25 Capt Arbuthnots Second Bill of Exchange & Letter of Advice§ §26 Lieut General Lallys Do & Do§ §27 Duplicate French Officers Receipt for £47.6§ §28 Ship Lord Ansons Acct§ §29 Duplicate List of Marriages & ca§ §30 Surgeons Certificate of 4 Invalid Soldiers§ §31 Instrument in Writing from 5 discharged Soldrs & Wm§ §Brown Invalid from Bengal§ §32 List of 2 Discharged Soldiers & 4 Invalids§ §33 Capt Chicks Receipt for £25§ §34 Capt Lefrass first Bill of Exchange & Letter of	The list of enclosed papers continued. 25: Captain Arbuthnot's second bill of exchange and letter of advice 26: Lieutenant General Lally's second bill of exchange and letter of advice 27: Duplicate French officers receipt for £47 6s 0d 28: Ship Lord Anson account 29: Duplicate list of marriages and the like 30: Surgeon's certificate of the four invalid soldiers 31: Instrument in writing from five discharged soldiers and William Brown, invalid from Bengal 32: List of two discharged soldiers and four invalids

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		Advice§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter to you, went by His Majestys§ §Ship <i>Lion</i>, which left this Place the 30 of July, in§ §company with your Honrs Ship Lord Anson§ §2 On the 2d of last Month, arrived the <i>Egmont</i>,§ §& London, the 19 the Lord Mansfield, & the 26th the§ §Sandwich from Bombay, Capt Quicke acquainted Us, the <i>York</i> sailed§ §from thence for Suratt & Mocha, the 19 of Feby, & the§ §Neptune from Tillichery for China the 15th of May, and§ §that he left the <i>Triton</i> there, which was to proceed for§ §Madrass a few Days after, He likewise tells Us, that§ §the Fleet under the Command of Admiral Stevens§ §were all arrived at Bombay, before he left it§	33: Captain Chick's receipt for £25 0s 0d 34: Captain Le Cras's first bill of exchange and letter of advice The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by His Majesty's ship <i>Lion</i>, which left St Helena on 30 July in company with the Court's ship <i>Lord Anson</i>. 2: On 2 August the <i>Egmont</i> and <i>London</i> arrived from Bombay, the <i>Lord Mansfield</i> on 19 August, and the <i>Sandwich</i> on 21 August. Captain Quicke reported that the <i>York</i> sailed from Bombay for Surat and Mocha on 19 February, and the <i>Neptune</i> from Tellicherry for China on 15 May, and that he left the <i>Triton</i> there, which was to proceed for Madras a few days after. He also reported that the fleet under the command of Admiral Stevens had all arrived at Bombay before he left. Interpretations The concentration of Bombay and Malabar shipping reaching St Helena in August marks the second seasonal wave that funnelled through the island, distinct from the earlier China fleet. Ships from the western coast of India and its pepper ports converged on the anchorage as they turned homeward, so the Council's register of their arrivals and the intelligence their captains carried records the annual rhythm by which the whole spread of the Company's eastern trade passed a single Atlantic station. Mocha, named as a destination of the <i>York</i>, was the Red Sea port through which the Arabian coffee trade flowed, its name long attached to the coffee shipped from it. The Council's note of a vessel bound there reflects the reach of the Company's commerce beyond India proper into the Arabian trade, the movements of which reached St Helena through the reports of ships that had touched those distant markets.
143	133	3 We are also informed, that Rojepore, had been§ §Besieged by the Maharattas for three Years, but§ §finding they could not take the Place, applied to the§ §Portoguese for some Troops which they readily§ §granted, & immediately sent a small Party to their§ §Aid, with a promise of a larger Force, Upon which§ §the Sedee came to Bombay, & requested the Assistance§ §of the English, & offered the President, Hourndelverry§ §advantageous Terms, if they would supply him with§ §Troops, which upon consideration they agreed to, and§ §accordingly on the 2d of March, Messrs Byfeld, and§ §Hornby, with Major Gowin, & some Force under his§ §command Embarked for Rojepore on board the Grabe,§ §commanded by Capt Purling, The 27th of the same§ §Month, the Gentlemen of Council returned, by whom§ §they were informed, that they arrived there about two§ §Days before the Portoguese Fleet, & had hoisted English§ §Colours in the Fort, The commander in Chief of the§ §Portoguese, thereupon desired he might be allowed to§ §take on board the small Party of Men, that had been§ §first sent, as he had no Quarrel with the English§ §& immediately returned to Goa, Upon which the§ §Maharattas raised the Siege, & Marched their Troops§ §away, We left a few Soldiers at Rojepore, & it was§ §imagined would settle a Factory there, as it is a§	3: The Council was also informed that Rajapore had been besieged by the Marathas for three years. Finding they could not take the place, they applied to the Portuguese for troops, which were readily granted, and a small party was sent at once to their aid with the promise of a larger force. On this the Sidi came to Bombay, requested the assistance of the English and offered the President and Council very advantageous terms if they would supply him with troops, which after consideration they agreed to. Accordingly, on 2 March, Messrs Byfield and Hornby, with Major Gowin and some forces under his command, embarked for Rajapore aboard the <i>Grab</i>, commanded by Captain Purling. On 23 March the gentlemen of council returned, reporting that they arrived about two days before the Portuguese fleet and had hoisted English colours in the fort. The commander in chief of the Portuguese then asked that he might be allowed to take aboard the small party of men first sent, as he had no quarrel with the English, and returned at once to Goa. On this the Marathas raised the siege and marched their troops away. The Council left a few soldiers at Rajapore, and it was thought a factory would be settled there, being a place of great consequence to Bombay on account of provisions. Interpretations The manoeuvre at Rajapore shows the English exploiting a three-way rivalry to plant themselves in a strategic port without a fight. By answering the Sidi's appeal ahead of the Portuguese and raising their colours in the fort first, the Bombay council converted another power's request for help into a foothold of their own, the Portuguese withdrawing rather than contest a place the English had quietly

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		§Place of great consequence to Bombay, on Account§ §of Provisions§	pre-empted, and a garrison left behind to hold what diplomacy had won. The interest in Rajapore rested explicitly on provisions, marking how far the security of a settlement turned on its food supply rather than on trade alone. Bombay's dependence on the surrounding coast for its subsistence made a nearby port worth garrisoning for the grain and supplies it commanded, so the Council valued the place as a source of food, the same preoccupation with provisioning that governed St Helena's own affairs recurring on the far larger stage of western India. The Sidi named here was the ruler of Janjira, the admiral of the Mughal fleet whose stronghold sat amid the contest between the Marathas, the Portuguese and the English along the Konkan coast. His approach to Bombay reflects the shifting alliances of these coastal powers, each ready to enlist a European company against a common enemy, and St Helena's record of it shows the island receiving detailed news of the political struggles of western India through its homeward shipping.
144	134	4 The Passengers on board these Ships as p their§ §Muster Rolls are as follows viz§ §Lt Hams of His Majestys Navy§ §Messrs Darcy§ §Ashue§ §Raby§ §Reveaire§ §Vroan§ §Charenton§ §Chatteau§ §Sobieau§ §Prisoners on board the Egmont§ §Mr Moore on board the London§ §Monsr Luet late Govr of Mahie & Family§ §Messrs Pasquelet§ §D Ejunee§ §St Seer§ §Dubart§ §Leonl Senr§ §Leonl Junr§ §Bonnett§ §Prisoners on board the Lord Mansfield§ §Lieut Kidd§ §Townsend§ §Bulted§ §Buchman§ §Messrs Dewdenny§ §Thomson§ §Claypott§ §Smithurst§ §Wade§ §of His Majestys Navy§ §on board the Sandwich§	4: The passengers aboard these ships, as taken from their muster rolls, were as follows. Lieutenant Harris of His Majesty's navy, and Messrs Darcy, Ashue, Raby, Reveaire, Trovan, Charenton, Chatterrain and Sobieater, prisoners, were aboard the <i>Egmont</i>. Mr Moore was aboard the <i>London</i>. Monsieur Sicut, late governor of Mahé, and his family, together with Messrs Pasquelet, D'Guines, St Seer, Duxbar, Leonil senior, Leonil junior and Bonnett, prisoners, were aboard the <i>Lord Mansfield</i>. Lieutenant Kidd, Townsend, Bulted and Buchman, Messrs Dewdenny, Thomson, Claypott, Smithurst and Wade, of His Majesty's navy, were aboard the <i>Sandwich</i>. Interpretations The presence of the former governor of Mahé and his family among the prisoners ties this passenger list directly to the capture of that settlement noted earlier in the correspondence. The senior French official of a taken post now passed homeward through St Helena as a captive, so the muster rolls record the human consequences of the Malabar campaign flowing across the island, the defeated administration of a French possession being carried into captivity by the very ships the Council registered. The mixture aboard these vessels of naval officers and French prisoners marks the dual character of the shipping the war produced. Homeward Indiamen now carried both the King's officers returning from the eastern stations and the enemy taken in its campaigns, so the Council's careful separation of the two groups on each ship reflects how the settlement tracked a traffic in which the victors and the vanquished travelled the same route home through its anchorage.
145	135	Colonel Demesme§ §Mr Lenainer & Wife§ §Messrs Guibert§ §Marcenay§ §Gehagen§ §Dalton§ §Brady§ §De Soubinee§ §Duperon a Passenger§ §Prisoners on board the Sandwich§ §5 In our last Letter to your Honrs We acquainted§ §you, We thought the distemper among the Black Cattle§ §We informed you of by the Ship Ajax, was much§ §abated, but since that Time many more have died§ §some very Suddenly, & quite fat, few live above two§ §or three Days, after they are first taken, but as this§	The passengers continued. Colonel Demesme, Mr Lemainer and his wife, and Messrs Grubert, Marcenay, Gehagen, Dalton, Brady and De Soubinee, prisoners, and Duperon, a passenger, were aboard the <i>Sandwich</i>. 5: In its last letter the Council had reported that the distemper among the black cattle, of which it informed the Court by the ship <i>Ajax</i>, was much abated. Since then many more had died, some very suddenly, and scarcely any lived above two or three days after they were first taken. As this disorder in its appearance was very different from what the beasts were seized with before, the Council hoped it would not prove to be of an infectious nature. 6: On 22 August the Governor was informed by Pompey, a man slave belonging to Mary Burnham, widow, that all the slaves upon the island intended to

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		§disorder in its appearance, is very different from§ §what they were then seized with, We are in hopes§ §it will not prove to be of an infectious Nature§ §6 On the 22d of last Month, the Govr was§ §informed by Pompey a Man Slave belongg to§ §Mary Burnham Widow, that all the Blacks§ §upon the Place, intended to make an insurrection§ §in the Island, & to Murder their Masters, and§ §Named Canton, Tom, & Minnis, three Mallay§ §Slaves, belongg to different People, who had§ §several times discoursed with him about the§ §Affair, the two former, more particularly, they as§ §she says, perswaded him to join them, telling him§	make an insurrection and to murder their masters. Pompey named Canton, Tom and Minnis, three Malay slaves belonging to different people, who had several times talked with him about the affair, the two first more particularly. He said they had tried to persuade him to join them, telling him. Interpretations The plot reported by Pompey exposes the fear of collective revolt that lay beneath the whole apparatus of control the settlement maintained over its enslaved population. A conspiracy to rise and kill the masters was the danger against which the closing of the harbour, the mustering of rolls and the punishment of deserters were all ultimately directed, and its disclosure through an informer among the slaves shows the Council's dependence on division within the enslaved community to learn of threats it could not otherwise detect. That the alleged ringleaders were Malay slaves belonging to different owners points to the varied origins of the island's enslaved labour force and to how the Company drew bondspeople from across its eastern trading world. Malays brought from the Indonesian archipelago formed one strand of a population assembled from widely separated places, and the naming of men held by several masters shows the Council treating the danger as spanning individual households, a threat to the slaveholding order as a whole rather than to any single owner. The sudden, near-total mortality of the newly stricken cattle, killing within days and unlike the earlier distemper, marks a fresh and more virulent outbreak threatening the herds on which all victualling depended. Coming as the Council registered wave after wave of homeward shipping needing fresh meat, a cattle disease that killed almost every beast it touched struck at the island's central function, its careful distinction between this disorder and the last reflecting real alarm at a plague it did not understand.
146	136	that he was a strong Man, & knew how to make use of§ §a Sword, That upon his refusing to be concerned with§ §them, they desired him not to discover their intentions,§ §& they would make a gathering of Money, to pay him§ §for being silent, This Design he informs Us, has§ §been talked of among them upwards of three Years§ §past, We have examined into it, but as yet have§ §not been able to come at any proof, those he accuses§ §positively denying what he alledges against them,§ §the beforementioned three Blacks are kept in§ §confinement, & we are endeavoring to make what§ §further discoveries We can, of this horrid Conspiracy§ §7 Stephen Willoughby Soldier having on the§ §24 of last Month, broke into the House Of Stephen§ §Young in this Valley, & Stole from thence several things,§ §as will more fully appear in our Consultation of the§ §3 instant, The said Willoughby being an old Offender§ §We in order to deter others from committing the like§ §Atrocious Crimes, & agreeable to your Orders, in the§ §28 Paragraph of your Letter by the Delawar relative§ §to such Criminals, have sent him Prisoner to§ §England, upon the Ship London, & have paid Capt§ §Webb £5 for his Passage with directions to him§ §not to suffer the said Willoughby to go out of his§ §Ship, until he receives your Orders about him, We§	Canton and the others told Pompey that he was a strong man and knew how to use a sword. When he refused to join them, they begged him not to reveal their intentions, and promised to make a collection of money to pay him for his silence. Pompey reported that this design had been talked of among the slaves for upwards of three years. The Council examined into it but had not yet been able to come at any proof, since those he accused positively denied what he alleged against them. The three slaves named were kept in confinement, and the Council was trying to make what further discoveries it could of the whole conspiracy. 7: Stephen Willoughby, a soldier, broke into the house of Stephen Young in the valley on 24 August and stole several things from it, as would more fully appear in the Council's consultation of 3 September. Willoughby being an old offender, the Council, to deter others from committing the like atrocious crimes, and following the Court's orders in the twenty-eighth paragraph of its letter by the <i>Delawar</i> relating to such criminals, sent him prisoner to England aboard the ship <i>London</i>. It paid Captain Webb £5 0s 0d for his passage, with directions not to let Willoughby go out of his ship until he received the Court's orders about him. The Council likewise transmitted, in a separate paper in the packet, the several depositions it took relating to this affair. Interpretations The Council's inability to secure proof against the accused slaves, who flatly denied Pompey's account, exposes the limits of a system that depended on informers yet demanded evidence. The men could be held in confinement on suspicion but not convicted without corroboration, so the Council was

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		§have likewise transmitted in a seperate Paper§ §in the Packet, the several Depositions We took§ §relating to this Affair§	left continuing its enquiries while keeping the suspects locked up, caught between its fear of a long-rumoured plot and the want of anything beyond a single accuser's word. The decision to ship the soldier Willoughby home for trial rather than punish him on the island shows the Council using transportation to England as its response to a persistent offender. Acting under a specific paragraph of the Court's instructions, it removed a repeat criminal from the settlement altogether and referred his fate to London, treating deportation as both a deterrent to others and a way of ridding a small community of a man it could not otherwise be quit of, the depositions carefully preserved to support the case at home. The offer of a collection of money to buy Pompey's silence reveals something of the internal economy among the enslaved, who could evidently gather funds of their own. That the conspirators proposed to pay for silence rather than merely threaten shows a degree of resource and organisation within the slave community that the masters seldom acknowledged, a detail that unsettles the picture of total dependence on which the slaveholding order rested.
147	137	8 In our Letter to your Honrs by the Ship Houghton§ §We acquainted You, we should want at least 40 Recruits§ §next Year, to complete our Garrison, since when§ §several more of your Military have died than Usual,§ §We therefore requests You will be pleased to send Us§ §by the Store Ship 60 instead of 40 Men, for the§ §service of this Place§ §9 We have put on board the Ship Lord§ §Mansfield Ulrick Diel a discharged Soldier, towards§ §completing her Company§ §10 The following French Officers applied to Us for§ §Subsistence the time of their being here, We have§ §therefore Advanced them the respective Sums viz§ §To Messrs Riviere§ §Cheautard§ §De Krerouan§ §Charanton§ §Sea Officers§ §38 Days at £4§ §6 Days§ §£38§ §Soubieses Surgeon§ §De KERAH Lieut of Artillery @ 6/9 p Do 12.16.6§ §Darcy Capt @ 5 p Do 17.2§ §Ashue Lieut @ 6/9 p Do 12.16.6§ §Prisoners belonging to Ship Egmont 80.15§ §De Pluvuelle Capt 20 Days £9§ §@ 9 p Day§ §Sabirangene Lieut§ §Bonnett§ §Dubart writers @ 6/9 p Day 40.10§ §St Arne§ §De Sarnbis§ §De Werrannac§ §Monsr Luet Govr of Mahie & Family 27.3 16.13§ §Prisoners belongg to Ship Lord Mansfield Carried over £ 157.8§	8: In its letter by the ship <i>Houghton</i> the Council had reported that it would want at least 40 men the next year to complete the garrison. Since then several more of the Court's military had died than usual, so the Council asked the Court to send 60 men instead of 40 for the service of the island. 9: The Council put aboard the ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i> Ulrick Diel, a discharged soldier, towards completing her company. 10: The following French officers applied to the Council for subsistence during the time they were at St Helena, and it advanced them the respective sums. To Messrs Riviere, Chevatard and De Skrowan, sea officers, for 38 days at 4 shillings each, 38 pounds To Charenton, for 6 days, part of the same To Soubiestes, surgeon, part of the same To De Skreah, lieutenant of artillery, at 6 shillings 9 pence a day, 12 pounds 16 shillings 6 pence To Darcy, captain, at 9 shillings a day, 17 pounds 2 shillings To Ashue, lieutenant, at 6 shillings 9 pence a day, 12 pounds 16 shillings 6 pence Prisoners belonging to the ship Egmont, 80 pounds 15 shillings To De Plu Suelle, captain, for 20 days at 9 shillings a day, 9 pounds To Saberangene, lieutenant, part of the same To Bonnett, Duxbar, St Ame, De Sambis and De Werannac, writers, at 6 shillings 9 pence a day, 40 pounds 10 shillings To Monsieur Sicut, late governor of Mahé, and his family, 27 pounds 3 shillings Prisoners belonging to the ship Lord Mansfield, carried over, 157 pounds 8 shillings Interpretations The increase of the request from 40 to 60 men within a single season measures how heavily mortality was thinning the garrison. Having already asked for 40 to make good earlier losses, the Council found deaths running above the usual rate and raised its demand by half again, the rising figure recording a settlement struggling to hold its military strength against a death rate that outpaced the replacements London could supply. The graded subsistence rates paid to the French prisoners, from nine shillings a day for a captain down to lesser sums for writers and sea officers, show the Council maintaining captured enemy personnel on a careful scale of rank recovered

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			through the accounts. Even the deposed governor of Mahé and his family drew a fixed allowance, so the upkeep of prisoners of war was administered as a precise and recoverable charge, each man's keep fixed by his standing and entered for repayment rather than borne as a loss.
148	138	Brought over £157.8§ §De Mesme Colonel 14 Days§ §@ 15 p Day§ §£10.10§ §Guibert§ §Geoghegan§ §Dalton§ §Capts @ 9 p Day 18.18§ §Brady§ §De Alumier§ §De Marcenay§ §De Soubinet§ §Lieuts @ 6/9 p Day 18.18§ §Prisoners belonging to Ship Sandwich 48.6§ §£205.14§ §11 We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange viz One Set to Chs Hutchinson Esqr§ §for £400 payable to Sir Alexandr Grant Baronet,§ §One Set to Capt John Webb for £200 payable to§ §John Fendall Esq, One Set to Lieut John Harris§ §for £60 payable to himself, all dated the 14§ §of August, at 90 Days Sight, And one Set to§ §Mr Chs Woward for £70 payable to Mr Edwd Bigges§ §at 90 Days sight dated the 7th instant§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §9th Sept 1761§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servants§ §(Signed) Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	The subsistence advanced to the French officers continued, the sum carried over being £157 8s 0d. To De Mesme, colonel, for 14 days at 15 shillings a day, 10 pounds 10 shillings To Grubert, Geoghegan and Dalton, captains, at 9 shillings a day, 18 pounds 18 shillings To Brady, De Alumier and De Marcenay, lieutenants, at 6 shillings 9 pence a day, 18 pounds 18 shillings To De Soubinet, part of the same Prisoners belonging to the ship Sandwich, 48 pounds 6 shillings Total, 205 pounds 14 shillings 11: The Council had granted the following bills of exchange. One to Charles Hutchinson, for £400 0s 0d, payable to Sir Alexander Grant, baronet. One to Captain John Webb, for £200 0s 0d, payable to John Kendall. One to Lieutenant John Harris, for £60 0s 0d, payable to himself, all dated 14 August, 90 days after sight. And one to Mr Charles Ward, for £70 0s 0d, payable to Mr Edward Bigges, 90 days after sight, dated 3 September. The letter closed from St Helena on 9 September 1761, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The colonel De Mesme's allowance of fifteen shillings a day, the highest on the schedule, completes the graded scale by which the Council maintained its French prisoners according to rank. A senior officer drew nearly double a captain's rate and many times a lieutenant's, so the total of over two hundred pounds advanced across the three prizes represents the accumulated cost of housing the captured officers of the Indian war, every man's keep fixed by his standing and entered for recovery through the Company's accounts. The bill payable to Sir Alexander Grant links the island's routine finance to a figure of weight in the Company's London affairs. Grant was a substantial merchant and Company man at home, and the drawing of a bill in his favour shows how the credit generated at St Helena flowed back into the hands of the metropolitan interests who directed the trade, the settlement's paper settling in the accounts of the men who governed it from a great distance.
149	139	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St§ §Helena p the Ship Lord Mansfield dated the 9th Sept 1761§ §viz§ §No 1 Govr Councils Genl Lettr dated the 9th Sept 1761§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated the 29 July Do§ §3 Consultations from the 3 Augt to the 7 Sept 1761§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 6 to the 27 July Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p His Majestys Ship Lion§ §6 First Do for a Paper Do p Ship Lord Anson§ §7 Second Do for Do p His Majestys Ship Portland§ §8 Second Do for a Paper Do p Ship Onslow§ §9 List of Officers & Servants taken the 9 Sept 1761§ §10 Do of Cattle returned & Killed for the Year Do§ §11 Duplicate List of the Packet p His Majestys Ship Lion§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Govrs Letter to the Secret Committee§ §14 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Egmont, London,§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard the ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i>, dated 9 September 1761, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 9 September 1761 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 29 July 3: Consultations from 3 August to 9 September 4: Duplicate consultations from 6 to 27 July 5: First receipt for the packet, per His Majesty's ship <i>Lion</i> 6: First receipt for a paper of the same, per the ship <i>Lord Anson</i> The receipt at item 7 was a second receipt for the packet, per His Majesty's ship <i>Portland</i>. 8: Second receipt for a paper of the same, per the ship <i>Onslow</i> 9: List of officers and servants taken 9 September 1761 10: List of cattle returned and killed for the year 11: Duplicate list of the packet, per His Majesty's ship <i>Lion</i>

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		§Lord Mansfield, & Sandwich§ §15 Time of the Arrival of Ships Book at Bankiss§ §16 Duplicate Ship Lord Ansons Accounts§ §17 Ship Egmonts Account§ §18 Do London Do§ §19 Do Lord Mansfield Do§ §20 Do Sandwich Do§ §21 Cash Acct for the 31 July 1761§ §22 Do for the Month of Augt Do§ §23 Do from the 1 to the 9 Sepr Do§	12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 14: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships Egmont, London, Lord Mansfield and Sandwich 15: Time of the arrival of ships book at Bankit 16: Duplicate ship Lord Anson account 17: Ship Egmont account 18: Duplicate of ship London account 19: Duplicate of ship Lord Mansfield account 20: Duplicate of ship Sandwich account 21: Cash account for 31 July 1761 22: Cash account for the month of August 23: Cash account from 1 to 9 September
150	140	No 24 Duplicate Cash Act for the 30th of June 1761§ §25 Do Do from the 1st to the 30 July Do§ §26 Capt Lefrass Second Bill of Exchange & Do of Advice§ §27 Duplicate Capt Chicks Receipt for £25§ §28 French Officers Receipt for £205.14§ §29 Court Martial from the 29 Decr 1760 to 7 Sepr 1761§ §30 List of Ulrick Diel a discharged Soldier§ §31 Examination upon Stephn Willoughbys Affair§ §32 Capt Webbs Receipt for £5§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We Addressed You last by your Ship§ §Lord Mansfield, that sailed from hence on the§ §10 Sepr in company with your Honrs Ships§ §Egmont, London & Sandwich§ §2 On the 3 of this month arrived your Ships§ §Falmouth, & Prince Edward from Madrass, The§ §Capts acquaint Us, they left that Place the 6§ §of Oct & that the Pitt & Triton, sailed from thence§ §for China in Augt last, each of them had forty§ §French Gentlemen Prisoners on board, That your Ship Massey§ §falling to Leeward of Madrass, arrived at Vizagapatam§ §in Augt & from thence proceeded to Bengal, The§ §Hawke left Madrass for Bengal the latter end§ §of July, & it was supposed, would be dispatched§	The list of enclosed papers continued. 24: Duplicate cash account for 30 June 1761 25: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 30 July 26: Captain Le Cras's second bill of exchange and letter of advice 27: Duplicate Captain Chick's receipt for £25 0s 0d 28: French officers receipt for £205 14s 0d 29: Court martial from 29 December 1760 to 7 September 1761 30: List of Ulick Diel, a discharged soldier 31: Examination upon Stephen Willoughby's affair 32: Captain Webb's receipt for £5 0s 0d The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by the Court's ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 10 September in company with the Court's ships <i>Egmont</i>, <i>London</i> and <i>Sandwich</i>. 2: On 3 October the Court's ships <i>Falmouth</i> and <i>Prince Edward</i> arrived from Madras. The captains reported that they left that place on 6 October the previous year, and that the <i>Pitt</i> and <i>Triton</i> sailed from thence for China in August that year, each carrying 40 French gentlemen as prisoners. The Court's ship <i>Hardwicke</i>, falling to leeward of Madras, arrived at Vizagapatam in August and from thence proceeded to Bengal. The <i>Hawke</i> left Madras for Bengal at the latter end of July, and it was supposed would be dispatched. Interpretations The enclosure of the whole court martial record running back to the previous December shows the Council forwarding to London a complete account of the settlement's military justice for the year. Rather than reporting cases piecemeal, it sent the accumulated proceedings as a single body of evidence, so the Court could review how discipline had been administered in the garrison, the paper trail preserving each judgement for scrutiny at the seat of authority. The two ships carrying forty French prisoners apiece to China mark an unusual disposal of captives taken in the Indian war. Rather than being sent home to Europe, these prisoners were carried eastward with the China fleet, so the movement of enemy captains and their men followed the Company's trading routes wherever they ran, the burden of the war's prisoners distributed across the whole span of its shipping rather than flowing in a single direction.
151	141	from thence for Europe about the middle of Septembr§ §They also inform Us, that your Ships Fox, Warren,§ §& Earl of Holderness were at Madrass when they§ §left it, & that it was imagined the Fox would be§ §sent round to the Malabar Coast, & that the Warren§ §& Earl of Holderness were to proceed for Bengal in§ §a few Days after they left Fort St George, The§	The <i>Hawke</i> was supposed would be dispatched from thence for Europe about the middle of September. The captains also reported that the Court's ships <i>Fox</i>, <i>Warren</i> and <i>Earl of Holderness</i> were at Madras when they left it. It was thought the <i>Fox</i> would be sent round to the Malabar coast, and that the <i>Warren</i> and <i>Earl of Holderness</i> were to proceed for Bengal a few days after they left Fort St George. The <i>Admiral Watson</i> sailed from Madras for Manila in

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		§Admiral Watson sailed from Madrass for Manilha§ §in Augt & was ordered to return in Iany, We are§ §likewise acquainted that the Osterly Prince George§ §& Worcester, put into Fort Marlborough in July last,§ §when they found the French had evacuated the Place,§ §That Capt Ross & Wall were sailed for China, And§ §that Capt Vincent at the earnest Request of the§ §Natives, remained there, to take charge of the§ §Settlement, that he had advised the President &§ §Council of Madrass with it, & desired he might be§ §relieved, upon which the Earl Temple was Ordered§ §to be got ready, & Mr Ardley appointed to go there to§ §take the command, some Troops were likewise to§ §be sent for that Place, they were to leave Madrass§ §about the middle of Octr, We are Told that Pontichery§ §is entirely demolished, & that all the Military§ §Stores & ca were brought to Madrass, We are also§ §informed that the Plassie Snow, Capt Fletcher,§ §with 25 Men on board, was despatched from Madrass§ §the beginning of May last, with Orders to look into§ §the French Islands, to get the best intelligence§	August and was ordered to return in January. The Council was likewise informed that the <i>Osterley, Prince George</i> and <i>Worcester</i> put into Fort Marlborough in July that year, when they found the French had left the place, and that the ships commanded by Captains Ross and Wall sailed for China. Captain Vincent, at the earnest request of the natives, remained there to take charge of the settlement, having advised the President and Council of Madras of it and asked to be relieved. On this the <i>Pitt</i> snow was ordered to be got ready, Mr Ardley was appointed to go there and take the command, and some troops were likewise to be sent to that place, all to leave Madras about the middle of October. The Council was told that Pondicherry was entirely demolished, and that all the military stores had been brought to Madras. It was also informed that the <i>Plassey</i> snow, commanded by Captain Fletcher, with 25 men aboard, was dispatched from Madras at the beginning of May that year, with orders to look into the French islands and get the best intelligence. Interpretations The demolition of Pondicherry and the removal of its stores to Madras confirms the final destruction of the principal French base in India after its surrender earlier in the year. Pondicherry had been the seat of French power on the Coromandel coast, and its complete dismantling, with its military stores carried off to the English capital, marks the definitive collapse of French ambitions in the peninsula, the news reaching St Helena as the campaign's culminating fact. The retaking of Fort Marlborough by returning Company ships shows the recovery of the very post whose burning the Council had earlier recorded. Finding the French departed, the Indiamen restored an English presence at Bencoolen, and Captain Vincent's remaining at the settlers request to hold the place reflects how the Company reoccupied its abandoned station through whatever ships were at hand, the west coast of Sumatra passing back into its keeping as the war in the East wound down. The dispatch of the <i>Plassey</i> snow to reconnoitre the French islands reveals the Company mounting its own intelligence operations against the enemy's remaining strongholds in the Indian Ocean. The French islands, chiefly Mauritius and Bourbon, were the last bases from which France could threaten Company shipping, so a vessel was sent expressly to observe them, the gathering of naval intelligence becoming part of the Company's conduct of a maritime war that reached across the whole ocean.
152	142	he could of the Enemys Fleet, & Forces, that in his§ §way he called at Diego Rais, where the French had§ §a Sergeants Command, & found there a French Ship§ §& Snow, the former he burnt, the Snow he brought§ §with him to Madrass, He also went on Shore &§ §spiked up all their Guns, but not being able to§ §bring away the People, he took their Purolls & left§ §them, That Capt Afflick, in the Bellam touching§ §there afterwards, brought the Guns away with him§ §We are likewise acquainted that His Majestys§ §Ship Seaford, arrived at Madrass in June last,§ §& that immediately after Capt Tideman sailed§ §from thence with several of His Majestys Ships§ §under his Command, they had provisions sufficient§ §to serve them four Months, That Colonel Manson,§ §Major Scott & a party of Highlanders were Embarked§ §on board that Squadron, it is thought they are§ §going to join an Expedition fitted out from England§ §against the French Islands, it is likewise said§ §that Admiral Cornish sailed from Bombay with the§	The <i>Plassey</i> snow was to get the best intelligence it could of the enemy's fleet and forces. On the way she called at Diego Rais, where the French had a sergeant's command, and found there a French ship and a snow. The former she burnt, and the snow she brought with her to Madras. Her people also went ashore and spiked all the enemy's guns, but not being able to bring away the men, they took their firelocks and left them. Captain Afflick, in the <i>Bellona</i>, touching there afterwards, brought the guns away with him. The Council was likewise informed that His Majesty's ship <i>Seaford</i> arrived at Madras in June that year, and that immediately after Captain Tiddeman sailed from thence with several of His Majesty's ships under his command, carrying provisions sufficient to serve them four months. Colonel Monson, Major Scott and a party of Highlanders embarked aboard that squadron, and it was thought they were going to join an expedition fitted out from England against the French islands. It was also said that Admiral Cornish sailed from Bombay with the remainder of the squadron at the beginning of August on the same service.

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		§remainder of the Squadron the beginning of Augr§ §on the same Service§ §3 Capt Harrold acquaints Us, he heard at§ §the Cape, that two French Ships of 74 Guns, &§ §one of 64, had sailed from thence the 23 of Novr§ §for Europe, & that it was reported they had on§ §board all the most Valuable Goods from Mauritius,§ §The Ships he was told, were in a very bad condition§	3: Captain Harold reported that he heard at the Cape that two French ships of 74 guns and one of 64 had sailed from thence on 23 November for Europe, and that it was reported they had aboard all the most valuable goods from Mauritius. The ships, he was told, were in a very bad condition. Interpretations The raid on Diego Rais shows the Company's intelligence vessel turning from observation to attack, destroying enemy shipping and disabling a French post in passing. Sending a small armed snow to burn a ship, carry off another and spike the guns of a garrison it could not take marks the aggressive edge of the maritime war in the Indian Ocean, the <i>Plassey's</i> cruise combining reconnaissance with the systematic reduction of the enemy's scattered outposts wherever they could be reached. The gathering expedition against the French islands, drawing regular troops and Highlanders from the Indian theatre and warships from Bombay and Madras, points to the mounting assault on Mauritius and Bourbon that would follow. With French power in India broken, the war turned toward its island bases in the ocean, and St Helena's record of squadrons converging on that service shows the settlement tracking the shift of the whole conflict from the mainland to the sea, its anchorage the point where these movements were reported and relayed. The rumour of French ships carrying off the most valuable goods from Mauritius reveals the enemy stripping its threatened possessions and running the wealth home before the expected attack. That such heavily armed vessels were said to be in poor condition suggests the strain the long war had placed on French shipping, so the news reaching St Helena caught the adversary in retreat, salvaging what it could from an island it expected soon to lose.
153	143	He likewise informs Us, that it was said the French§ §had but one King Ship in India, she carries 74§ §Guns, & was gone Convoy to two Sail for Batavia§ §4 We acquainted your Honrs in our last Letter§ §by the Lord Mansfield, that, we were informed of§ §an insurrection being intended amongst the Blacks§ §& that we should make all the enquiry we possibly§ §could into it, which we accordingly have done, as you§ §will please to observe in our Consultation of the 21§ §of Sept'r last, And as we have heard nothing more§ §of that horrid Conspiracy since, we are in hopes§ §the methods we took with the Villains concerned,§ §will deter them & others, from Attempts of this§ §sort in future§ §5 A Man Slave belonging to Saml Snipe§ §Planter has Ravished, & distempered two of his§ §Masters Children, one about seven Years old, & the§ §other about five, The circumstances of that Shocking§ §Affair is entered in our Consultation of the 18th§ §instant, & as his Crime is of so heinous a Nature§ §as to deserve Death, We did not think proper§ §to inflict any Corporal punishment on the§ §Delinquent, but have put him in Irons and§ §determine to keep in Prison, until we have your§ §directions thereon§ §6 The Passengers on board the Falmouth§ §are Wm Andrews, Mr Hall & miss Impuson, On board§ §the Prince Edward Mr Mchay Capt Elliot§	Captain Harold likewise reported that it was said the French had but one King's ship in India, carrying 74 guns, which had gone as convoy to two sail bound for Batavia. 4: In its last letter by the <i>Lord Mansfield</i> the Council had reported that it was informed of an insurrection intended among the slaves, and that it would make all the enquiry it possibly could into it, which it had accordingly done, as would appear in its consultation of 21 September. Having heard nothing more of the conspiracy since, the Council hoped the methods it took with the villains concerned would deter them and others from attempts of the sort in future. 5: A man slave belonging to Samuel Snipe, planter, had ravished and infected two of his master's children, one about seven years old and the other about five. The circumstances of the affair were entered in the Council's consultation of 18 October. As his crime was of so heinous a nature as to deserve death, the Council did not think proper to inflict any corporal punishment on the offender, but had put him in irons and determined to keep him in prison until it had directions upon it. 6: The passengers aboard the <i>Falmouth</i> were Mr Andrews, Mr Hall and Miss Empson. Aboard the <i>Prince Edward</i> were Mr McKay and Captain Elliot. Interpretations The Council's decision to hold the slave in irons pending instructions, rather than punish him at once, reflects the legal limits on capital punishment at the settlement. A crime it judged to deserve death could not be answered by the corporal penalties within its own power, so the Council confined the man and referred the matter to higher authority, the reservation of the gravest sentences to a distant jurisdiction shaping how the island dealt even with

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			an offence it regarded as beyond ordinary punishment. The winding down of the insurrection scare, closed with the observation that nothing further had been heard, shows how a conspiracy that could never be proved was allowed to subside once the suspected men had been dealt with. The Council could neither substantiate the plot nor entirely dismiss it, so it settled for the deterrent effect of the measures already taken, the affair fading from the record not through resolution but through the absence of any fresh alarm.
154	144	and Lieut Dundas of His Majestys Navy, There§ §is likewise on board the Falmouth 8 French§ §Gentlemen & Servants Prisoners, And for Gentlemen§ §& Servants on board the Prince Edward, for their§ §Names, Quality, & ca We refer you to the Muster§ §Rolls of the respective Ships they belong to§ §which are entered in our Consultation of the§ §18th instant§ §7 We have put on board the Ship Falmouth§ §Thos Williams, & Edwd Mansell two discharged§ §Soldiers to complete her Company§ §8 We have likewise given Capt Haldane§ §a permission to receive on board his Ship§ §Derby Coiles, Thos Green, & Wm Billington three§ §other discharged Men, they have signed an§ §instrument as you have been pleased to§ §direct, that they will not demand any Wages§ §for their Voyage Home, which We transmit§ §herewith§ §9 John Ricketts a French Prisoner, who§ §was left here out of the Ship Sandwich, we§ §have given Capt Dale an Order to receive§ §on board the Falmouth, & have paid him§ §£5 for his Passage, this money with the§ §Ely Day advanced for his Subsistence during§ §his stay here amounting to £3.8, We§ §suppose will be repaid you by the Owners of the§ §Ship Sandwich§	Lieutenant Dundas of His Majesty's navy was also aboard the <i>Prince Edward</i>. Aboard the <i>Falmouth</i> were 61 French gentlemen, servants and prisoners. As for the names, quality and other particulars of the gentlemen and servants aboard the <i>Prince Edward</i>, the Council referred the Court to the muster rolls of the respective ships they belonged to, which were entered in its consultation of 18 October. 7: The Council put aboard the ship <i>Falmouth</i> Thomas Williams and Edward Mansell, two discharged soldiers, to complete her company. 8: The Council had likewise given Captain Haldane permission to receive aboard his ship <i>Derby Coiles</i>, Thomas Green and Mr Billingham, three other discharged men. They had signed an instrument, as the Court had directed, agreeing that they would demand no wages for their voyage home, which the Council transmitted with this letter. 9: John Ricketts, a French prisoner left at St Helena out of the ship <i>Sandwich</i>, the Council gave Captain Dale an order to receive aboard the <i>Falmouth</i>, and paid him £5 0s 0d for his passage. This money, together with the £3 8s 0d advanced for his subsistence during his stay, the Council supposed would be repaid by the owners of the ship <i>Sandwich</i>. Interpretations The recovery of both passage money and subsistence for the stranded French prisoner from the owners of the ship that had landed him repeats the settlement's insistence that the cost of men left behind fall on the vessel responsible. A prisoner set ashore had to be kept and then forwarded at the Company's charge, so the Council fixed the whole expense to the <i>Sandwich</i> and looked to her owners for repayment, treating even an enemy captive's upkeep as a recoverable debt owed by those who abandoned him. The steady placing of discharged soldiers aboard outbound ships to make up their crews shows the continuing exchange by which the garrison's surplus men became working hands for the homeward passage. Ship after ship took two or three released soldiers to complete its company, so the settlement turned the men it no longer needed into seamen the captains did, the same arrangement recurring with each departing vessel as a routine settling of accounts between the island and the fleet.
155	145	10 We have likewise paid Jacob Bernard§ §6 p Day for his Subsistence for 40 Days§ §amounting to one Pound, He was left here§ §out of the Ship Egmont, And Wm Borden one§ §of His Majestys Invalids, who staid here out§ §of the same Ship, We advanced 7 p Day, to the Time of his Death§ §he being Sick in the Hospital§ §11 We also paid for the Subsistence of§ §Wm Brown, another of His Majestys Invalids,§ §who was left here out of the Ship Stormont the§ §Sum of £4.9.3 at 9 p Day, he being likewise§ §Sick in the Hospital to the time of his Death,§ §All these Sums We imagine will be made§ §good to you, by the respective Owners of the§	10: The Council had likewise paid Jacob Bernard, at 6 pence a day, for his subsistence for 40 days, amounting to £1 0s 0d. He was left at St Helena out of the ship <i>Egmont</i>. It also advanced William Borden, one of His Majesty's invalids left out of the same ship, subsistence at 7 pence a day up to the time of his death, he being sick in the hospital. 11: The Council also paid for the subsistence of William Brown, another of His Majesty's invalids left at St Helena out of the ship <i>Stormont</i>, the sum of £4 9s 3d at 7 pence a day, he being likewise sick in the hospital up to the time of his death. All these sums the Council imagined would be made good by the respective owners of the ships named above.

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		§aforesaid Ships§ §12 Messrs Mason & Dixon, who came here§ §the 16 of Octr last, from the Cape, upon the§ §Mercury Snow, being desirous to return to§ §England upon these Ships, We gave Capt§ §Haldane an Order to receive the former, &§ §Capt Dale one for the latter, And as their§ §Capts would not accommodate them at their§ §Table, We paid each of these Gentlemen§ §£15 to defray their expencies, agreeable to§ §your Honrs directions§ §13 The Govr hath paid £200 into your§ §Cash, which we have recd & given him Bills§	12: Messrs Mason and Dixon, who came to St Helena on 16 October from the Cape aboard the <i>Mercury</i> snow, being desirous to return to England aboard these ships, the Council gave Captain Haldane an order to receive the former and Captain Dale one for the latter. As the captains would not accommodate them at their table, the Council paid each of the gentlemen £15 0s 0d to defray their expenses, following the Court's directions. 13: The Governor had paid £200 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which the Council received, giving him a bill of exchange. Interpretations The passage of Mason and Dixon back through St Helena from the Cape marks the return leg of the transit of Venus expedition that had earlier fixed the island as a southern observing station. The two astronomers, having been redirected to the Cape for the observation, now called at St Helena on their way home, and the Council arranged their return aboard homeward Indiamen, the settlement serving once more as the waypoint through which the scientific mission passed on its journey between the southern hemisphere and England. The subsistence paid to dying naval invalids until the day of their death, meticulously reckoned at a few pence a day, shows the settlement keeping precise account even of men it maintained only to their graves. Sick soldiers landed from the ships were fed at the Company's charge in the hospital until they died, and every day's keep was recorded against the ship that had left them, the accounting continuing to the moment of death so that the cost could still be reclaimed from the owners who bore responsibility. The captains refusal to accommodate Mason and Dixon at their own tables, obliging the Council to pay each a fixed sum for their keep aboard, reveals the limits of what even distinguished passengers could command on a Company ship. A berth did not include a place at the commander's table, so the Council met the astronomers costs directly under the Court's standing directions, the arrangement showing how the maintenance of passengers was negotiated and charged rather than assumed.
156	146	Exchange drawn on your Honrs for that Sum,§ §payable to Saml Clough Esq, or Order, 90 Days§ §after sight, dated the 18th instant§ §14 Monsieur Dileyrit late Govr of Pondichery§ §applying to Us for £350 We have advanced§ §him that Sum, & taken Bills of Exchange§ §drawn on Monsr Duval Duman or his§ §Brother in Paris, payable to your Honrs or Order,§ §60 Days after sight, dated the 20th instant, the§ §first Bill & Letter of Advice goes herewith§ §15 The Distemper among the Black Cattle§ §which We acquainted your Honrs of in our last§ §Letter still continues, by the return lately made§ §50 have died since the 1st of Iany 1761 of the§ §breeding Cattle among which it has chiefly§ §prevailed, the methods taken for their recovery§ §have hitherto proved ineffectual, The milt upon§ §opening is quite decayed, the Body & Udder§ §full of Blood, & they Stale Blood immediately§ §upon their being disordered, some of them have§ §been seized so Violently as to carry them off, in§ §a few Hours, The apprehensions that this§ §Distemper may continue gives a most§ §melancholy prospect, & will be attended with§ §fatal consequences to the Island§ §16 John Bland your Master Mason having§ §been charged before Us, in Consultation of the 21§ §Decr last, with Assaulting, & Striking Mr Barclay§	The bill of exchange given to the Governor was drawn on the Court for £200 0s 0d, payable to Samuel Slough or order, 90 days after sight, dated 18 October that month. 14: Monsieur De Leyrit, late governor of Pondicherry, applied to the Council for £350 0s 0d, which it advanced him, taking a bill of exchange drawn on Monsieur Duval Daimanoir, his brother in Paris, payable to the Court or order, 60 days after sight, dated 20 October that month. The first bill and letter of advice went with this letter. 15: The distemper among the black cattle, of which the Council informed the Court in its last letter, still continued. By the returns lately made, 50 had died since 1 January 1761, chiefly among the breeding cattle, and the methods taken for their recovery had so far proved ineffectual. The milt, on opening, was quite decayed, the body and udder full of blood, and they staled blood as soon as they were taken ill. Some had been seized so violently as to carry them off in a few hours. The fear that the distemper might continue gave a very melancholy prospect, and would bring fatal consequences to the island. 16: John Bland, a mason, had been charged before the Council, in its consultation of 21 December that year, with assaulting and striking Mr Barclay. Interpretations The advance to the deposed governor of Pondicherry against a bill drawn on his own brother

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			in Paris shows the same channel of enemy credit the Council had used for other French prisoners now serving the most senior captive of all. De Leyrit had been the head of French India, and his subsistence at St Helena was secured by a bill payable in Paris, so even the ruler of France's fallen empire in the East was maintained through the machinery of exchange that crossed the lines of the war. The clinical detail of the cattle disease, with its decayed milt and bloody symptoms, records the Council's close observation of a plague it could not cure. Set against the running toll of fifty breeding beasts lost since the start of the year, the description shows a settlement watching its herds die of something beyond its remedies, and its dread of fatal consequences reflects the plain truth that a cattle plague striking the breeding stock threatened the island's whole capacity to feed the ships on which it lived. The identity of De Leyrit ties this routine financial entry to the collapse of French power recorded through the earlier consultations. As the governor at Pondicherry's fall, he embodied the defeat whose demolished fort and captured stores the Council had already reported, and his passage through St Helena as a subsidised prisoner marks the personal end of the French venture in India, its last chief carried home on English credit through an English island.
157	147	your Surgeon, without any provocation, And§ §likewise for Abusing Capt Clark very Insolently§ §& presuming to Strike him, for only attempting§ §to rescue Mr Barclay from his insult, We§ §for these misdemeanors, & in order to preserve§ §the peace & Government of the Island thought§ §it, absolutely necessary to dismiss him from your§ §Service, But as he seems much concerned§ §for his past faults, & assures Us, he will be§ §very circumspect in his future behavior, We§ §have at the instance of Capt Clark agreed and§ §do intend to restore him to his employ again§ §at the latter end of the present Quarter,§ §provided We find his conduct corresponds with§ §the promisses given in his Petition of the 28§ §of Decr last§ §17 We have had a very good Winter Season, &§ §at present, have plenty of Food for the Cattle,§ §But by the returns given in for Slaughter, five§ §twenty six less than We had in Iany last, which§ §makes Us apprehensive, We shall not be able§ §to give your Honrs Ships so much fresh§ §Provisions as We could wish to do§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §25 Iany 1762§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servts§ §(Signed) Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	Bland had struck the surgeon without any provocation, and had likewise abused Captain Clark very insolently and threatened to strike him, merely for attempting to rescue Mr Barclay from his insult. For these misdemeanours, and to preserve the peace and government of the island, the Council thought it absolutely necessary to dismiss him from the Court's service. As he seemed much concerned for his past fault, and assured the Council he would be very circumspect in his future behaviour, it had, at the instance of Captain Clark, agreed to restore him to his employment at the latter end of the present winter, provided his conduct matched the promises given in his petition of 22 December that year. 17: The island had enjoyed a very good winter season and at present had plenty of feed for the cattle. By the returns given in for slaughter, there were twenty-six fewer than in January the previous year, which made the Council afraid it would not be able to give the Court's ships so much fresh provision as it wished. The letter closed from St Helena on 25 January 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The reinstatement of Bland on the strength of his own petition and the intercession of the man he had threatened shows the Council tempering discipline with the practical value of a skilled tradesman. A mason was too useful to lose outright, so dismissal was made conditional and reversible, the offender restored on probation once he had expressed contrition, the episode revealing how the settlement balanced the need to punish disorder against the difficulty of replacing men whose skills it depended on. The shortfall of slaughter cattle, set beside the earlier reports of the breeding herds dying of distemper, ties the island's central anxiety directly to the plague recorded through the preceding letters. Fewer beasts fit for killing than the year before meant less fresh meat for the ships, so the cumulative loss of breeding stock now showed in the provisioning figures, the disease that had killed the mothers reducing the supply the settlement existed to furnish.

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158	148	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Falmouth, dated the 25 Iany 1762 viz§ §No 1 Govr Councils General Letter dated the 25th Iany 1762§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated the 9 Septr 1761§ §3 Consultations from 11 Septr 1761 to 25 Iany 1762§ §4 Duplicate Do from 3 Augt to 7 Septr 1761§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Lord Mansfield§ §6 Second Do for Do p His Majestys Ship Lion§ §7 Do Do for a Paper Do p Ship Lord Anson§ §8 List of Officers & Servts taken 25 Iany 1762§ §9 Duplicate List of Cattle returned & Killed in the Year 1761§ §10 Do of the Packet p Ship Lord Mansfield§ §11 List of 5 Discharged Soldiers§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Muster Rolls of Do§ §14 Govrs Letter to the Secret Committee§ §15 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Falmouth & Prince Edward§ §16 Ship Falmouths Accounts§ §17 Do Prince Edwards Do§ §18 Duplicate Ship Egmonts Acc§ §19 Do Ship Londons Do§ §20 Do Ship Sandwichs Do§ §21 Do Ship Lord Mansfields Do§ §22 Cash Acc from 10th to 30 Septr 1761§ §23 Do for the Month of Octr Do§ §24 Do for the Month of Novr Do§ §25 Do for the Month of Decr Do§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard the ship <i>Falmouth</i>, dated 25 January 1762, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 25 January 1762 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 9 September 1761 3: Consultations from 11 September 1761 to 25 January 1762 4: Duplicate consultations from 3 August to 9 September 1761 5: First receipt for the packet, per the ship Lord Mansfield 6: Second receipt for the same, per His Majesty's ship <i>Lion</i> 7: Second receipt for a paper of the same, per the ship Lord Anson 8: List of officers and servants taken 25 January 1762 9: Duplicate list of cattle returned and killed in the year 1761 10: Duplicate list of the packet, per the ship Lord Mansfield 11: List of five discharged soldiers 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Muster rolls of the same 14: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 15: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships <i>Falmouth</i> and <i>Prince Edward</i> 16: Ship <i>Falmouth</i> account 17: Ship <i>Prince Edward</i> account 18: Duplicate ship <i>Egmont</i> account 19: Duplicate of ship <i>London</i> account 20: Duplicate of ship <i>Sandwich</i> account 21: Duplicate of ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i> account 22: Cash account from 10 to 30 September 1761 23: Cash account for the month of October 24: Cash account for the month of November 25: Cash account for the month of December
159	149	No 26 Cash Acc from the 1 to 25 Iany 1762§ §27 Duplicate Do for 31 July 1761§ §28 Do Do for the Month Augt Do§ §29 Do Do from the 1 to 9 Septr Do§ §30 Monsr Dileyrts First Bill of Exchange & Letter§ §of Advice§ §31 Duplicate French Officers Receipt for £205.14§ §32 Do Capt Webbs Receipt for £5§ §33 Capt Dales Do for £5§ §34 Instrument in Writing from 5 discharged Soldiers§ §35 List of Familys taken 30 Septr 1761§ §36 Do of Rents taken 30th Septr Do§ §37 Do of the Honble Compys Slaves taken 30 Septr Do§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to your Honors under§ §date of the 25th of last Month, by your Ship§ §Falmouth which sailed from hence in company§ §with the Prince Edward§ §Your Ship Warwick arrived§ §here the 31 of Iant from China, which Place Capt§ §Dewar acquaints Us he left the 2d Iuly last in§ §company with the Caernarvon & Princes Augusta,§ §& that he parted company with Them in the§ §South Sea the 4 of Septr in Latitude 4.30 Longitude§ §13 East, The Capt likewise informs Us§	The list of enclosed papers continued. 26: Cash account from 1 to 25 January 1762 27: Duplicate cash account for 31 July 1761 28: Duplicate cash account for the month of August 29: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 9 September 30: Monsieur De Leyrit's first bill of exchange and letter of advice 31: Duplicate French officers receipt for £205 14s 0d 32: Duplicate Captain Webb's receipt for £5 0s 0d 33: Captain Dale's receipt for £5 0s 0d 34: Instrument in writing from five discharged soldiers 35: List of families taken 30 September 1761 36: List of ranks taken 30 September 37: List of the Honourable Company's slaves taken 30 September The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. The Council wrote to the Court on 25 December, sent by the Court's ship <i>Falmouth</i>, which sailed from St Helena in company with the <i>Prince Edward</i>. The Court's ship <i>Warwick</i> arrived on 31 January from China, which place Captain Dewar reported he left on 22 July that year in company with the <i>Caernarvon</i> and <i>Princess Augusta</i>. He reported that he parted company with them in the South Sea on 4 September, in latitude 4 degrees 30 minutes and longitude 13 degrees east. Interpretations The list of the Company's slaves taken on a fixed date, enclosed alongside the muster of families and ranks, shows the settlement conducting a periodic census of its enslaved population as a matter of

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			routine administration. The Company counted its slaves as it counted its soldiers and its stores, so a dated return of them was sent home like any other account, the reduction of human beings to an enumerated inventory laying bare the property logic on which the island's labour system rested. The date discrepancy between the letter's own reference to writing on 25 December and the packet it accompanies dated 25 January reflects the ordinary confusion of a correspondence conducted in duplicate across long intervals. The Council was writing again barely after its last dispatch, the near-repetition of dates marking how closely its letters could follow one another when shipping allowed, each opportunity seized to forward the accumulated business to a Court many months distant.
160	150	that he left the Norfolk, & Duke of Richmond§ §at Canton, where they arrived the latter end of§ §June, And that, he met with your Honrs Ship§ §Neptune the 8th of July as she passed Macro,§ §for Canton§ §On the 2d instant arrived His Majestys§ §Sloop Alderney, And the 7 His Majestys Ship§ §Terpsichore both from the Cape, We are informed§ §that they left His Majestys Ships York, Chatham§ §& South Sea Castle there, And that two French§ §Ships of about 64 Guns, & a Ketch were§ §likewise at that Place§ §Capt Hughes of His Majestys§ §Sloop Alderney, & his Purser, applied to Us§ §for £28.15.10 which Sum We have advanced§ §them, & taken Bills of Exchange drawn upon§ §the Commissioners for Victualling His Majestys§ §Navy payable to your Honrs or Order 30 Days§ §after sight dated this Day, The first Bill &§ §Letter of Advice goes herewith§ §We are§ §S.t Helena§ §12th Feby 1762§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble§ §Servants§ §(Signed) Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	Captain Dewar reported that he left the <i>Norfolk</i> and <i>Duke of Richmond</i> at Canton, where they arrived at the latter end of June, and that he met the Court's ship <i>Neptune</i> on 8 July as she passed Macao for Canton. On 2 February His Majesty's sloop <i>Alderney</i> arrived, and on 7 February His Majesty's ship <i>Terpsichore</i>, both from the Cape. The Council was informed that they left His Majesty's ships <i>York</i>, <i>Chatham</i> and <i>South Sea Castle</i> there, and that two French ships of about 64 guns and a ketch were likewise at that place. Captain Hughes of His Majesty's sloop <i>Alderney</i> and his purser applied to the Council for £28 15s 10d, which sum it advanced them, taking bills of exchange drawn upon the commissioners for victualling His Majesty's navy, payable to the Court or order, 30 days after sight, dated that day. The first bill and letter of advice went with this letter. The letter closed from St Helena on 12 February 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The presence of two French warships and a ketch at the Cape, reported through the naval vessels calling at St Helena, shows the enemy still active in southern waters even as its power collapsed in India. The Cape lay on the same sea road as St Helena, so ships touching there carried word of French strength in the region, the island serving as the point where the movements of the adversary's remaining squadrons in the southern ocean were gathered and passed toward home. The advance to the naval sloop's captain against bills on the victualling commissioners repeats the settlement's standing role as banker to the King's ships passing its anchorage. A royal vessel short of funds drew on the Company's cash at St Helena and repaid through the government office in London, so the island continued to finance the Crown's ships on credit, the recurring transaction marking how thoroughly the Company's remote station functioned as a source of ready money for the navy at the far end of its cruises.
161	151	List of the Honble Companys Packet from§ §St Helena p His Majestys Sloop Alderney, dated the 12th§ §Feby 1762 viz§ §No 1 Govr Councils General Do dated the 12th Feby 1762§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated the 25 Iany Do§ §3 Consultns from the 1 to the 12th Feby Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 11 Sepr 1761 to the 25 Iany Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Falmouth§ §6 Second Do for Do p Ship Lord Mansfield§ §7 List of Officers & Servts taken the 12th Feby 1762§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard His Majesty's sloop <i>Alderney</i>, dated 12 February 1762, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 12 February 1762 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 25 January 3: Consultations from 1 to 12 February 4: Duplicate consultations from 11 September 1761 to 25 January 5: First receipt for the packet, per the ship Falmouth 6: Second receipt for the same, per the ship Lord Mansfield

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		§8 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Falmouth§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Govrs Letter to the Secret Committee§ §11 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Warwick§ §12 Duplicate Ship Falmouths Account§ §13 Do Ship Prince Edwards Do§ §14 Do Cash Act from 10 to 30 Sept 1761§ §15 Do Do for the month of Octr Do§ §16 Do Do for the month of Novr Do§ §17 Do Do for the month of Decr Do§ §18 Do Do from the 1 to 25 Jan 1762§ §19 Cash Act from 26 to 31 Do 1762§ §20 Do from 1 to 12th Feby Do§ §21 Monsr Dileyrts Second Bill of Exchange & Lr of§ Advice§ §22 Duplicate Capt Dales Rect for £5§ §23 Do List of Familys taken 30 Sept 1761§ §24 Do Do of Rents taken 30th Do Do§ §25 Do Do of the Honble Compys Slaves taken 30 Do§ §26 Capt Hughes First Bill of Exchange & Lr of Advice§	7: List of officers and men taken 12 February 1762 8: Duplicate list of the packet, per the ship Falmouth 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 11: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Warwick 12: Duplicate ship Falmouth account 13: Duplicate ship Prince Edward account 14: Duplicate cash account from 10 to 30 September 1761 15: Duplicate cash account for the month of October 16: Duplicate cash account for the month of November 17: Duplicate cash account for the month of December 18: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 25 January 1762 19: Cash account from 26 to 31 January 20: Cash account from 1 to 12 February 21: Monsieur De Leyrit's second bill of exchange and letter of advice 22: Duplicate Captain Dale's receipt for £5 0s 0d 23: Duplicate list of families taken 30 September 1761 24: Duplicate list of ranks taken 30 September 25: Duplicate list of the Honourable Company's slaves taken 30 September 26: Captain Hughes's first bill of exchange and letter of advice
<u>162</u>	152	To the Honble &c§ Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Letter to your Honors went by§ §His Majestys Sloop Alderney, that sailed from§ §hence the 12th instant§ §2 The Reverend Mr Maskelyne acquainting§ §Us, that he intended to go to England upon the§ §Ship Warwick, We have agreeable to your§ §directions given Capt Dewar an Order to§ §receive him, with his instruments & necessarys§ §on board, & to provide him with proper§ §accommodations & Diet at his Table, at your§ §Honors expence§ §3 John Huffman Matross that has been§ §Phrensical for some Time past, having on the§ §12th instant Murdered Wm Weatherby Soldier who§ §was likewise afflicted with the same unhappy§ §disorder, as you will please to Observe in our§ §Consultation of the 13th of this Month, We have§ §sent him Prisoner to England upon the Ship§ §Warwick, & have paid the Capt £5 for his§ §Passage, with directions to him not to suffer§ §the said Huffman to go out of his Ship, until§ §he receives your Orders about him, We have§ §likewise transmitted in a separte Paper in§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by His Majesty's sloop <i>Alderney</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 12 February that month. 2: The Reverend Mr Maskelyne reported that he intended to go to England aboard the ship <i>Warwick</i>. Following the Court's directions, the Council gave Captain Dewar an order to receive him aboard with his instruments and necessities, and to provide him with proper accommodation and a diet at his table, at the Court's expense. 3: John Huffman, a matross who had been deranged for some time past, murdered William Weatherby, a soldier likewise afflicted with the same unhappy disorder, on 11 February, as would appear in the Council's consultation of 13 February. The Council sent Huffman prisoner to England aboard the ship <i>Warwick</i>, and paid the captain £5 0s 0d for his passage, with directions not to let Huffman go out of his ship until he received the Court's orders about him. The Council likewise transmitted, in a separate paper. Interpretations The return of Maskelyne to England aboard the <i>Warwick</i> closes the island's role in the transit of Venus expedition it had hosted since 1761. The astronomer who had come out to observe from the southern station now sailed for home with his instruments, his accommodation arranged at Company expense as it had been on his arrival, the settlement discharging the last of its obligations to the scientific mission through the same orders and charges that had brought and maintained it. The murder committed by one deranged man upon another, both afflicted with the same disorder, exposes the settlement's want of any means to confine or treat the mentally ill. With no asylum and no provision for such cases, disturbed men remained at large in the garrison until tragedy resulted, and the Council's only recourse was to ship the killer home for trial, transportation to England serving once again as the answer to a problem the island had no institution of its own to manage.

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			The reservation of Huffman's fate to the Court, holding him confined aboard ship until orders came, repeats the settlement's practice of referring capital matters to a distant authority. A killing that might carry the gravest penalty lay beyond what the Council chose to determine on its own, so it secured the prisoner and sent the evidence home, the machinery of deportation and referral standing in for the criminal jurisdiction the remote island did not fully possess.
163	153	the Packet, the Surgeons Report, & the several §Depositions we took relating to this Affair§ §4 We have put on board the Ship Warwick§ §Thos Cobb, & John Green a fp two discharged Soldiers§ §towards completing her Company§ §5 And have likewise given Capt Dewar§ §an Order to receive on board his Ship Banks§ §Mitchell, Stephen Orr, John Pugh, John Jones§ §& Philip Malthenie five Invalid Soldiers, &§ §have paid the Capt £25 for their Passage§ §they have all signed an instrument in Writing§ §that they will not demand any Wages for their§ §Voyage Home, which goes enclosed in the§ §Packet, together with the Surgeons Certificate§ §in respect to the Invalids, John Buckham§ §another discharged Soldier, has entered on board§ §of His Majestys Ship Terpsichore§ §6 We have given Capt Dewar a Permission§ §to receive on board the Warwick Alexr Mack John§ §who was left here out of the Ship Prince Edward§ §& Robert Lewis, who likewise staid here out of the§ §Ship Falmouth, We have paid the former 9, and§ §the latter 11/6 at 6 p Day each, for their Subsistence§ §which Sums, We suppose will be repaid you§ §by the Owners of their respective Ships§ §7 We transmit You by this Opportunity§ §your Honrs General Books of Accounts§ §balance to the 30th of September last§	In a separate paper in the packet the Council transmitted the surgeon's report and the several depositions it took relating to the affair of the murder. 4: The Council put aboard the ship <i>Warwick</i> Thomas Cobb and John Green, two discharged soldiers, towards completing her company. 5: It had likewise given Captain Dewar an order to receive aboard his ship <i>Banks</i> Mitchell, Stephen Orr, John Pugh, John Jones and Philip Malthenieu, five invalid soldiers, and paid the captain £25 0s 0d for their passage. All of them had signed an instrument agreeing that they would demand no wages for their voyage home, which went enclosed in the packet, together with the surgeon's certificate concerning the invalids. John Buckham, another discharged soldier, had entered aboard His Majesty's ship <i>Terpsichore</i>. 6: The Council had given Captain Dewar permission to receive aboard the <i>Warwick</i> Alexander Mack John, who was left at St Helena out of the ship <i>Prince Edward</i>, and Robert Lewis, who likewise stayed out of the ship <i>Falmouth</i>. It paid £[...]. for the former and 11 shillings 6 pence for the latter, at 6 pence a day each, for their subsistence. These sums the Council supposed would be repaid by the owners of their respective ships. 7: By this opportunity the Council transmitted the Court its general books of accounts, balanced to 30 September that year. Interpretations The transmission of the general books balanced to a fixed date shows the settlement rendering its complete financial account to the Court as the culmination of the year's correspondence. All the scattered cash accounts, bills and receipts forwarded through the successive letters came together in a single balanced set of books, so the Company at home could review the whole of the island's dealings, the general accounts serving as the master record against which every individual transaction was reconciled. The recovery of subsistence for men left behind from the ships that landed them repeats, in its smallest form, the settlement's constant insistence that costs imposed on it be pushed back onto their source. Even a few shillings spent feeding a stranded soldier were fixed to the ship responsible and entered for repayment, the principle applied down to the least sum, so that no charge arising from the fleet's neglect was allowed to rest permanently on the island's own account.
164	154	8 Capt Dewar applied to Us to pay§ §£446.6 into your Cash, which We have§ §received, & given him Bills of Exchange§ §drawn on your Honor for that Sum, payable§ §to himself, or Order 90 Days after sight dated§ §this Day§ §9 Sir Thomas Adams, Capt of His§ §Majestys Ship Terpsichore, & his Purser§ §applied to Us for £244.3 which Sum We§ §have advanced them, & taken Bills of§ §Exchange drawn upon the Commissioners for§ §Victualling His Majestys Navy, payable to§ §your Honrs or Order thirty Days after sight§	8: Captain Dewar asked the Council to pay £446 6s 0d into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order, 90 days after sight, dated that day. 9: Sir Thomas Adams, captain of His Majesty's ship <i>Terpsichore</i>, and his purser applied to the Council for £24 4s 3d, which sum it advanced them, taking bills of exchange drawn upon the commissioners for victualling His Majesty's navy, payable to the Court or order, 30 days after sight, dated that day.

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		§dated this Day§ §10 This waits on you, by His Majestys§ §Ship <i>Terpsichore</i>, which sails in company§ §with your Ship <i>Warwick</i>§ §We are§ §S.t Helena§ §18 Feby 1762§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most§ §humble Servants§ §(Signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	10: This letter came by His Majesty's ship <i>Terpsichore</i>, which sailed in company with the Court's ship <i>Warwick</i>. The letter closed from St Helena on 18 February 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The two advances recorded here draw the familiar distinction between Company and naval finance that ran through the settlement's dealings. Captain Dewar's payment was drawn on the Court itself and settled the Company's own account with one of its commanders, while Sir Thomas Adams's advance was drawn on the navy's victualling commissioners, so the island financed a merchant captain and a King's captain through different channels on the same day, each debt directed to the authority that would ultimately bear it. The despatch of a King's ship and a Company Indiaman sailing together as consorts reflects the wartime practice of mutual protection on the long passage home. With French warships still reported in southern waters, a homeward merchantman gained safety in the company of a naval vessel, so the two left St Helena together, the pairing showing how the war shaped even the manner of departure from the island, commerce and the navy travelling in concert against a common danger.
165	155	List of the Honble Companys Packet from§ §St Helena p His Majestys Ship <i>Terpsichore</i>, dated§ §the 18 of Feby 1762 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated 18 Feby 1762§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 12th Do Do§ §3 Consultns from 13 to 18 Do Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 1 to the 12 Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p His Majestys§ §Sloop Alderney§ §6 Second Receipt for Do p Ship Falmouth§ §7 List of officers & Servts taken 18 Feby 1762§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet p His Majestys Sloop§ §Alderney§ §9 List of 9 Discharged Soldiers§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Govrs Letter to the Secret Committee§ §12 Ship Warwicks Account§ §13 Cash Act from 13 to 18 Feby 1762§ §14 Duplicate Do from 26 to 31 Iany Do§ §15 Do Do from 1 to 12th Feby Do§ §16 Capt Hughes Second Bill of Exchange & Lr of Advice§ §17 Capt Dewars Receipt for £20§ §18 General Books of Accounts§ §19 Surgeons Certificate of 6 Invalid Soldiers§ §20 Examination upon John Huffmans Affair§ §21 Sir Thos Adams first Bill of Exchange & Letter§ §of Advice§ §22 Instrument in Writing from 5 dischd Soldiers§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard His Majesty's ship <i>Terpsichore</i>, dated 18 February 1762, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 18 February 1762 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 12 February 3: Consultations from 13 to 18 February 4: Duplicate consultations from 1 to 12 February 5: First receipt for the packet, per His Majesty's sloop Alderney 6: Second receipt for the same, per the ship Falmouth 7: List of officers and men taken 18 February 1762 8: Duplicate list of the packet, per His Majesty's sloop Alderney 9: List of nine discharged soldiers 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 12: Ship Warwick account 13: Cash account from 13 to 18 February 1762 14: Duplicate cash account from 26 to 31 January 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 12 February 16: Captain Hughes's second bill of exchange and letter of advice 17: Captain Dewar's receipt for £20 0s 0d 18: General books of accounts 19: Surgeon's certificate of six invalid soldiers 20: Examination upon John Huffman's affair 21: Sir Thomas Adams's first bill of exchange and letter of advice 22: Instrument in writing from five discharged soldiers
166	156	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We wrote to You last, under date of the§ §18 Feby by His Majestys Ship <i>Terpsichore</i>, which§ §sailed in company with your Honrs Ship <i>Warwick</i>§ §2 On the 9 of last Month, arrived your Ship§ §Hawke, & the 26 the <i>Plassey</i> both from Bengal,§ §Capt Ward acquaints Us, he left that Place the§ §3 of Iant, And that the <i>York</i> sailed from thence§ §for Bombay, in Decr last, That it was reported§ §the Earl of Holderness was to be dispatched for§ §Europe, about the middle of Feby, & that the§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court was dated 18 February, sent by His Majesty's ship <i>Terpsichore</i>, which sailed in company with the Court's ship <i>Warwick</i>. 2: On 9 February the Court's ship <i>Hawke</i> arrived, and on 26 February the <i>Plassey</i>, both from Bengal. Captain Ward reported that he left that place on 3 January, and that the <i>York</i> sailed from thence for Bombay in December that year. It was reported that the <i>Earl of Holderness</i> was to be dispatched for

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		§Warren would sail about the same time for§ §Fort St George, & to proceed from thence for§ §England, The Godolphin was daily expected§ §at Bengal, & would be dispatched from thence§ §Home§ §3 We are also informed, that some private§ §Letters from Vizagapatam, gave an account§ §that the Osterly was lying off Manna, when§ §Capt Vincent perceiving a Ship at some distance§ §dismasted, sent his Boat to her assistance, but§ §she not returning, he weighed Anchor, & stood for§ §Fort Marlborough, And as he passed the Ship§ §She hoisted French Colours, & fired a Broad Side§ §at him, which did no damage, She appeared§	Europe about the middle of February, and that the <i>Warren</i> would sail about the same time for Fort St George, and proceed from thence for England. The <i>Godolphin</i> was daily expected at Bengal and was to be dispatched from thence home. 3: The Council was also informed that some private letters from Vizagapatam gave an account that the <i>Osterley</i> was lying off Manna when Captain Vincent, perceiving a ship at some distance, sent his boat to her assistance. She not returning, he weighed anchor and stood for Fort Marlborough. As he passed the ship she hoisted French colours and fired a broadside at him, which did no damage. She appeared. Interpretations The encounter off Manna shows a lone French warship still able to strike at Company shipping in the eastern seas even after the collapse of French power ashore. A vessel that seized a Company boat and then fired on the <i>Osterley</i> under its own colours reveals the persistence of the maritime threat after the land campaign had ended, so the news reaching St Helena carried word that the war at sea continued around the recovered posts of Sumatra long after Pondicherry had fallen. The reliance on private letters from Vizagapatam for this intelligence marks how the Council pieced together its picture of distant events from whatever correspondence the ships carried. Formal despatches were supplemented by the private letters of individuals, so word of an armed clash in the eastern seas reached the island through informal channels, the settlement gathering its knowledge of the war from every scrap of report that came aboard the vessels touching its anchorage.
167	157	to be a large Ship, with two Tier of Guns, he saw as§ §he passed her, two Boats lying at her Stern full§ §of Armed Men, Upon his arrival at Fort Marlborough§ §he put on board the Osterly 40 Chests of your Honrs§ §Treasure, & despatched her with 30 Men for Fort§ §St George which Place She reached three Weeks§ §after, The Earl Temple being then ready to sail§ §for the West Coast, was detained some time, to have§ §a greater reinforcement put on board§ §4 We likewise hear that the Fattah Salam§ §a Country Ship, was sent from Madrass the 26 of§ §August last to Bengal, with Stores, & three§ §Companies of Colonel Cootes Regiment consisting of§ §about 270 Men, & a company of French in the§ §English Service of about 80 Men, That two Days§ §after, She proved so leaky, that Capt Simons who§ §Commanded her, Major Gordon, Capt Caulfield & Scott§ §with about 25 others, took an oppy in the night,§ §of quitting the Ship, by getting into the Long§ §Boat, the next Day they perceived all her Masts§ §cut away, & judged She must founder in a Short§ §time after, they were in the Boat five Days before§ §they reached Land, & in great distress, Capt Simons§ §& Caulfield with two or three more Gentlemen, were§ §arrived at Bengal, they gave an account of the§ §Deaths of Major Gordon, Capt Scott, & some others§ §5 The Passengers on board these Ships§	The French ship appeared to be a large vessel with two tiers of guns, and as Captain Vincent passed her he saw two boats lying at her stern full of armed men. On his arrival at Fort Marlborough he put aboard the <i>Osterley</i> 40 chests of the Court's treasure and dispatched her with 30 men for Fort St George, which place she reached three weeks after. The <i>Earl Temple</i>, being then ready to sail for the West Coast, was detained some time to have a greater reinforcement put aboard. 4: The Council likewise heard that the <i>Fattah Salam</i>, a country ship, was sent from Madras on 26 August the previous year to Bengal with stores, and three companies of Colonel Coote's regiment consisting of about 270 men, together with a company of French in the English service of about 80 men. Two days after, she proved so leaky that Captain Simons, who commanded her, Major Gordon, Captain Caulfield, Captain Scott and about 25 others took an opportunity in the night of quitting the ship by getting into the longboat. The next day they saw all her masts cut away, and judged she must founder in a short time. They were in the boat five days before they reached land, and in great distress. Captain Simons, Captain Caulfield and two or three more gentlemen arrived at Bengal, and gave an account of the deaths of Major Gordon, Captain Scott and some others. 5: The passengers aboard these ships. Interpretations The abandonment of the sinking <i>Fattah Salam</i> and the deaths that followed reveal the peril of moving troops in unsound country-built vessels pressed into wartime service. A leaking ship carrying nearly four hundred soldiers forced its officers to escape by longboat, most of those left behind presumably lost, so the account reaching St Helena records the ordinary hazard of the sea claiming men the enemy had not, the transport of a regiment ending in disaster through the mere failure of the hull.

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			The escort of forty chests of treasure to Madras under armed guard, past a lurking French warship, shows the movement of silver remaining the Company's most carefully protected undertaking even amid the dangers of the coast. Bullion was the lifeblood of the eastern trade, so it was hurried under guard to the presidency and a second ship held back for a stronger escort, the whole passage arranged around the safe conveyance of the specie the Company could least afford to lose. The company of French troops serving in the English cause marks how thoroughly the defeated enemy had been absorbed into the victor's forces by this stage of the war. Men who had fought for France now soldiered for the Company, so the reduction of French power in India produced not only prisoners but recruits, the former adversaries turned to the service of the power that had beaten them, a detail that reflects the fluid loyalties of the war's closing phase.
168	158	are as follows viz§ §Capt Somervill§ §Capt Dent§ §Lieut Fanshaw§ §Lieut Marriott§ §of His Majestys Navy§ §Mr Smith§ §Major Smith§ §Capt Smith & Wife§ §Mr Hay§ §On board the Hawke§ §Major York & Wife§ §Mr Bladwell§ §Capt White§ §Mr Butham & Wife§ §Mr Stevenson§ §On board the Plassey§ §6 As the last Quarters Account will not,§ §be laid before Us, until the 19 instant, We§ §cannot therefore transmit your Honrs Rebast§ §Account to a later date, than the 28th of Feby§ §last§ §7 Mr Thos Hall applied to Us to pay§ §£85 into your Cash, which we have received§ §& given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on§ §your Honrs for that Sum, payable to Mr§ §Fras Partridge, or Order, 90 Days after sight§ §dated the 6 instant§ §8 We have put on board the Ship Hawke§ §Gustavus Weedon, Jas Stelbeard, Edwd Broome§	The passengers aboard these ships were as follows. Captain Somerser, Captain Dent, Lieutenant Fanshaw and Lieutenant Marriot, of His Majesty's navy, together with Mr Smith, Major Smith, Captain Smith and his wife and Mr Hay, were aboard the <i>Hawke</i>. Major York and his wife, Mr Bladwell, Captain White, Mr Butham and his wife and Mr Stevenson were aboard the <i>Plassey</i>. 6: Since the last quarter's accounts would not be laid before the Council until 19 March, it could not transmit the Court's cash account to a later date than 28 February. 7: Mr Thomas Hall asked the Council to pay £85 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him a bill of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Mr Francis Partridge or order, 90 days after sight, dated 5 March that month. 8: The Council put aboard the ship <i>Hawke</i> Gustavus Weedon, James Steelboard, Edward Broome and Hopkin. Interpretations The Council's note that it could not carry the cash account beyond 28 February, the quarter's reckoning not being ready until later, shows the settlement's finances bound to a fixed accounting calendar that governed when figures could be sent home. The books closed by quarters, so the correspondence could only forward what had been formally balanced, the timing of the reports dictated by the internal rhythm of the accounts rather than by the sailing of the ships. The concentration of army and navy officers and their wives aboard the two homeward ships reflects the return of the military establishment from India as the war there drew to its close. Senior officers who had served through the campaigns now travelled home, several with their families, so the passenger lists reaching St Helena register the winding down of the Indian war through the people it sent back, the anchorage receiving the human traffic of a conflict that was ending on the mainland.
169	159	Hopkin Davis, George Howard, & Thos Pratche§ §six discharged Soldiers to complete her Company§ §9 And have given Capt Trenton an Order to§ §receive on board his Ship Thos Broarer a dischargd§ §Soldr Roberson Green Soldier, & Wm Browne Soldr§ §from Bengal, who was left here out of the Ship§ §Latham, all three Invalids, & have paid him§ §£15 for their Passages, We have likewise§ §given him a permission to receive on board the§ §Hawke Chr Fitzgerald & Gabt Berry two other§ §discharged Men, they have all signed an§ §instruments as you have been pleased to direct§	The men put aboard the <i>Hawke</i> were Hopkin Davis, George Howard and Thomas Pratchet, six discharged soldiers in all, to complete her company. 9: The Council had given Captain Trenton an order to receive aboard his ship <i>Thomas</i> Broarer, a discharged soldier, Roberson Green, a soldier, and Mr Brown, a soldier from Bengal, who was left at St Helena out of the ship <i>Latham</i>, all three invalids, and paid him £15 0s 0d for their passages. It had likewise given him permission to receive aboard the <i>Hawke</i> Robert Fitzgerald and Gabriel Boog, two other discharged men. They had all signed an instrument, as the Court had directed, agreeing that they would

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		§that they will not demand any Wages for their§ §Voyage Home, which We transmit herewith§ §together with the Surgeons Certificate in respect§ §to the Invalids, That £5 We have paid for§ §Wm Browns Passage together with the Sum of§ §£4.16.4 for 268 Days at 9 p Day Subsistence§ §in the Hospital, We suppose will be repaid you§ §by the Owners of the Latham§ §10 This waits on You by your Ship Hawke§ §that sails from hence in company with the Plassey§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §6th April 1762§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble Servts§ §(Signed) Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	demand no wages for their voyage home, which the Council transmitted with this letter, together with the surgeon's certificate concerning the invalids. The £5 0s 0d paid for William Brown's passage, together with the sum of £7 16s 4d for 268 days subsistence at 7 pence a day in the hospital, the Council supposed would be repaid by the owners of the <i>Latham</i>. 10: This letter came by the Court's ship <i>Hawke</i>, which sailed from St Helena in company with the <i>Plassey</i>. The letter closed from St Helena on 6 April 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The bill of £7 16s 4d for two hundred and sixty-eight days of hospital subsistence, reckoned to the penny at sevenpence a day, records how long a single invalid soldier could linger at the settlement's charge before a passage home could be found. William Brown had been kept the better part of a year, so his case shows the burden of maintaining stranded sick men accumulating over many months, the whole sum fixed to the ship that had landed him and entered for recovery from her owners. The steady placing of discharged and invalid soldiers aboard successive ships, with their wage waivers and surgeon's certificates enclosed each time, marks the routine by which the garrison shed its surplus and its sick onto the homeward fleet. Ship after ship took men the island no longer needed or could no longer maintain, so the settlement continually cleared its rolls through the departing vessels, the same paperwork of waivers and certificates repeating with every sailing as a settled administrative practice.
170	160	List of the Honble Compys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Hawke, dated the 6 Apr 1762 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils Genl Do dated 6 April 1762§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 18 Feby Do§ §3 Consultns from 22 Feby to 5 April Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 13 to 18 Feby Do§ §5 First Rect for the Packet p His Majestys Ship Terpsichore§ §6 Second Do for Do p His Majestys Sloop Alderney§ §7 List of Officers & Servts taken 6th April 1762§ §8 Do of 11 Discharged Soldiers§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet p His Majestys Ship Terpsichore§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Muster Rolls of Do§ §12 Govr Do to the Secret Committee§ §13 Ship Hawkes Acct§ §14 Do Plasseys Do§ §15 Duplicate Ship Warwicks Do§ §16 Cash Act from 19 to the 26 Feby 1762§ §17 Duplicate Do from 13 to 18 Do Do§ §18 Sir Thos Adams Second Bill of Exchange & Letter§ §of Advice§ §19 Capt Dewars Second Receipt for £30§ §20 Instrument in Writing from 5 Discharged Men§ §21 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ship Hawke & Plassey§ §22 Surgeons Certificate of two Invalid Soldiers§ §23 Capt Trentons Receipt for £15§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard the ship <i>Hawke</i>, dated 6 April 1762, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 6 April 1762 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 18 February 3: Consultations from 22 February to 5 April 4: Duplicate consultations from 13 to 18 February 5: First receipt for the packet, per His Majesty's ship Terpsichore 6: Second receipt for the same, per His Majesty's sloop Alderney 7: List of officers and men taken 6 April 1762 8: List of eleven discharged soldiers 9: Duplicate list of the packet, per His Majesty's ship Terpsichore 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Muster rolls of the same 12: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 13: Ship Hawke account 14: Ship Plassey account 15: Duplicate ship Warwick account 16: Cash account from 19 to 28 February 1762 17: Duplicate cash account from 13 to 18 February 18: Sir Thomas Adams's second bill of exchange and letter of advice 19: Captain Dewar's second receipt for £30 0s 0d 20: Instrument in writing from five discharged men 21: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships Hawke and Plassey 22: Surgeon's certificate of two invalid soldiers 23: Captain Trenton's receipt for £15 0s 0d
171	161	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors.

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		§Our last Address to You went by your§ §Honrs Ship Hawke which sailed from hence the 6§ §Instant, in company with the Plassey§ §This Day arrived a Prussian Ship from§ §Bengal (last from the Cape) called the King of§ §Prussia Capt Peter Lond burthen 450 Tons carry§ §24 Guns, & 75 Men, loaden with Bengal Goods, bound§ §to Embden§ §The Capt acquaints Us, that he left§ §His Majestys Ships York, & Chatham at the§ §Cape which were near refited, He likewise tells§ §Us a French fifty four Gun Ship, but had only§ §thirty mounted, was also at that Place, and that§ §he was informed, that three Frigats had been§ §sent from the Islands on discovery of Admiral§ §Cornishs Fleet§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §11th April 1762§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble§ §Servants§ §(Signed)§ §Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by the Court's ship <i>Hawke</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 6 April in company with the <i>Plassey</i>. That day a Prussian ship arrived from Bengal, last from the Cape, called the <i>King of Prussia</i>, commanded by Captain Peter Lond, of 450 tons burden, carrying 24 guns and 75 men, laden with Bengal goods and bound for Emden. The captain reported that he left His Majesty's ships <i>York</i> and <i>Chatham</i> at the Cape, which were near ready to sail. He also reported that a French ship pierced for fifty-four guns, but carrying only thirty, was likewise at that place, and that he was informed three frigates had been sent from the islands in search of Admiral Cornish's fleet. The letter closed from St Helena on 11 April 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The despatch of three French frigates from the islands to hunt for Admiral Cornish's fleet shows the enemy still mounting offensive operations at sea from its last bases even as the expected assault on those islands loomed. The French squadron sailing out to find and engage the British fleet reveals that Mauritius and Bourbon remained active naval stations to the end, so the intelligence reaching St Helena confirmed that the war in the southern ocean was still being contested while French power ashore had already collapsed. The arrival of a Prussian merchantman carrying Bengal goods to Emden marks the presence of neutral traders drawing on the same Indian commerce the Company sought to dominate. A vessel of Prussia loading in Bengal and calling at the Cape shows that other European powers reached into the eastern trade despite the war, so the Council's careful record of her cargo and destination reflects the island noting the competition its own commerce faced from the neutral flags that crossed its anchorage. The under-arming of the French warship, pierced for fifty-four guns yet mounting only thirty, points to the strain the long conflict had placed on French naval resources in the East. A ship unable to carry its full complement of guns betrays a shortage of ordnance or men, so the detail reaching St Helena caught the enemy weakened even in the vessels it still kept at sea, the material exhaustion of French power showing in the very ships that remained to threaten the trade.
172	162	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We Addressed you last by a Prussian§ §Ship, called the King of Prussia, which sailed from§ §hence the 11th of April§ §2 On the 19th of the same Month arrived a§ §Dane Ship from China, called the King of§ §Denmark, Capt Svane, burthen about 900 Tons§ §carrys 24 Guns, & 150 Men, loaden with Tea, &§ §China ware, bound to Copenhagen§ §3 The 22d of last Month, arrived your§ §Ships Neptune, & Pitt, & the 24 the Caernarvon§ §Duke of Richmond, Princess Augusta, Norfolk§ §Prince Henry, & Triton, all from China, The§ §Capts acquaint Us, they sailed from Canton the§ §23 of Decr last, & that they left the Prince§ §George, & Worcester there, which were supposed§ §to be despatched about the middle of Iany§ §4 Capt John Clark hath resigned your Honrs§ §Service, & takes Passage to England upon the Ship§ §Neptune, for the recovery of his Health§ §5 We have given Capt Purling a permission§ §to receive on board his Ship Chs McReuly a§ §discharged Soldier, he has signed an instrument§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by a Prussian ship called the <i>King of Prussia</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 13 April that month. 2: On 19 April a Danish ship from China arrived, called the <i>King of Denmark</i>, commanded by Captain Svanes, of about 900 tons burden, carrying 24 guns and 150 men, laden with tea and China ware and bound for Copenhagen. 3: On 22 April the Court's ships <i>Neptune</i> and <i>Pitt</i> arrived, and on 24 April the <i>Duke of Richmond</i>, <i>Princess Augusta</i>, <i>Norfolk</i>, <i>Prince Henry</i> and <i>Triton</i>, all from China. The captains reported that they sailed from Canton on 23 December that year, and that they left the <i>Prince George</i> and <i>Worcester</i> there, which were supposed to be dispatched about the middle of January. 4: Captain John Clark had resigned the Court's service and taken passage to England aboard the ship <i>Neptune</i> for the recovery of his health. 5: The Council had given Captain Purling permission to receive aboard his ship <i>Thomas McReuy</i>, a discharged soldier. He had signed an

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		§that he will not demand any Wages for his§ §Passage Home which goes herewith§	instrument agreeing that he would demand no wages for his passage home, which went with this letter. Interpretations The arrival of seven Company ships together from Canton, following a Danish East Indiaman on the same route, marks the great annual convergence of the China fleet on St Helena in the spring. The homeward Indiamen gathered at the island to water and refresh before the Atlantic passage, so the Council's register of their near-simultaneous arrival records the peak of the seasonal traffic on which the settlement's provisioning burden fell most heavily, the whole China trade passing its anchorage within days. The resignation and departure of Captain John Clark, long one of the four councillors whose names closed every letter, marks a change in the settlement's own governing body. The man who had signed the correspondence through the whole run of these consultations now left for England, so the record registers not only the passage of ships and prisoners but the turnover of the island's administration itself, the Council losing a member whose name had stood at the foot of its despatches for years.
173	163	6 We have granted the following Bills off§ §Exchange drawn on your Honors viz One Set§ §to Capt John Clark for £1500 payable to§ §himself, or Order, One Set to Mr Gabl Stewart§ §for £165 payable to Mr Chs Stewart, or§ §Order, One Set to Capt Benj Godfrey for £120§ §payable to himself or Order, One Set to Capt§ §Jos Jackson for £50 payable to himself§ §or Order, And one Set to Mr John Bland for§ §£40 payable to Mr Rich Danvall, or Order§ §all drawn at 90 Days sight, & dated the 3§ §instant§ §7 We have had but a very indifferent§ §Summer Season, but from the present appearance§ §of the Weather, flatter ourselves the Rains will§ §be more favorable in the Winter, We are sorry to§ §acquaint you that the disorder among the Cattle§ §still continues§ §8 This Letter waits on you by the Neptune§ §which leaves this Place in company with the§ §Ships Pitt, & Duke of Richmond§ §We are§ §S.t Helena§ §5th May 1762§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble§ §Servants (Signed)§ §Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §John Clark§ §M Purling§	6: The Council had granted the following bills of exchange drawn on the Court. One to Captain John Clark, for £1,500 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One to Mr Gabriel Stewart, for £165 0s 0d, payable to Mr Charles Stewart or order. One to Captain Benjamin Godfrey, for £120 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One to Captain Joseph Jackson, for £50 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. And one to Mr John Bland, for £40 0s 0d, payable to Mr Richard Danvall or order, all drawn at 90 days after sight and dated 5 May that month. 7: The island had enjoyed but a very poor summer season, though from the present appearance of the weather the Council flattered itself the rains would be more favourable in the winter. It was sorry to report that the disorder among the cattle still continued. 8: This letter came by the <i>Neptune</i>, which left St Helena in company with the ships <i>Pitt</i> and <i>Duke of Richmond</i>. The letter closed from St Helena on 5 May 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, John Clark and Mark Purling. Interpretations The large bill of £1,500 granted to the departing Captain John Clark represents the settling of his affairs as he left the Company's service for home. A retiring officer carried the accumulated fruits of his time in the East as paper drawn on London, so the sum marks the conversion of a career's earnings into a bill payable in England, the Company's credit machinery serving to remit home the wealth a servant had gathered during years at the island. The continuing cattle distemper, reported yet again after more than a year, shows the plague that had haunted the herds since the start of 1761 persisting stubbornly into a second season. The disorder that had killed the breeding stock and thinned the slaughter cattle would not abate, so the settlement's central anxiety recurred letter after letter, the disease outlasting every remedy and keeping the island's whole capacity to victual ships under a shadow that would not lift. The appearance of John Bland among those granted bills, drawing a modest sum, marks the return to standing of the mason earlier dismissed for striking the surgeon and threatening Captain Clark. Restored on probation after his petition, he now figures in the ordinary financial business of the settlement, so the record shows the earlier discipline

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			fully reversed, the useful tradesman reabsorbed into the community whose peace he had briefly broken.
174	164	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Neptune dated the 5th May 1762 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils Genl Lettr dated 5th May 1762§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do date 6 April Do§ §3 Do Do & Do dated 11 April Do§ §4 Consultns from 12 April to 3d May Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from 22 Feby to 5th April Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Hawke§ §7 Second Do p His Majestys Ship Terpsichore§ §8 List of Officers & Servts taken 5 May 1762§ §9 Do one discharged Soldier§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Hawke§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee§ §13 Cash Act for the Month of March 1762§ §14 Do Do for the Month of April Do§ §15 Do Do from the 1 to 5 May Do§ §16 Duplicate Do from 19 to 28 Feby Do§ §17 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Neptune, Pitt§ §Duke of Richmond, Norfolk, Caernarvon, Triton§ §Prince Henry, & Princess Augusta§ §18 Instrument in Writing from Chs McReily a dischd Soldr§ §19 Duplicate Capt Trents Receipt for £15§ §20 Do Ship Hawkes Act§ §21 Do Do Plasseys Do§ §22 Ship Neptunes Do§ §23 Do Pitts Do§ §24 Do Duke of Richmonds Do§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard the ship <i>Neptune</i>, dated 5 May 1762, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 5 May 1762 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 6 April 3: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 11 April 4: Consultations from 12 April to 5 May 5: Duplicate consultations from 22 February to 5 April 6: First receipt for the packet, per the ship Hawke 7: Second receipt for the same, per His Majesty's ship Terpsichore 8: List of officers and men taken 5 May 1762 9: List of one discharged soldier 10: Duplicate list of the packet, per the ship Hawke 11: Effective state of the garrison 12: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 13: Cash account for the month of March 1762 14: Cash account for the month of April 15: Cash account from 1 to 5 May 16: Duplicate cash account from 19 to 28 February 17: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships Neptune, Pitt, Duke of Richmond, Norfolk, Caernarvon, Triton, Prince Henry and Princess Augusta The instrument at item 18 was a written agreement from Captain Purling's man McReuy, a discharged soldier. The receipt at item 19 was a duplicate of Captain Trenton's receipt for £15 0s 0d. The accounts at items 20 to 24 were, in the enclosed papers, tied to the vessels <i>Hawke</i>, <i>Plassey</i>, <i>Neptune</i>, <i>Pitt</i> and <i>Duke of Richmond</i>.
175	165	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 We wrote to you last by the Ship Neptune,§ §which sailed from hence the 6 instant, in company§ §with your Ships Pitt, & Duke of Richmond§ §2 As Capt John Clark proceeds to England§ §upon the Ship Neptune, Capt Thos Kirkpatrick§ §succeeded to the Council, agreeable to your Honrs§ §directions§ §3 By the Absence of Capt Clark a Captains§ §Commission being vacant, We therefore appointed§ §Lieut John Howard who is the eldest Lieut to§ §to succeed to it§ §4 We have put on board the Ship Caernarvon§ §Saml Springall, Humpy & Beigh, Edwd Fitk, Thos§ §Kendrick, Arnold Sassens, & Matt Buickland six§ §discharged Men, towards completing her Company,§ §We likewise Ordered Giles Jerman Soldier a Convict§ §sent here some Years ago from Bombay, on§ §board the Caernarvon, he being a Notorious fellow,§ §& was Sentenced by a Genral Court Martial held§ §on the 1st 2d & 3 Days of Feby last to be§ §punished, & drummed out of the Garrison with§ §a Halter about his Neck§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by the ship <i>Neptune</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 6 May in company with the Court's ships <i>Pitt</i> and <i>Duke of Richmond</i>. 2: As Captain John Clark had gone to England aboard the ship <i>Neptune</i>, Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick succeeded to the Council, following the Court's directions. 3: Captain Clark's departure left a captain's commission vacant, so the Council appointed Lieutenant John Howard, the oldest lieutenant, to succeed to it. 4: The Council put aboard the ship <i>Caernarvon</i> Samuel Springall, Humphry Bough, Edward Fisk, Thomas Kendrick, Arnold Sabens and Matthew Brickland, six discharged men, towards completing her company. It likewise ordered Giles German, a soldier, sent to St Helena some years before from Bombay aboard the <i>Caernarvon</i>, being a very disorderly fellow, sentenced by a general court martial held on 1, 2 and 3 February that year to be punished and drummed out of the garrison with a halter about his neck. Interpretations The succession of Captain Kirkpatrick to the Council on Clark's departure shows the settlement's governing body renewing itself according to the Court's standing rules rather than by local choice. The vacancy left by a retiring councillor was filled by a designated successor, so the transfer of authority followed a fixed order laid down in London, the island's administration maintaining its continuity

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			through a prescribed line of succession that left nothing to discretion at St Helena itself. The drumming out of Giles German with a halter about his neck marks a form of military disgrace distinct from ordinary punishment, expelling a disorderly soldier from the garrison with deliberate humiliation. The halter signified that the man had deserved hanging and was spared it only by expulsion, so the ceremony combined shame with a plain warning to the rest, the settlement using ritual degradation as an instrument of discipline where it chose not to inflict the ultimate penalty. The filling of the captain's vacancy by the oldest lieutenant, following seniority where an earlier promotion had passed men over, shows the Council reverting to the expected order when no reason existed to depart from it. Advancement by length of service was the default the officers looked to, so its observance here marks the ordinary working of the military line, the exceptional exercises of discretion recorded earlier standing out precisely against this routine adherence to seniority.
176	166	5 We have also put on board the Caernarvon§ §Wm Lux an Invalid belonging to His Majestys§ §Navy who was sent here by Capt Lynn, upon§ §a Prussian Ship, from the Cape, In consideration§ §of whose passage we paid Capt Hutchinson§ §£5 and have likewise subsisted him 32 Days§ §in the Hospital, at 7 p Day, amounting to £-18.8§ §both which Sums, will be repaid you by the§ §Commissioners of His Majestys Navy, as you will§ §please to Observe by Capt Lynns Letter to the§ §Govr, a Copy of which goes herewith§ §6 We have granted the following Bills off§ §Exchange, drawn on your Honrs viz One set§ §to Mr Archibald Murray for £150 payable to§ §himself or Order, dated the 10th instant, at 90 Days§ §sight, One set to Mrs Esther Butham for £60§ §payable to herself, or Order, One set to Capt§ §Pinion Bonham for £435 payable to himself§ §or Order, One set to Capt Thos Baddison for§ §£150 payable to himself or Order, And one§ §set to Mr John Hayes for £70 payable to§ §himself, or Order, all dated the 14 instant, and§ §drawn at 90 Days sight§ §7 We are sorry to acquaint you, that the§ §Store Ship is not yet arrived, & that we shall§ §in a very short time be in great want of§ §Salt Provision, Flour, & all other necessities§	5: The Council also put aboard the <i>Caernarvon</i> William Lux, an invalid belonging to His Majesty's navy, who was sent to St Helena by Captain Lynn aboard a Prussian ship from the Cape. For his passage the Council paid Captain Hutchinson £5 0s 0d, and had likewise subsisted him for 32 days in the hospital at 7 pence a day, amounting to £0 18s 8d. Both these sums would be repaid by the commissioners of His Majesty's navy, as would appear by Captain Lynn's letter to the Governor and Council, a copy of which went with this letter. 6: The Council had granted the following bills of exchange drawn on the Court. One to Mr Archibald Murray, for £150 0s 0d, payable to himself or order, dated 10 May, at 90 days after sight. One to Mrs Esther Butham, for £60 0s 0d, payable to herself or order. One to Captain Pinion Bonham, for £435 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One to Captain Thomas Baddison, for £150 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. And one to Mr John Hayes, for £70 0s 0d, payable to himself or order, all dated 14 May and drawn at 90 days after sight. 7: The Council was sorry to report that the store ship had not yet arrived, and that it would very shortly be in great want of salt provisions, flour and all other necessities. Interpretations The transfer of a sick naval invalid from a Prussian ship to a Company Indiaman, his passage and hospital keep charged to the navy's commissioners, shows the settlement acting as an intermediary between the different services and flags that met at its anchorage. A man landed by one captain from a neutral vessel was forwarded by another aboard a Company ship, his costs fixed to the Crown for recovery, so the island moved stranded men between navy, Company and neutral trader alike, keeping account of every charge so that it fell at last on the proper authority. The failure of the store ship to arrive, leaving the settlement facing want of salt provisions, flour and every necessary, exposes the island's fundamental dependence on the annual supply from England. However well its gardens and herds furnished fresh food, the staples of its subsistence came by sea, so a single overdue vessel threatened the settlement with shortage, the anxiety recorded here revealing how narrowly a remote station lived on the timely arrival of the ships that carried its essential stores.
177	167	8 You will receive this Letter, by your Honours§ §Ship Caernarvon, that sails from hence in company§ §with the Norfolk, & Princess Augusta§	8: This letter came by the Court's ship <i>Caernarvon</i>, which sailed from St Helena in company with the <i>Norfolk</i> and <i>Princess Augusta</i>.

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		§We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most humble§ §Servants§ §(Signed)§ §S.t Helena§ §17th May 1762§ §Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §M Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honble Compys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Caernarvon, dated the 17th May 1762 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated 17th May 1762§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 5 Do Do§ §3 Consultns from 6 to the 17th Do Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 12 April to 3 Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Neptune§ §6 Second Do for Do p Ship Hawke§ §7 List of Officers & Servants taken 17th May 1762§ §8 Do of 7 discharged Soldiers§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Neptune§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§	The letter closed from St Helena on 17 May 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mark Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard the ship <i>Caernarvon</i>, dated 17 May 1762, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 17 May 1762 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 5 May 3: Consultations from 6 to 17 May 4: Duplicate consultations from 12 April to 5 May 5: First receipt for the packet, per the ship Neptune 6: Second receipt for the same, per the ship Hawke 7: List of officers and servants taken 17 May 1762 8: List of seven discharged soldiers 9: Duplicate list of the packet, per the ship Neptune 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee The change in the signatures marks the recent turnover in the Council itself. Thomas Kirkpatrick now signed in place of John Clark, who had left for England aboard the <i>Neptune</i>, so the foot of the letter records the new membership that had earlier been noted in the correspondence, the settlement's governing body renewed according to the Court's directions.
178	168	No 12 Cash Act from the 6 to 17 May 1762§ §13 Duplicate Do for the Month of March Do§ §14 Do Do for the Month of April Do§ §15 Do Do from the 1 to the 5 May Do§ §16 Ship Caernarvons Account§ §17 Do Norfolks Do§ §18 Do Princess Augusta Do§ §19 Duplicate Ship Neptunes Do§ §20 Do Ship Pitts Do§ §21 Do Ship Duke of Richmonds Do§ §22 List of Garrisons Stores remg 31 March 1762§ §23 Do of Stores remg in the Honble Compys Warehouse 31§ §March 1762§ §24 Do of Artillery Stores from 30 Sepr 1761 to 31§ §March 1762§ §25 Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of§ §the Year 1763§ §26 Do of Medicines wanted for Do§ §27 Copy of Capt Lynns Letter to the Govr§ §28 Capt Hutchinsons first Receipt for £5§	The list of enclosed papers continued. 12: Cash account from 6 to 17 May 1762 13: Duplicate cash account for the month of March 14: Duplicate cash account for the month of April 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 5 May 16: Ship Caernarvon account 17: Ship Norfolk account 18: Ship Princess Augusta account 19: Duplicate ship Neptune account 20: Duplicate ship Pitt account 21: Duplicate ship Duke of Richmond account 22: List of garrison stores remaining 31 March 1762 23: List of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouse 31 March 1762 24: List of artillery stores from 30 September 1761 to 31 March 1762 25: Indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1763 26: Indent of medicines wanted for the same 27: Copy of Captain Lynn's letter to the Governor and Council 28: Captain Hutchinson's first receipt for £5 0s 0d
179	169	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advice waited on you, by your Ship§ §Caernarvon, which sailed from hence the 17 of May, in§ §company with the Norfolk, & Princess Shaftesbury§ §2 On the 21 of last Month, arrived His Majestys§ §Ship Assistance from England, & the 10 instant, your§ §Ships Royal Charlotte, your Orders received by these§ §conveyances, shall be duly Obeyed, & complied with, It§ §gives Us great pleasure to find all your Ships of§ §last Season arrived safe, except the Ajax, whose§ §Capture we were concerned to hear of, The approbation§ §your Honrs have been pleased to give of the Advices§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by the Court's ship <i>Caernarvon</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 17 May in company with the <i>Norfolk</i> and <i>Princess Augusta</i>. 2: On 21 May His Majesty's ship <i>Assistance</i> arrived from England, and on 10 June the Court's ship <i>Royal Charlotte</i>. The orders received by these conveyances would be duly observed and complied with. The Council was greatly pleased to find all the Court's ships of the previous season arrived safe, except the <i>Ajax</i>, whose capture it was concerned to hear of. The Court's approval of the advices about its affairs contained in the Council's several letters of the previous year required its care in continuing to communicate the same interesting intelligence in future.

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		§relative to your Affairs, contained in our several§ §Letters of last Year, demands our care in continuing§ §to communicate the same interesting Intelligence§ §in future§ §3 The continuance of the Success Attending§ §His Majestys Arms the last Year, gives Us infinite§ §pleasure, & sincerely hope the same good fortune will§ §always attend them during the present War, which§ §cannot fail to force our Enemys at last to come to§ §just, & equitable Terms of Peace§ §4 We heartily, Congratulate your Honor, upon the§ §Enemys abandoning your Settlements on the West Coast§	3: The continuance of the success attending His Majesty's arms the previous year gave the Council infinite pleasure, and it sincerely hoped the same good fortune would always attend them during the war, which could not fail to force the enemy at last to just and equitable terms of peace. 4: The Council heartily congratulated the Court on the enemy's abandoning of its settlements on the West Coast. Interpretations The capture of the <i>Ajax</i>, the one ship of the season's fleet not to reach home safe, shows that even as the war turned decisively against France the enemy could still take a Company vessel at sea. The loss stood out against the safe arrival of all the rest, so the Council's concern at the news reflects how a single capture registered sharply amid general success, the maritime danger persisting to trouble the trade even in the conflict's closing phase. The recovery of the West Coast settlements, confirmed here as the enemy's abandonment of them, completes the reversal of the loss the Council had reported when Fort Marlborough was burnt. The posts on Sumatra that France had taken and destroyed now returned to Company hands as the French withdrew, so the correspondence closes the arc it had opened with the news of their capture, the fortunes of the eastern settlements swinging back as the war moved toward its end. The Council's expressed hope that continued British success would force the enemy to equitable terms of peace reflects the awareness, even at this remote station, that the war was approaching its settlement. The victories in every theatre pointed toward negotiation, so the island's administrators looked beyond the fighting to the peace they expected to follow, their correspondence registering the wider turn of the conflict toward its diplomatic close.
180	170	and on the prospect that appears of soon Re-establishg§ §your Servants there§ §5 We shall agreeable to your directions, return§ §your thanks to Admiral Cornish, Colonels Coote &§ §Monson, & Mr Pigot, for the great Share they took in§ §the reduction of that important Settlement of§ §Pondichery, in case any of those Gentlemen should§ §call here, before that Compliment has been paid§ §them in India§ §6 All Orders & instructions received from§ §the Secret Committee, or any three of those Gentlemen§ §shall be punctually Attended to & Obeyed§ §7 The Ships you have taken into your Service§ §for carrying on your Commerce the present Year,§ §We sincerely hope will be prosperous, returned to your§ §Honors in due Time in safety, & with Success§ §8 We Observe the Ships you employed for§ §carrying on your Trade this Season, are taken up§ §on the same Terms & Conditions, as those of the§ §last, We shall carefully Attend to the Charterpartys,§ §with regard to the short delivery, & Damage, and§ §you may depend upon our despatching the Royal§ §Charlotte within the time limited§ §9 Notwithstanding your Orders to the§ §Commanders to supply themselves with Live Stock§ §for their Voyage Home, We do not find their§ §demands for fresh Provision are at all lessened,§ §They have required no Wood for Fuel this Season§	The Council also congratulated the Court on the prospect that its servants would soon be re-established on the West Coast. 5: Following the Court's directions, the Council would return its thanks to Admiral Cornish, Colonel Coote, Colonel Monson and Mr Pigot for the great share they took in the reduction of that important settlement of Pondicherry, in case any of those gentlemen should call at St Helena before the compliment had been paid them in India. 6: All orders and instructions received from the Secret Committee, or any three of those gentlemen, would be punctually attended to and obeyed. 7: The Council sincerely hoped the ships the Court had taken into its service for carrying on its commerce that year would be prosperous, and would return in due course safely and with success. 8: The ships the Court employed for carrying on its trade that season were taken up on the same terms and conditions as those of the previous one. The Council would carefully attend to the charter parties with regard to short delivery and damage, and the Court could depend on its dispatching the <i>Royal Charlotte</i> within the time allowed. 9: Despite the Court's orders to the commanders to supply themselves with livestock for their voyage home, the Council did not find their demands for fresh provisions at all lessened. They had required no wood for fuel that season. Interpretations The direction to thank the commanders of the Pondicherry campaign should any call at St Helena reveals the island's place in the ceremonial as well as the material life of the Company. Formal compliments to victorious officers were to be paid wherever they might be met, so the settlement stood

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			ready to discharge the Court's courtesies to men passing through, its anchorage serving as a point where the Company's acknowledgements could reach the figures who had won its eastern war. The observation that the commanders demands for fresh provisions were undiminished despite orders to victual themselves repeats a grievance that ran through years of the correspondence. The ships were meant to reduce their calls on the island's food, yet continued to draw heavily on it, so the tension between the Court's instructions and the captains habits persisted, the Council recording once more how the burden of feeding the fleet fell on St Helena regardless of the standing orders meant to relieve it. The note that the ships required no wood for fuel that season marks a change from the timber shortage the Council had earlier lamented, suggesting the shift toward imported coal it had proposed was taking effect. Where passing vessels had once stripped the island's wood for their homeward fuel, they now drew none, so the settlement's timber was spared, the small detail registering a practical improvement in the management of a resource whose depletion had once threatened real distress.
181	171	as We have Goods sufficient to supply them§ §10 We shall constantly serve all the Commanders§ §of your Ships with the Orders respecting Deserters§ §either from the Island or their Ships, which if duly§ §complied with by them, & their Officers, We make no§ §doubt but the practice of Desertion will in a great§ §measure, if not, effectually be prevented, We shall§ §likewise inform them that their disobedience in§ §these respects, will be highly resented by your Honors§ §& the penalties they will incur in breach of Charter§ §Party Covenants relative thereto, will with rigour§ §be exacted§ §11 We have acquainted Capt Harrold, & Mr§ §Fea, with your Orders relating to them, & shall§ §allow each of them 6 p Day for the Time of their§ §necessarily being on Shore§ §12 Capt Harrold acquaints Us that he is§ §inclined to stay another year, or it may be longer,§ §When ever he quits the command of the Mercury, we§ §will in Obedience to your Honrs Orders, appoint Mr§ §John Merryweather, in case we find his behavior§ §merits it, to succeed him, & administer to him the§ §Usual Oath, for the faithful discharge of his Duty§ §13 We shall punctually follow your directions§ §relating to any Persons, that may be left here§ §out of His Majestys Ships in future§ §14 If any of the Petty Officers & Seamen§ §of the Mercury Snow, & Lily Cutter, should be§	The Council had food sufficient to supply the ships. 10: The Council would constantly serve all the commanders of the Court's ships with the orders about deserters, whether from the island or their ships. If these were duly complied with by the commanders and their officers, it had no doubt the practice of desertion would be largely, if not wholly, prevented. It would also inform them that their disobedience in these respects would be highly resented by the Court, and that the penalties they would incur for breach of their charter parties and covenants relating to it would be exacted with rigour. 11: The Council had informed Captain Harrod and Mr Fea of the Court's orders about them, and would allow each of them 6 shillings a day for the time they were necessarily on shore. 12: Captain Harrod reported that he was inclined to stay another year, or perhaps longer. Whenever he quit the command of the <i>Mercury</i>, the Council would, following the Court's orders, appoint Mr John Merryweather to succeed him, provided his behaviour merited it, and would administer to him the usual oath for the faithful discharge of his duty. 13: The Council would punctually follow the Court's directions about any persons who might be left at St Helena out of His Majesty's ships in future. 14: Should any of the petty officers and seamen of the <i>Mercury</i> snow and <i>Lily</i> cutter be uneasy. Interpretations The undertaking to enforce the charter-party penalties against commanders who ignored the orders on deserters shows the Council reaching for a contractual lever to secure the captains cooperation. Since it could not command the ships directly, it relied on the penalties written into their charters and covenants to compel compliance, so the pursuit of deserters was to be backed by the threat of financial forfeiture, the Company's contracts with the ship owners serving as the mechanism to bind the commanders to its purpose. The provision for Merryweather to succeed to the command of the <i>Mercury</i> conditional on his behaviour, with the usual oath to follow, marks how the settlement filled even its subordinate maritime posts through a prescribed and probationary process. Succession was neither automatic nor local but governed by the Court's orders and secured by oath, so the appointment of a snow's commander followed the same careful pattern of conditional

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			advancement and formal undertaking that governed the settlement's other offices.
182	172	uneasy in their Situations, & in our power to make§ §them Tranquil, We shall take the most Eligible§ §methods to do so, giving Gratuities to those that may§ §exchange with them, or shewing them such further§ §Indulgencies as We apprehend may meet with your§ §approbation§ §15 Jeremiah Butler the third Mate of the§ §Mercury, having applied to Us, to return home by§ §the Ship Prince Henry, & Capt Haggis giving§ §another Person in exchange, We have in consequence§ §of your Orders, permitted him to resign, & have§ §appointed Seth Lofthouse to succeed as third Mate§ §he being recommended by Capt Haggis, & approved§ §of by Capt Harrod, We have also exchanged§ §Christr Newberry Cook, for John Baggitt, The§ §Mercury being likewise short of her Complement§ §Capt Haggis was so Obleging, as to spare Saml§ §Bennett, & Edward Coriss, towards completing her§ §Company§ §16 We are always particularly careful in§ §framing our Indents, not to ask for any thing, but§ §what is absolutely necessary, & although large§ §quantities did appear on hand at that Time if§ §your Honrs had been pleased to allow for the§ §consumption of the Year, you would have found§ §but a small remainder, at the expiration of it, &§ §For when the Royal Charlotte arrived, We had in§	Should any of the seamen be uneasy in their situations, and it be in the Council's power to content them, it would take the most eligible methods to do so, giving gratuities to those who exchanged with them, or showing them such further indulgences as it thought would meet the Court's approval. 15: Jeremiah Butler, the third mate of the <i>Mercury</i>, applied to the Council to return home aboard the ship <i>Prince Henry</i>, Captain Haggis giving another person in exchange. Following the Court's orders, the Council permitted him to resign, and appointed Seth Lofthouse to succeed as third mate, he being recommended by Captain Haggis and approved by Captain Harrod. The Council had also exchanged Christopher Newberry, cook, for John Baggitt. The <i>Mercury</i> being likewise short of her complement, Captain Haggis was so obliging as to spare Samuel Bennett and Edward Coiss towards completing her company. 16: The Council was always particularly careful in framing its indents not to ask for anything but what was absolutely necessary. Although large quantities appeared on hand at the time the Court allowed for the year's consumption, only a small remainder would be found at the year's end, since when the <i>Royal Charlotte</i> arrived the Council had in store. Interpretations The exchange of seamen between the island's small vessels and the passing ships, sweetened with gratuities to those willing to swap, shows the settlement managing the discontent of its maritime crews through a flexible system of transfers. Men uneasy in their posts could be moved to homeward ships and others found to replace them, so the Council kept its little fleet manned by trading crews with the Indiamen, using small inducements to smooth the movement of men between the island's service and the sea. The Council's insistence that its indents asked for nothing beyond the strictly necessary, defended against the appearance of ample stocks, reveals the constant scrutiny under which its requisitions stood. Large quantities on hand at one moment would dwindle to little by the year's end, so the Council was at pains to justify its orders against a suspicion of over-asking, the careful framing of its indents reflecting the tight accounting by which a distant Court judged whether a remote station was drawing more than it truly required.
183	173	Store only twelve Barrels of Flour, & thirty nine Casks of§ §Salt Provision, & if we had not fortunately met with an§ §oppy of purchasing some of each sort, we should have§ §been quite without, And it is with great concern, we now§ §assure you, that the 100 Barrels of Flour come, will not§ §be sufficient to last Us, above four Month, And we§ §leave it to your Honrs consideration, whether it will§ §not be quite necessary for Us in this time of War to§ §have in advance here Flour, & Salt Provision§ §sufficient, for a Years Consumption, which amount§ §to about 300 Barrels of Flour, & near the same Number§ §of Casks of Salt Provision, each containing 80 Pieces§ §Word otherwise, should a Store Ship miscarry, great§ §part of the Cattle must unavoidably be Slaughtered§ §for the support of the Garrison, & consequently	When the <i>Royal Charlotte</i> arrived, the Council had in store only twelve barrels of flour and thirty-nine casks of salt provisions. Had it not fortunately met with an opportunity of buying some of each sort, it would have been quite without. With great concern the Council now assured the Court that the hundred barrels of flour brought would not last above four months. It left to the Court's consideration whether it would not be quite necessary, in this time of war, to keep in advance at St Helena flour and salt provisions sufficient for a year's consumption. This amounted to about 300 barrels of flour and near the same number of casks of salt provisions, each cask containing 80 pieces. Should a store ship miscarry, a great part of the cattle would have to be slaughtered for the support of the garrison, leaving very few for the Court's ships. Whenever it could be done, the Council would order the stores received by the store ship to be entered in the list of remains. As there had to be a fixed time for making up these accounts, and it took some space to prepare them for the packet, the late arrival of a store ship made it impossible to

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		there§ §can be but very few for your Ships, Whenever it can§ §be done, we shall Order the Stores received by the Store§ §Ship, to be inserted in the List of Remains, but as§ §there must be a fixed Time for making up these Accts§ §& it requires some Space, to prepare them for the§ §Packet, & the late arrival of a Store Ship, renders§ §it impossible to be done, consistent with our transmitting§ §the Indents early enough to you, for the supplies of§ §the ensuing Year, We have always the List of§ §Remains before Us when we make out our Indents,§ §& therefore for these reasons, We flatter ourselves§ §your Honrs will be pleased to Order our Indents to§ §be complied with§	do this and still send the indents early enough for the next year's supplies. The Council always had the list of remains before it when making out its indents, and for these reasons hoped the Court would order its indents to be complied with. Interpretations The precariously low stores that greeted the <i>Royal Charlotte</i>, twelve barrels of flour and thirty-nine casks of salt provisions, lay bare how close the settlement came to running out of its staples between supply ships. Only a chance purchase saved it from being wholly without, so the Council pressed for a full year's reserve to be held in advance, the near-exhaustion of its stocks in wartime exposing the danger of depending on the timely arrival of a single vessel across a hostile ocean. The Council's argument links its food reserve directly to the survival of its cattle and so to its whole reason for existing. Should a store ship be lost, the garrison would have to eat the herds meant for the ships, so a failure of imported staples would consume the fresh meat the island was maintained to supply, the reasoning revealing how the settlement's twin functions, feeding itself and victualling the fleet, rested on the same fragile lifeline from England. The tension between the timing of the store ship's arrival and the deadline for the indents shows how the settlement's whole supply cycle could be thrown out by a single late vessel. The accounts of remaining stores had to be closed before the indents could be framed, yet a store ship arriving late left no time to do both, so the Council was caught between rendering an accurate account and ordering next year's supplies in season, the mechanics of provisioning bound to a calendar that a delayed ship could easily disrupt.
184	174	17 As we hope to get Cash sufficient to§ §answer the expences of the current Year, We shall§ §forward the two Chests of Treasure Consigned to Us,§ §to your Supra Cargoes at Canton, with Invoice§ §& Bill of Lading§ §18 If we should find it necessary to alter§ §our Indents to China, we shall apprise your§ §Supra Cargoes with it, by the Royal Charlotte§ §19 We are glad your Honrs have been pleased§ §to Order the Gun Carriages we Indented for, to be§ §made of Oak, instead of Elm, as we are convinced§ §they will be much more serviceable, And we will§ §in future, give you a Years Notice at least,§ §when we shall be in want of any more, that the§ §Wood may be well seasoned, which is very material§ §in this respect§ §20 Our request for Deals, & Timber was§ §absolutely necessary, & the want of them will be§ §attended with great inconvenience, you will be§ §pleased to Observe that we have hardly sufficient§ §in the Stores to make Coffins for the currents Year,§ §therefore utterly unable to keep up the repairs, or§ §carry on Works that requires those materials, we§ §for these reasons beg you will direct our full§ §Indents in these Articles, to be sent Us next Year,§ §And the proper sort of Files§ §21 We looked upon the Method we took in§ §purchasing of Salt Provision by the piece from§	17: As the Council hoped to get cash sufficient to answer the year's expenses, it would forward the two chests of treasure consigned to it to the Court's supercargoes at Canton, with the invoice and bill of lading. 18: Should the Council find it necessary to alter its indent to China, it would advise the Court's supercargoes of it by the <i>Royal Charlotte</i>. 19: The Council was glad the Court had ordered the gun carriages it indented for to be made of oak instead of elm, being convinced they would prove much more serviceable. It would in future give a year's notice at least whenever it wanted any more, so that the wood might be well seasoned, which was very material in this respect. 20: The Council's request for deals and timber was absolutely necessary, and the want of them would bring great inconvenience. It had hardly enough in store to make coffins for the current year, and so was utterly unable to keep up repairs or carry on any work requiring these materials. For these reasons it hoped the Court would direct its full indents in these articles to be sent the next year, together with the proper sort of files. 21: The Council had thought the method it took in buying salt provisions by the piece from the ships. Interpretations The choice of oak over elm for the gun carriages, welcomed and tied to a year's notice for seasoning, shows the Council's concern with the durability of materials that had to survive both a long voyage and a demanding use. Well-seasoned oak outlasted elm in the mountings of the batteries guns, so the Council asked for time to age the timber properly, the exchange revealing how the quality and preparation of imported wood mattered to the maintenance of the island's defences. Deals were sawn softwood planks, chiefly of fir or pine, used for flooring, shelving, packing and general

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			construction. The Council's remark that its stock had dwindled to barely enough for coffins measures how completely a treeless island depended on imported timber for its ordinary building and repair, the want of deals halting all such work, the grim reckoning of its remaining stock against the year's expected deaths laying bare how basic the shortage had become. The observation that the settlement could not even keep up its repairs for want of timber exposes the fragility of a station that could grow no wood of its own. Every plank for building, mending or making came by sea, so a shortfall in the supply arrested the maintenance of the whole establishment, the Council's plea for full indents reflecting how a remote island's physical upkeep hung entirely on the materials the Company chose to send it.
185	175	the Commanders, was preferable, to buying it by weight,§ §as we sell it by Tale, & we are convinced cannot,§ §thereby be imposed upon, We always have purchased§ §it at a much cheaper rate, than what it comes§ §Invoiced at from England§ §22 We shall continue the method of inspecting§ §the Stores by two of the Council Annually, & shall sell at§ §Publick Auction all such Goods that appear to be§ §damaged, We never Order any Sum to be wrote off§ §for Wastage, Leakage & ca but what appear to Us§ §to be reasonable, & just, & the Storekeeper assures§ §Us is unavoidable§ §23 We have recd your Orders Investing Us with§ §power to hold Courts Civil & Criminal, & that of Oyer§ §& Terminer, which we shall endeavor to put into§ §execution, We have not time at present to Answer§ §your Letter on this Subject, but will do it, by some§ §future conveyance, & in the mean time are searching§ §your Records, & will transmit you a Copy of the§ §Laws, & Constitutions of the Island, as you have been§ §pleased to direct, It is impossible that either the§ §Secretary, or any of your Servants, from the Multiplicity§ §of the Companys Business they have to go through§ §with, can attend as Clerk to those Courts, therefore we§ §shall be much at a loss for a person properly§ §Qualified, & acquainted with the forms & Methods§ §of such proceedings, & beg that you will be§ §pleased to send Us one fit, for the purpose, by the§ §first§	The Council thought that buying salt provisions from the commanders by the piece was preferable to buying it by weight, since the island sold it by tale. It was convinced it could not be imposed upon this way, and had always bought it at a much cheaper rate than what it came invoiced at from England. 22: The Council would continue the method of inspecting the stores by two of the councillors annually, and would sell at public auction all goods that appeared to be damaged. It never ordered any sum to be written off for wastage, leakage and the like but what appeared reasonable and just, and what the storekeeper assured it was unavoidable. 23: The Council had received the Court's orders investing it with power to hold courts civil and criminal, and that of oyer and terminer, which it would try to put into execution. It had no time at present to answer the Court's letter on this subject, but would do so by some future conveyance. In the meantime it was consulting its records, and would transmit the Court a copy of the laws and constitutions of the island, as the Court had directed. Neither the Secretary nor any of the Court's servants, given the multiplicity of the Company's business they had to go through, could act as clerk to those courts. The Council would therefore be much at a loss for a person properly qualified and acquainted with the forms and methods of such proceedings, and asked the Court to send one for the purpose. Interpretations The preference for buying salt provisions by the piece rather than by weight rests on matching the terms of purchase to the terms of sale. The island retailed the meat by the piece, so buying it the same way removed any discrepancy a weight measure might conceal, the Council's reasoning showing a shrewd attention to the mechanics of the transaction by which it turned imported provisions to the settlement's advantage, buying below the invoiced English cost. The grant of powers of oyer and terminer marks a significant enlargement of the settlement's legal authority, conferring the right to hold criminal courts able to try the gravest offences. This directly addressed the very limitation that had forced the Council to ship capital cases home for trial, so the Court's order promised to give the island a jurisdiction of its own, the request for a qualified clerk revealing how the machinery to exercise these new powers still had to be built. The want of anyone able to serve as clerk to the new courts exposes how thinly the settlement was staffed for the responsibilities being laid upon it. The Company's business already consumed its servants, so the specialised knowledge of legal forms had to be imported like everything else, the Council's plea for a trained clerk showing that the grant of judicial power meant little without the personnel to work it,

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			expertise being as much a scarce commodity at St Helena as timber or flour.
186	176	first opportunity, who in the vacant Times of Law§ §Matters, may be useful, & fully employed in your§ §Service§ §24 We are sorry to acquaint your Honors that§ §the disorder among the Cattle, has not in the least§ §Abated, & we are under the greatest apprehensions§ §of its continuance, as we can find no relief, or§ §cure for them, We shall take all opportunities of§ §sending to the Cape for Cattle, but with all the§ §Assistance we can have, are much afraid that§ §we shall find great difficulty in Supplying your§ §Ships with fresh Provision, the next Season in the§ §manner we could wish, if all of them should touch§ §here, We received the Canary Grass you were pleased§ §to send Us, which in appearance seems to be the§ §same sort, as that grows here, for your satisfaction§ §we will send you some of it, when a proper Season§ §comes, for procuring its in the Seed, but we are now§ §of opinion that the Distemper among the Cattle§ §do not proceed from eating that Grass, as they die§ §all over the Island, in parts where none of it§ §ever grew§ §25 The kind concern your Honrs hath been§ §pleased to express upon hearing of the inflammatory§ §disorder raging in the Island last Year, excites§ §in Us the warmest gratitude, & Thanks for§ §so tender a regard§	The clerk the Council asked for might, in the time free from law matters, be usefully and fully employed in the Court's service. 24: The Council was sorry to report that the disorder among the cattle had not abated in the least, and that it was under the greatest fear of its continuance, since it could find no relief or cure for them. It would take every opportunity of sending to the Cape for cattle, but even with all the help it could get was much afraid it would find great difficulty in supplying the Court's ships with fresh provisions in the manner it wished, should they all touch at St Helena. The Council had received the Guinea grass the Court sent, which in appearance seemed the same sort as that growing on the island. For the Court's satisfaction it would send some of it when a proper season came for raising it from seed, but was of opinion that the distemper among the cattle did not come from eating that grass, since the beasts died all over the island, in places where none of it ever grew. 25: The kind concern the Court had expressed on hearing of the inflammatory disorder raging in the island the previous year stirred the warmest gratitude and thanks in the Council for so tender a regard. Interpretations The resort to sending to the Cape for cattle marks the settlement's turn to an external source when its own herds failed under the persistent distemper. Unable to breed or cure enough beasts at home, the Council looked across the ocean to the Cape for replacements, so the island's capacity to victual ships came to depend on imported livestock, the disease driving it to draw its fresh meat from a distant colony as its own stock died away. Guinea grass was a tall, nutritious African fodder grass introduced to improve pasture and fatten stock, and the Court's sending of its seed shows an attempt to strengthen the island's grazing against the loss of its cattle. The Council's careful reasoning that the plant could not be the cause of the plague, since beasts died where none of it grew, reveals it weighing and rejecting a plausible culprit, its observation of the geography of the deaths standing in for the understanding of the disease it lacked. The Council's insistence, against an evident suspicion, that the new grass was not to blame for the cattle deaths shows it defending an imported remedy on the strength of plain observation. Rather than let the coincidence of a new fodder and a continuing plague condemn the grass, it pointed to the beasts dying in places the grass had never reached, the argument marking a small exercise of reasoning from evidence amid a crisis it could neither explain nor cure.
187	177	26 We shall take care to prevent, as much as§ §possible, the Desertion of Slaves from hence, and are§ §glad you are determined, when they come under your§ §Cognizance, to return them again to the Island,§ §which in our opinion, will be the most effectual§ §Method to cure the Evil, & deter others from such§ §Attempts§ §27 Mr Thos Lambert has been appointed to§ §fill up the Vacant Lieutenants Commission,§ §occasioned by the Absence of Capt Clark, as we§ §had no objection to his behavior, And Mr John§ §Welch, shall agreeable to your directions, succeed§ §to the next Lieutenants Commission, that shall§ §become Vacant in the Garrison, & be paid 20 p Days§	26: The Council would take care to prevent, as far as possible, the desertion of slaves from St Helena, and was glad the Court was determined, when they came within its reach, to return them to the island. This, in the Council's opinion, would be the most effectual way to cure the evil and deter others from such attempts. 27: Mr Thomas Lambert had been appointed to fill the vacant lieutenant's commission left by the absence of Captain Clark, the Council having no objection to his behaviour. Mr John Welch would, following the Court's directions, succeed to the next lieutenant's commission that fell vacant in the garrison, and be paid half pay while he remained a cadet. 28: In future the Council would send the Court duplicate lists of the invalid soldiers it ordered home,

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		§while he remains a Cadet§ §28 In future we will send you Duplicate§ §Lists, of what Invalid Soldiers we shall Order Home,§ §with the Times of their Service, & their respecting§ §disorders & ca as you have been pleased to direct§ §29 We acquainted Mr Gifsing with your Orders§ §relating to him, but as he represented to Us, that§ §he had a Family to maintain, & was in but very§ §indifferent Circumstances, & desiring the favour§ §of remaining here as an Inhabitant, We in§ §consideration thereof, & that his behavior has been§ §more becoming, since he was set aside, acquiesced§ §with his request, but acquainted him that he was§	with the length of their service, their respective disorders and the like, as the Court had directed. 29: The Council had informed Mr Gossing of the Court's orders about him. As he represented that he had a family to maintain and was in very poor circumstances, and wished the favour of remaining at St Helena as an inhabitant, the Council, considering this and that his behaviour had been more becoming since he was set aside, agreed to his request. It informed him, however, that he was. Interpretations The satisfaction that runaway slaves would be returned to the island confirms how central the recovery of escaped bondspople was to the whole system of control the settlement maintained. A slave who reached England or another port and could be sent back served as a warning to the rest, so the Council valued the Court's willingness to return them as the surest deterrent, the machinery for recapturing and restoring human property completing the apparatus by which the island held its enslaved labour in place. The Council's granting of Gossing's request to stay as an inhabitant, softened by his poverty and improved conduct, shows the settlement tempering the consequences of an earlier demotion with a measure of practical mercy. Having been passed over for promotion, he was allowed to remain and support his family rather than be forced out, the decision revealing how the Council could relax its discipline when a man's circumstances and reform gave it reason, the settlement retaining a member it might otherwise have lost. The placing of Welch on half pay as a cadet until a commission fell vacant repeats the settlement's device of appointing men in prospect while withholding full pay until a funded place opened. Advancement was promised but its cost deferred, so the Company filled its future needs without present expense, the arrangement showing once more how the timing of pay was used to reconcile the maintenance of an officer line with the tight economy under which the establishment was kept.
188	178	no longer to receive half Pay, or any indulgences§ §from your Honors§ §30 Upon the resignation of Capt Clark, we§ §admitted Capt Thos Kirkpatrick, to take his seat§ §at the Council, agreeable to your former Orders, And§ §Mr Purling & Capt Kirkpatrick, shall be paid the§ §Salary you are pleased to direct, The £20 a§ §Year allowed Capt Clark, for instructing the Gunners§ §ceased upon his leaving the Island, Mr Purling§ §& Capt Kirkpatrick, both return your Honrs their§ §humble thanks, for the appointment, & Allowances§ §you have been pleased to make them§ §31 We are much surprised to hear, that Lieut§ §General Lallys Bill drawn on Favour of your Honrs§ §for £100 was not paid, We concluded he would§ §have paid it himself, in case the French§ §India Company had not duly Honoured it, No§ §advances of your Cash have been made this§ §Year, nor shall any be made for the future, to§ §the Gentlemen of the French Nation, neither§ §shall we permit, any of them, except such as§ §are sick, to come on Shore§ §32 We proclaimed His Majestys declaration§ §of War against Spain, with the Forms, and§ §Solemnities usual upon such Occasions§ §33 As there are no other but publick Places§ §here, to accommodate the Sick Seamen, We§ §apprehend it, has been unavoidably sending§	Mr Gossing was to receive no more half pay or any indulgences from the Court. 30: On Captain Clark's resignation the Council admitted Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick to take his seat at the board, following the Court's earlier orders. Mr Purling and Captain Kirkpatrick would be paid the salary the Court directed. The £30 a year allowed Captain Clark for instructing the gunners ceased on his leaving the island. Mr Purling and Captain Kirkpatrick both returned the Court their humble thanks for the appointment and allowances it had made them. 31: The Council was much surprised to hear that Lieutenant General Lally's bill drawn on the Court for £100 0s 0d was not paid. It had concluded he would have paid it himself, in case the French East India Company had not duly honoured it. No advances of the Court's cash had been made that year, nor would any be made in future, to the gentlemen of the French nation. Neither would the Council let any of them come ashore except such as were sick. 32: The Council proclaimed His Majesty's declaration of war against Spain, with the forms and solemnities usual on such occasions. 33: As there was no accommodation for sick seamen at St Helena but the public house, the Council supposed it had been obliged to send them. Interpretations The dishonouring of Lally's bill drawn on the French East India Company marks a breakdown in the cross-belligerent credit the settlement had earlier

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			relied on. The Council had advanced the captured general money against paper payable by his own company in Paris, trusting the enemy's credit even in wartime, but when the bill went unpaid it resolved to make no further advances to French prisoners, the failure teaching it that the channel of enemy credit could not be depended on and hardening its treatment of the captives. The proclamation of war against Spain shows the settlement once more enacting the formal rituals of state as news of a fresh belligerent reached it. The widening of the conflict to include Spain was marked at St Helena with the same ceremony that had proclaimed the accession of the king, so the island performed its part in the public life of the realm, its proclamation registering the enlargement of the war through the prescribed solemnities of a distant possession. The confinement of French prisoners to their ships, save the sick, together with the note that only the public house could house ailing seamen, exposes the settlement's want of any proper institution for either captives or the ill. With no hospital worth the name and no place to hold prisoners ashore, the Council kept the French aboard and lodged sick men in a tavern, the makeshift arrangements revealing how thinly the remote station was provided for the demands the war placed upon it.
189	179	them to such Quarters, if the Captains could have§ §provided better for them, it certainly was inconvenient on§ §them to have done so, the inconveniences arising§ §has been owing entirely to the want of proper§ §accommodations for Sick Men, & not to the Sinister§ §views of any of your Servants, as we know of, nor§ §can be charge any of them in offending in this§ §respect, your Hospital until we lately Erected a new§ §one, was very small, insufficient to hold your§ §Sick Soldiers, which rendered its impossible to admit,§ §of Sick Seamen into it, but as we have now a§ §larger Hospital, we will in future, if we have room§ §receive them into it, & charge the Captains with§ §the expences you have been pleased to direct§ §34 On the 27 of last Month, arrived your Ship§ §Worcester, & the 27 Prince George, both from China, The§ §6 instant arrived the Earl of Holdernes, from§ §Bengal, Capt Brooke informs Us, he left that Place§ §the 6 Feby last, & your Ship Warren there, which§ §was to sail in about a Month after for Madrass,§ §to fill up, & from thence to proceed for Europe, he§ §likewise acquaints Us, that the Fox was sailed§ §to Fort St George on a Country Voyage, & that the§ §Godolphin was not arrived at Bengal when he§ §left it§ §35 We have been under a necessity of adding§ §a few things at the foot of the Duplicate Indent§ §for the Mercury Snow, as likewise some Cartridge§	Had the captains been able to provide better quarters for their sick, it would certainly have been better to do so. The inconvenience arose entirely from the want of proper accommodation for sick men, not from any ill design on the part of the Court's servants, none of whom could be charged with fault in this. The hospital, until the Council lately built a new one, was very small and unable to hold its own sick soldiers, which made it impossible to admit sick seamen. Now that it had a larger hospital, the Council would in future, if it had room, receive them and charge the captains with the expense the Court directed. 34: On 27 June the Court's ship <i>Worcester</i> arrived, and on 29 June the <i>Prince George</i>, both from China. On 5 July the <i>Earl of Holderness</i> arrived from Bengal. Captain Brooke reported that he left that place on 5 February, and the Court's ship <i>Warren</i> there, which was to sail about a month after for Madras to fill up, and from thence to proceed for Europe. He also reported that the <i>Fox</i> had sailed to Fort St George on a country voyage, and that the <i>Godolphin</i> had not arrived at Bengal when he left it. 35: The Council had been obliged to add a few things at the foot of the duplicate indent for the <i>Mercury</i> snow, together with some cartridge. Interpretations The building of a larger hospital, and the promise now to receive sick seamen and charge the captains for their keep, shows the settlement remedying a real deficiency in its provision for the ill. The old hospital could not hold even the garrison's own sick, forcing seamen into the public house, so the new one both improved the island's care and opened a fresh source of recoverable charges, the Council turning an enlarged facility to account by billing the ships whose men it now had room to take. The Council's care to clear its servants of any blame for the sending of sick men to the tavern reveals its concern to protect the settlement's reputation against a charge of neglect. Rather than let the makeshift accommodation reflect on the Company's people, it laid the fault on the plain want of a proper hospital, the explanation showing how the Council answered to a distant Court that might otherwise read the arrangement as evidence of ill will or mismanagement among its officers.

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190	180	Paper for the Gunners use, which you will§ §please to send Us next Year§ §36 We have Granted the following Bills§ §of Exchange viz One Set to Mr M Purling§ §for £384.10.10 payable to Mr Rd Price§ §or Order, One set to Mr M Bazett, for £420§ §payable to Capt Chs Fowler or Order, One set§ §to Capt H J Bazett, for £300 payable to Mr§ §George Sutherland or Order, One Set to Mr Sigh§ §Kennedy for £144.1s payable to Mr Stephen§ §Winthrop, or Order, One set to Mr Wm Bezoit,§ §for £60 payable to Mr Matthw Everhard§ §or Order, One Set to Capt Rd Bealy, for £45§ §payable to Andw Moffat Esq, or Order, One set§ §to Mr Mary Legg, for £10.6.9, payable to§ §John Christopher Huseman or Order, One set§ §to Mr Wm Ley for £100 payable to Mr Thos§ §Lee or Order, And one set to Mr John Thomas§ §for £64 payable to himself or Order, all§ §dated the 14th instant, & drawn at 90 Days sight§ §37 We have given Capt Haggis a permission§ §to receive on board his Ship John Allison, Js Piercy§ §& Wm Ward three discharged Men, they have all§ §signed an instrument, that they will not demand§ §any Wages for their Passage Home, which goes§ §sherewith, Wm Fletcher another discharged Soldier§ §has Entered on board His Majestys Ship Assistance§	The Council had added some cartridge paper for the gunners use, which it asked the Court to send the next year. 36: The Council had granted the following bills of exchange. One to Mr Purling, for £384 10s 10d, payable to Mr Richard Price or order. One to Mr Matthew Bazett, for £420 0s 0d, payable to Captain Charles Fowler or order. One to Captain Henry Bazett, for £300 0s 0d, payable to Mr George Gutheridge or order. One to Mr Sarah Kennedy, for £144 1s 0d, payable to Mr Stephen Winthrop or order. One to Mr William Bezoit, for £60 0s 0d, payable to Mr Matthew Everhard or order. One to Captain Robert Beale, for £45 0s 0d, payable to Andrew Moffatt or order. One to Mrs Mary Legg, for £10 6s 9d, payable to John Christopher Huseman or order. One to Mr William Ley, for £100 0s 0d, payable to Mr Thomas Lee or order. And one to Mr John Thomas, for £64 0s 0d, payable to himself or order, all dated 14 July and drawn at 90 days after sight. 37: The Council had given Captain Haggis permission to receive aboard his ship John Allison, James Piercy and William Ward, three discharged men. They had all signed an instrument agreeing that they would demand no wages for their passage home, which went with this letter. William Fletcher, another discharged soldier, had entered aboard His Majesty's ship <i>Assistance</i>. Interpretations The addition of cartridge paper to the indent, a small item for the gunners use, shows the settlement's dependence on England reaching down even to the materials by which its guns were fired. Cartridge paper wrapped the measured charges of powder for the batteries, so its want could disable the defences as surely as a shortage of powder itself, the modest request revealing how thoroughly the island's military readiness rested on supplies that had to cross an ocean to reach it. The bill payable on behalf of a French name, Huseman, among the settlement's ordinary financial business hints at the varied population the island's dealings touched even in wartime. Amid the bills settling the affairs of Company officers and their families, a payment involving a foreign party marks the mixed character of those who passed through or resided at the station, the routine machinery of exchange serving a community drawn from more than one nation.
191	181	38 We transmit you by this opportunity your§ §General Books of Accounts, Balanced to the§ §11th Octr 1760, to replace those that miscarried§ §by the Ship Ajax§ §39 We have received but 53 of the 56 Recruits§ §you were pleased to send Us, by the Royal Charlotte§ §Wm Atwood, & Michael Piere dying on the Passage§ §& John Bryan having run away, before he left§ §England, At present we want about 30 Men to§ §complete our Establishment, & by April next,§ §near 70 of their Contracted times will expire, &§ §as we cannot rely much on their Relisting,§ §Besides the Deaths & ca that may happen by§ §that time, We for these reasons, shall want at§ §least 70 Recruits, which we hope you will be§ §pleased to send Us§ §40 Capt Norton of His Majestys Ship Assistance§ §& his Purser, applied to Us for £188.7 which§ §Sum we have advanced them, & taken Bills of§ §Exchange, drawn on the Commissioners for§ §Victualling His Majestys Navy, payable to§ §your Honors, or Order, 30 Days after sight§	38: By this opportunity the Council transmitted the Court its general books of accounts, balanced to 11 October 1760, to replace those that were lost in the ship <i>Ajax</i>. 39: The Council had received but 53 of the 56 recruits the Court sent by the <i>Royal Charlotte</i>, William Atwood and Michael Pierce dying on the passage, and John Bryan having run away before he left England. At present it wanted about 30 men to complete its establishment. By April next the contracted times of near 70 of the men would expire, and as the Council could not much rely on their re-enlisting, besides the deaths and the like that might happen by that time, it would for these reasons want at least 70 recruits, which it hoped the Court would send. 40: Captain Norton of His Majesty's ship <i>Assistance</i> and his purser applied to the Council for £188 7s 0d, which sum it advanced them, taking bills of exchange drawn on the commissioners for victualling His Majesty's navy, payable to the Court or order, 30 days after sight, dated 16 July that month. The first bill and letter of advice went with this letter.

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		§dated the 16 instant, the first Bill, & Letter of§ §Advice goes herewith§ §41 Mr John Henderson Surgeon of the§ §Mercury, being very uneasy in his Station, &§ §desirous of returning to England, We have§ §agreed to discharge him from that Vessel, and§	41: Mr John Henderson, surgeon of the <i>Mercury</i>, being very uneasy in his station and desirous of returning to England, the Council agreed to discharge him from that vessel. Interpretations The resending of the general books to replace those lost in the <i>Ajax</i> shows how the capture of a single ship could destroy the settlement's financial record and force the labour of its reconstruction. The accounts carried on the taken vessel had to be balanced afresh and sent again, so the loss of the <i>Ajax</i> cost the Company not only a ship but the duplication of a year's reckoning, the incident revealing how the hazards of the sea reached even into the paper administration of the trade. The manpower reckoning lays bare a garrison perpetually undermanned and facing a fresh wave of expiring enlistments. Short of its establishment even after the latest recruits, and anticipating that seventy men's terms would soon end with little hope of their staying on, the Council projected a need for seventy replacements merely to hold its strength, the arithmetic exposing the chronic difficulty of keeping a remote island manned against the combined drain of death, desertion and the expiry of fixed terms of service.
192	182	acquainted him, his Wages would be paid by your Honrs§ §in England, We have given Capt Rd Hall a permission§ §to receive him on board his Ship§ §42 Martin Richards who is a Carpenter, we§ §have Entertained on board the Mercury, Capt Brooke§ §being kind enough to discharge him from the Earl§ §of Holdernesse, & promises to pay his Wages, to his§ §Attorney in England§ §43 This waits on your Honrs by His Majestys§ §Ship Assistance, which sails from hence with§ §five of your Ships under her Convoy§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most Humble Servants§ §(Signed) Chs Hutchinson§ §St Helena§ §17 June 1762§ §John Shottowe§ §M Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	The Council informed the surgeon that his wages would be paid by the Court in England, and had given Captain Robert Hall permission to receive him aboard his ship. 42: Martin Richards, a carpenter, the Council took aboard the <i>Mercury</i>. Captain Brooke was kind enough to discharge him from the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>, and promised to pay his wages to his attorney in England. 43: This letter came by His Majesty's ship <i>Assistance</i>, which sailed from St Helena with five of the Court's ships under her convoy. The letter closed from St Helena on 17 June 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mark Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The taking on of a carpenter released from a passing Indiaman shows the settlement recruiting skilled men from the fleet to fill its own persistent needs. A tradesman discharged from one ship could be entered on the island's little snow, so the Council drew on the transient labour of the passing vessels to man its establishment, the exchange revealing how a remote station short of every kind of skill made opportunistic use of the men the ships carried through its anchorage. The departure of five Company ships under the convoy of a single King's ship reflects the wartime practice of gathering merchantmen for mutual protection on the exposed passage home. With enemy warships still reported in southern waters and a fresh war with Spain declared, the homeward Indiamen sailed together under naval escort, the arrangement showing how thoroughly the danger at sea shaped the movement of the trade, the ships leaving the island in a guarded company rather than singly.
193	183	List of the Honble Companys Packet from§ §St Helena p His Majestys Ship Assistance, dated the 17§ §June 1762 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils Genl Lettr dated 17th June 1762§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 17 May Do§ §3 Consultns from 18 May to the 16 June Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 6 to 17 May§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Caernarvon§ §6 Second Receipt for Do p Ship Neptune§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard His Majesty's ship <i>Assistance</i>, dated 17 June 1762, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 17 June 1762 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 17 May 3: Consultations from 18 May to 16 June 4: Duplicate consultations from 6 to 17 May 5: First receipt for the packet, per the ship Caernarvon

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		§7 List of Officers & Servants taken 17 June 1762§ §8 Do of 4 Discharged Soldiers§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Caernarvon§ §10 Do List of Garrison Stores remg the 31 May 1762§ §11 Do List of Stores remg in the Honble Compys Ware House§ §31 March 1762§ §12 Do List of Artillery Stores from 30 Septr 1761 to 31 March§ §13 Do Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1763§ §14 Do Indent of Medicines wanted for Do§ §15 Effective State of the Garrison§ §16 Govrs Letter to the Secret Committee§ §17 Cash Act from 18 to 31 May 1762§ §18 Do from the 1 to 17 June Do§ §19 Duplicate Cash Act from 6 to 17 May Do§ §20 Ship Prince Henrys Acct§ §21 Do Tritons Do§ §22 Do Worcesters Do§ §23 Do Prince Georges Do§	6: Second receipt for the same, per the ship Neptune 7: List of officers and servants taken 17 June 1762 8: List of four discharged soldiers 9: Duplicate list of the packet, per the ship Caernarvon 10: List of garrison stores remaining 31 May 1762 11: List of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouse 31 March 1762 12: List of artillery stores from 30 September 1761 to 31 March 13: Indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1763 14: Indent of medicines wanted for the same 15: Effective state of the garrison 16: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 17: Cash account from 18 to 31 May 1762 18: Cash account from 1 to 17 June 19: Duplicate cash account from 6 to 17 May The account at item 20 was tied to the <i>Prince Henry</i>, that at item 21 to the <i>Triton</i>, that at item 22 to the <i>Worcester</i> and that at item 23 to the <i>Prince George</i>.
194	184	No 24 Ship Earl of Holdernes Acct§ §25 Duplicate Ship Caernarvons Do§ §26 Do Norfolks Do§ §27 Do Princess Augustas Do§ §28 Capt Hutchinsons second Receipt for £5§ §29 Act of Ships Book Arrival at Bankes§ §30 General Books of Accounts§ §31 Court Martial from 14 Septr 1761 to 17 June 1762§ §32 Instrument in Writing from 3 Discharged Men§ §33 Capt Nortons first Bill of Exchange & Lr of Advice§ §34 Abstract of the Cargos of Ships Worcester, Prince George§ & Earl of Holdernes§ To the Honble &c§ Honble Sirs§ Our last Address to you went by the§ Convoy, which we hope your Honrs will receive before§ this comes to hand§ On the 29 of last Month, arrived§ a Dane Ship from Bengall, called the Crown Prince§ of Denmark, Capt George Urkinston, Burthen 700 Tons§ carrys 26 Guns, & 126 Men, loaden with Bengall Goods§ bound to Copenhagen, The Capt acquaints Us he§ left Bengal the 21 of March, & your Ships Norfolk§ & Godolphin there, the latter, it was reported was to§ Sail for Europe about the 10th of April, He likewise§	The list of enclosed papers continued. 24: Ship Earl of Holderness account 25: Duplicate ship Caernarvon account 26: Duplicate ship Norfolk account 27: Duplicate ship Princess Augusta account 28: Captain Hutchinson's second receipt for £5 0s 0d 29: Account of ships Brooke arrival at Bankit 30: General books of accounts 31: Court martial from 14 September 1761 to 7 June 1762 32: Instrument in writing from three discharged men 33: Captain Norton's first bill of exchange and letter of advice 34: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships Worcester, Prince George and Earl of Holderness The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by the convoy, which it hoped the Court would receive before this letter came to hand. On 29 June a Danish ship from Bengal arrived, called the <i>Crown Prince of Denmark</i>, commanded by Captain George Urquhart, of 700 tons burden, carrying 26 guns and 120 men, laden with Bengal goods and bound for Copenhagen. The captain reported that he left Bengal on 21 March, and the Court's ships <i>Norfolk</i> and <i>Godolphin</i> there. It was reported that the latter was to sail for Europe about 10 April. He also reported.
195	185	informs Us the Warren left Bengal for Madrass the§ §25 of Feby, And that Admiral Cornish with the§ Squadron under his Command arrived at Fort St George§ the 1 of the same Month in a Sickly condition, Capt§ Elphinston further tells Us, that a Dutch Ship came§ to Bengal the latter end of Feby, that the Captain§ told him, he sailed from Batavia the 7 of Iany§ & that he left a French Ship of 54 Guns, & a Frigate§ of 36 there, but that they were both unrigged, & could§ not put to Sea for want of Men§ This Day your Ship Royal Charlotte§ proceeds on her Voyage to China§ We are§ Honble Sirs§ Your most Obedt & most humble§ Servants Signed§	Captain Urquhart reported that the <i>Warren</i> left Bengal for Madras on 25 February, and that Admiral Cornish with the squadron under his command arrived at Fort St George on 1 February in a sickly condition. Captain Elphinston further reported that a Dutch ship came to Bengal at the latter end of February, and that her captain told him he sailed from Batavia on 7 January, leaving there a French ship of 54 guns and a frigate of 36, both of which were unrigged and could not put to sea for want of men. That day the Court's ship <i>Royal Charlotte</i> proceeded on her voyage to China. The letter closed from St Helena on 4 July 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mark Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The two French warships left unrigged at Batavia for want of men confirm once more the exhaustion

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		§S.t Helena§ §4th July 1762§ §Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §M Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	of French naval power in the eastern seas by this stage of the war. Ships unable to put to sea for lack of crews were no threat at all, so the intelligence reaching St Helena caught the enemy immobilised in a neutral port, the material collapse of French strength showing in vessels that lay useless for want of the men to work them. The arrival of Admiral Cornish's squadron at Madras in a sickly condition points to the toll that disease took on naval forces operating in eastern waters. Even a victorious fleet was worn down by sickness among its crews, so the news reaching the island registered the human cost of sustained operations in a demanding climate, the strength of a squadron measured as much by the health of its men as by the number of its guns. The passage of yet another Danish East Indiaman homeward from Bengal, following the Danish and Prussian ships noted earlier, marks the steady presence of neutral traders drawing on the Indian commerce alongside the Company's own. Vessels of Denmark and Prussia loading in Bengal and calling at the island show that the eastern trade was shared among several European flags despite the war, the Council's record of their cargoes reflecting its attention to the competition its commerce met at its own anchorage.
196	186	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §We Addressed you last, by a Dane§ §Ship, called the Crown Prince of Denmark, which§ §sailed from hence the 4 of July§ §On the 23 of the same Month, arrived§ §the Warren from Madrass, which Place she left the§ §21 of April, Capt Glover acquaints Us, that Admiral§ §Cornish, with five of His Squadron, sailed for§ §Tranquebar a few Days before she left Fort§ §St George§ §The 31 of last Month, arrived a§ §Dutch Ship from Batavia, called the Schoonzigt,§ §Capt Cornelis Peeterse, burthen about 750 Tons§ §carrys 20 Guns, & 107 Men, laden with Pepper§ §Sugar, & Redwood, bound to Amsterdam, The Capt§ §informs Us, he sailed from Batavia the 6 of May§ §& left there an English Man of War unrigged, &§ §two French Frigates, of about eighteen Guns each§ §On the 1 instant, arrived your Ship§ §York from Bombay, which Place she left the 12§ §of May, Capt Lascelles tells Us, the Boscawen§ §sailed for Iudah, & the Earl of Elgin for Mocha§ §about the middle of March last, and the Royal§ §Captain for Gombroon the beginning of April,§ §that the True Briton was to proceed for China,§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by a Danish ship called the <i>Crown Prince of Denmark</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 4 July that month. On 23 July the <i>Warren</i> arrived from Madras, which place she left on 21 April. Captain Glover reported that Admiral Cornish, with five of his squadron, sailed for Trincomalee a few days before she left Fort St George. On 31 July a Dutch ship from Batavia arrived, called the <i>Schoonzigt</i>, commanded by Captain Cornelius Pieters, of about 750 tons burden, carrying 20 guns and 107 men, laden with pepper, sugar and redwood and bound for Amsterdam. The captain reported that he sailed from Batavia on 6 May, and left there an English man of war unrigged, together with two French frigates of about eighteen guns each. On 1 August the Court's ship <i>York</i> arrived from Bombay, which place she left on 12 May. Captain Lascelles reported that the <i>Boscawen</i> sailed for Jidda, and the <i>Earl of Elgin</i> for Mocha, about the middle of March, and the <i>Royal Captain</i> for Gombroon at the beginning of April, and that the <i>True Briton</i> was to proceed for China. Interpretations Redwood, one of the Dutch ship's cargoes, was a dense timber yielding a red dye, gathered in the East Indies and valued like sappanwood for colouring textiles before synthetic dyes existed. Its shipment with pepper and sugar marks the character of the Batavia trade the Dutch carried to Amsterdam, the Council's record of the cargo showing the island noting the composition of the rival commerce that passed its anchorage. The destinations named for the Bombay ships trace the reach of the Company's commerce into the Red Sea and Persian Gulf beyond India itself. Jidda served the pilgrim and coffee trade of the Red Sea, Mocha the coffee ports of Arabia and Gombroon the Persian trade of the Gulf, so the movements reaching St Helena show the Company's traffic extending across the whole of the western Indian Ocean, the island receiving word of markets far removed from the China and Bengal routes that dominated its own shipping.

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			The English warship left unrigged at Batavia, lying alongside two French frigates in the same condition, shows the exhaustion of the war reaching both sides in the eastern seas. Not only French but English vessels now lay idle for want of men or repair in a neutral port, so the intelligence reaching the island caught the naval strength of both belligerents worn down together, the long conflict grinding down the ships of victor and vanquished alike.
197	187	the latter end of May, and the Calcutta to be§ §dispatched for Europe, about three Weeks after him,§ §He likewise informs Us, that three sail of Dutch§ §Ships, & two Frigates, were lost in a violent Gale§ §of Wind the latter end of March last, off the Island§ §of Ceylon, & a large Snow near Anjengo§ §Capt Cornelis Peeterse, applied to Us to pay§ §£760 into your Cash, which Sum we have§ §received, & given him Bills of Exchange, drawn§ §on your Honrs for that Sum, payable to himself§ §or Order, 90 Days after sight, dated the 5 instant§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & most§ §humble Servants§ §(Signed)§ §S.t Helena§ §6th August 1762§ §Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §M Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena, dated 6 August 1762, followed. Captain Lascelles reported that the <i>True Briton</i> was to sail for China at the latter end of May, and the <i>Calcutta</i> to be dispatched for Europe about three weeks after her. He also reported that three sail of Dutch ships and two frigates were lost in a violent gale of wind at the latter end of March off the island of Ceylon, and a large snow near Anjengo. Captain Cornelius Pieters asked the Council to pay £760 0s 0d into the Court's cash, which it received, giving him bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to himself or order, 90 days after sight, dated 5 August that month. The letter closed from St Helena on 6 August 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mark Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick.
198	188	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §1 Our last Advices waited on your Honrs by§ §a Dutch Ship, called the Schoonzigt, which§ §sailed from hence the 6 instant§ §2 Capt Berkley of Ship Salm, borrowed§ §half a Sett of Riga Timber, for a shed, & through§ §mistake, carried it away without paying for it,§ §which we acquaint your Honrs of that the§ §Owners of that Ship, may be charged with it, the§ §price being £4.12§ §3 Mr Thos Hall, Master Gunr representing§ §to Us that the Artillery in all your Settlements,§ §were commanded by a Capt & Lieutenant, & as§ §you have been pleased to appoint Captains to§ §the commands of the four Companys of Infantry,§ §he hopes to be put upon the same Establishment,§ §He has been very Assiduous & careful in his§ §Station, & as his company consists of as many§ §Men, as the others do, we think in case of§ §Action, that it would be Absolutely necessary§ §to have another Officer in the company of§ §Artillery, therefore hope you will be pleased to§ §appoint Mr Hall a Capt, & have a Lieut§ §likewise added to it§	The Council addressed its letter to the Honourable Court of Directors. 1: The Council's last letter to the Court was sent by a Dutch ship called the <i>Schoonzigt</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 6 August that month. 2: Captain Berkley of the ship <i>Latham</i> borrowed half a load of Riga timber for a shed, and through mistake carried it away without paying for it. The Council asked that the owners of that ship be charged with it, the price being £4 12s 0d. 3: Mr Thomas Hall, the master gunner, represented to the Council that the artillery in all the Court's settlements was commanded by a captain and lieutenant, and since the Court had appointed captains to command the four companies of infantry, he hoped to be placed on the same footing. He had been very diligent and careful in his station, and as his company had as many men as the others, the Council thought it absolutely necessary, in case of action, to have another officer in the company of artillery. It therefore hoped the Court would appoint Mr Hall a captain, and have a lieutenant added to it.
199	189	4 We thought it for your Honrs Interest to give§ §a small premium to the Soldrs whose time will§ §expire the next Year, to be deducted out of the £10§ §given them for Bounty Money, by which means§ §we have already engaged, upwards of thirty of them,§ §this method we think would prevent many of them§ §from Leaving the Island, when their Service are out, for it is very precarious Relisting them at that time§ §The Recruits recd by the Royal Charlotte, are but§ §indifferent, some of them being very old, & others§ §Boys, that by the time they will be fit for Service§ §will be returning to England§ §5 Henry Johnson who came a Soldier here in§ §the Earl of Holderness, representing to Us, that he§ §had some Affairs of consequence to transact in§ §England, which requires his being there, Requested§	4: The Council thought it in the Court's interest to give a small premium to the soldiers whose terms would expire the next year, to be deducted from the £10 0s 0d given them for bounty money. By this means it had already engaged upwards of thirty of them. This method, being very inexpensive, would prevent many of them from leaving the island when their terms were out. The recruits received by the <i>Royal Charlotte</i> were but poor, some being very old and others boys, so that by the time they were fit for service they would be returning to England. 5: Henry Johnson, who came out as a soldier aboard the <i>Earl of Holderness</i>, represented to the Council that he had some affairs of consequence to settle in England requiring his presence there, and asked for his discharge. Having found another man

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		§his Discharge, & having procured another Man to§ §serve your Honrs five Years, we have Granted it,§ §& put him on board the Ship <i>York</i>, towards§ §compleating her Company, We have likewise§ §put on board the Warren John Deer, & Archibald§ §Logue two discharged Men, towards filling up§ §her complement§ §6 Capt Wm Harrold representing to Us, that§ §he was at an extraordinary Expence for keeping§ §a Table for himself & Officers, & that it was§ §customary to be allowed a Stipulated Sum, upon§ §that Account, We Request to know, whether your§ §Honrs§	to serve the Court five years, he was granted it and put aboard the ship <i>York</i>, towards completing her company. The Council had likewise put aboard the <i>Warren</i> John Deer and Archibald Logue, two discharged men, towards filling up her complement. 6: Captain William Harold represented to the Council that he was at extraordinary expense in keeping a table for himself and his officers, and that it was usual to be allowed a fixed sum on that account. He asked the Council to know whether the Court. Interpretations The small premium offered to re-engage soldiers, cleverly drawn from their own bounty money, shows the Council devising a low-cost inducement to hold men whose terms were expiring. Rather than raise pay, it withheld part of the bounty and returned it as a re-enlistment premium, so the scheme cost the Company almost nothing while securing upwards of thirty men, the arrangement revealing the ingenuity with which a remote garrison sought to retain its trained soldiers against the constant drain of expiring service. The poor quality of the latest recruits, aged men and boys unfit for present service, exposes the difficulty of manning a distant station with the material England sent. Men too old or too young to be of immediate use consumed passage and provision while contributing little, so the Council's complaint that they would be homeward-bound by the time they were serviceable lays bare the waste in a recruitment system that filled its quotas with those least suited to the work required. Johnson's discharge, granted only once he had found a replacement bound to five years service, shows the Council conditioning release on the preservation of its numbers. A man could not simply leave but had to supply a substitute, so the garrison's strength was protected even as individuals departed, the arrangement revealing how the settlement balanced the personal claims of its soldiers against the standing need to keep its establishment filled at an exposed post.
200	190	Honors will be pleased to give him so much a Year for§ §his Table, or pay the extraordinary Expence he is§ §at for it§ §7 Mr Jas Merryweather Chief, & Mr John§ §Parkenson Second Mate, of the Mercury Snow,§ §representing to Us, that the two Months Pay in§ §lieu, they receive here, is not sufficient, for their§ §support, We agreed to advance each of them§ §five Months Wages, as you will please to observe§ §in our Consultation of the 21 of last Month, We§ §desire you will give Us directions on this head, that§ §we may know what Wages to advance the§ §People of the two Vessels, in case of their making§ §application to Us, for Money§ §8 You will likewise please to Observe in§ §the Consultation beforementioned, that we have§ §Entertained Mr Alexr Alexander, to be Surgeon of§ §the Mercury Snow, at the usual Salary, in the§ §room of Mr John Henderson, who proceeds to§ §England on the Ship Worcester§ §9 Being apprehensive we shall get but§ §little Money the next Year, for Bills upon your§ §Honrs we shall want, at least three Chests of§ §Treasure for your use, which we hope you will§ §be pleased to send Us in Dollars§ §10 As the Majestys Ships that arrive§ §here, do not return the Salute of the Fort, we§ §desire to know, whether we are to continue§	The Council asked the Court to allow the master gunner so much a year for his table, or to pay the extra expense he was at for it. 7: Mr John Merryweather, chief mate, and Mr John Parkinson, second mate, of the <i>Mercury</i> snow represented to the Council that the two months pay they received at St Helena was not sufficient for their support. The Council agreed to advance each of them five months wages, as would appear in its consultation of 21 August. It asked the Court for directions on this head, so that it might know what wages to advance the people of the two vessels should they apply for money. 8: The Council had taken on Mr Henry Alexander as surgeon of the <i>Mercury</i> snow, at the usual salary, in the place of Mr John Henderson, who had gone to England aboard the ship <i>Worcester</i>. 9: Since the Council expected to get but little money the next year for bills upon the Court, it would want at least three chests of treasure for the Court's use, which it hoped the Court would send in dollars. 10: As His Majesty's ships that arrived at St Helena did not return the salute of the fort, the Council wished to know whether it was to continue. Interpretations The request for treasure in dollars reflects the settlement's need for a currency it could actually use when its usual means of raising money failed. Bills on the Court depended on there being buyers for them, and when few offered, the island wanted physical silver instead, the Spanish dollar being the

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			common coin of the eastern trade, so the Council asked for specie in a recognised form to meet the costs that paper credit could not cover in a lean year. The question over the unreturned salute exposes a point of ceremonial precedence between the Company's fort and the King's ships that touched at the island. A salute answered acknowledged the standing of the settlement, and its omission by naval vessels raised a matter of dignity the Council would not settle on its own, referring it to the Court, the episode showing how questions of honour and rank between the Company and the navy required guidance from a distant authority to resolve. The advance of five months wages to the mates, against the two months normally paid, shows the Council stretching its discretion to keep the crews of its own vessels content and supplied. The men could not subsist on the standard allowance, so the Council granted more and sought the Court's sanction after the fact, the appeal for directions revealing its wish to regularise a concession it had felt obliged to make, caught between the needs of its seamen and the limits of its authority over their pay.
201	191	to Salute them your Honrs Ships when lying in the Road§ §do not, We therefore think it inconvenient for Us§ §to do it§ §11 The Govr wanting a Person to Assist him as§ §a Clerk, pitched upon Mr Rd Saw for that purpose,§ §to whom we have allowed £40 a Year, And as§ §the multiplicity of Business in the Secretarys§ §Office, makes it Absolutely necessary to have§ §another Assistant there, we have Entertained Mr§ §Britannicus Wright, Son of Mr Robert Wright, who§ §died here lately in Council, & left his Family in a§ §very distressed situation, to be a Writer at the usual§ §Salary, as you will be pleased to Observe in our§ §Consultation of the 5 of last Month, which§ §appointments we hope will meet with your§ §approbation§ §12 We Ordered the Effects of Chas Horner, who§ §died Intestate, to be Sold, & the Balance amounting§ §to £8.11.3 after his Debts were paid, to be§ §deposited in your Cash, & wrote off to Account§ §Current London, as mentioned in our Consultation of§ §the 21 of July last§ §13 The Passengers upon the Ship Warren are§ §Capt Harte Duave, & Smith, Mr Poester & Wife, &§ §Messrs Bullock, Seaber, Taylor, Halfpeny, and§ §Robinson, And on board the York, Messrs Hearne§ §Alvey, Bell, West, & Wells, There are Likewise§ §several French Gentlemen Prisoners on board§	Since the King's ships did not return the salute of the fort when lying in the road, the Council thought it inconvenient to continue it. 11: The Governor, wanting a person to assist him as a clerk, chose Mr Robert Law for the purpose, and allowed him £40 0s 0d a year. As the multiplicity of business in the Secretary's office made another assistant there absolutely necessary, the Council took on Mr Britannicus Wright, son of Mr Robert Wright, who had lately died at St Helena and left his family in very poor circumstances, to be a writer at the usual salary, as would appear in its consultation of 5 August. It hoped these appointments would meet with the Court's approval. 12: The Council ordered the effects of Charles Horner, who died intestate, to be sold, and the balance, amounting to £8 11s 3d after his debts were paid, to be deposited in the Court's cash and written off to the account current at London, as mentioned in its consultation of 21 July. 13: The passengers aboard the ship <i>Warren</i> were Captain Hart Dewar and Smith, Mr Proctor and his wife, and Messrs Bullock, Seaber, Taylor, Halfpenny and Robinson. Aboard the <i>York</i> were Messrs Hearne, Alvey, Bell, Webb and Wells. There were likewise several French gentlemen prisoners aboard these ships.
202	192	these Ships, as you will see by their Muster§ §Rolls, entered in our Consultation of the 12 instant§ §14 We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange viz One Set to Chs Hutchinson Esq§ §for £229.9.3 payable to Maurice Johnson Esq,§ §or Order, Two sets to John Shottowe Esq, One for§ §£200 payable to Robert Wood Esq, or Order, &§ §one sets for £26 payable to himself, or Order,§ §One set to Messrs Matthw Purling, & H J Bazett for§ §£807.15.9 payable to Capt John Clark, or Order,§ §One set to Mr Wm Wrangham for £114.3.7§ §payable to Capt John Bedrand, or Order, One set,§ §to Mr Thos Greentree for £101.10 payable to§ §Mr Mary Adamson, or Order, And one set to Mr§ §Wm Ley for £200 payable to Mr Thos Lee, or§ §Order, All drawn at 90 Days sight, & dated§ §the 12 instant§ §15 Capt Alphonsus Glover, applied to Us§ §for £150 for the use of the Ship Warren,§ §which we have advanced him, & taken Bills§	These prisoners appeared on the muster rolls entered in the Council's consultation of 18 August. 14: The Council had granted the following bills of exchange. One to Charles Hutchinson, for £229 9s 3d, payable to Maurice Johnson or order. Two to John Skottowe, one for £200 0s 0d, payable to Robert Wood or order, and one for £26 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One to Mr Matthew Purling and Mr H J Bazett, for £807 15s 9d, payable to Captain John Clark or order. One to Mr William Wrangham, for £444 3s 7d, payable to Captain John Bedrand or order. One to Mr Thomas Greentree, for £101 10s 0d, payable to Mrs Mary Adamson or order. And one to Mr William Ley, for £200 0s 0d, payable to Mr Thomas Lee or order, all drawn at 90 days after sight and dated 18 August that month. 15: Captain Alphonso Glover applied to the Council for £150 0s 0d for the use of the ship <i>Warren</i>, which it advanced him, taking bills of exchange drawn on Robert Crabb for that sum, payable to the Court or order, 90 days after sight,

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		§of Exchange drawn upon Rd Crabb Esq, for§ §that Sum, payable to your Honrs or Order, 90§ §Days after sight, dated the 12th instant, the§ §first Bill & Letter of Advice goes herewith§ §16 We found it Absolutely necessary to§ §make a further Indent for some things we§ §shall be in want of the next Year, which§	dated 12 August that month. The first bill and letter of advice went with this letter. 16: The Council found it absolutely necessary to make a further indent for some things it would want the next year. Interpretations The advance to Captain Glover drawn on a named private party rather than on the Court itself marks a variation in the credit machinery the settlement worked. Where most bills were payable by the Company in London, this one was drawn on an individual, so the island's paper could be directed to whatever party would ultimately answer for it, the arrangement showing the flexibility of the bill of exchange in channelling debts to their proper source across the distance between the anchorage and home. The need for a further indent for goods wanted the next year, made after the main requisition had gone, shows how the settlement's supply planning had constantly to be revised as fresh wants appeared. A single yearly order could not anticipate every need, so supplementary indents followed to fill the gaps, the practice revealing the difficulty of provisioning a remote station a full year in advance, its requirements shifting faster than the long cycle of order and delivery could accommodate.
203	193	We hope you will be pleased to send Us§ §17 This waits on you, by your Honrs Ship Warren§ §which sails in company with your Ship York§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §S.t Helena§ §15th August 1762§ §Your most Obedt & most§ §humble Servants§ §(Signed) Chs Hutchinson§ §John Shottowe§ §M Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honble Compys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Warren, dated the 15th Augt 1762 viz§ §No 1 Govr & Councils Genl Lettr dated the 15 Augt 1762§ §2 Do & Do dated the 15 Do Do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do & Do dated the 17 June Do§ §4 Do Do & Do dated the 4 July Do§ §5 Do Do & Do dated the 6 Augt Do§ §6 Consultations from the 21 June to the 12 Do Do§ §7 Duplicate Do from the 18 May to the 16 June Do§ §8 First Receipt for the Packet p His Majestys Ship Assistance§ §9 First Do for a Paper Do p Ship Earl of Holdernes§ §10 Second Do for Do p Ship Caernarvon§	The Council hoped the Court would be pleased to send these things. 17: This letter came by the Court's ship <i>Warren</i>, which sailed in company with the Court's ship <i>York</i>. The letter closed from St Helena on 15 August 1762, signed by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mark Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. A list of the papers sent by the Honourable Company from St Helena aboard the ship <i>Warren</i>, dated 15 August 1762, followed. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 16 August 1762 2: Duplicate of the same and its enclosures, dated 16 August, relating to law matters 3: Duplicate consultations and enclosures, dated 17 June 4: Duplicate consultations and enclosures, dated 4 July 5: Duplicate consultations and enclosures, dated 6 August 6: Consultations from 21 June to 18 August 7: Duplicate consultations from 18 May to 16 June 8: First receipt for the packet, per His Majesty's ship Assistance 9: First receipt for a paper of the same, per the ship Earl of Holderness 10: Second receipt for the same, per the ship Caernarvon
204	194	No 11 List of Officers & Servts taken the 15th Augt 1762§ §12 Do of three discharged Soldiers§ §13 Duplicate List of the Packet p His Majestys Ship Assistance§ §14 Effective State of the Garrison§ §15 Muster Rolls of Do§ §16 Govrs Lettr to the Secret Committee§ §17 Cash Act from the 10th to the 30 June 1762§ §18 Do for the Month of July Do§ §19 Do from the 1 to the 15 Augt Do§ §20 Duplicate Do from 18 to 31 May Do§ §21 Do Do from 1 to 17 June Do§ §22 Ship Warrens Account§ §23 Do Yorks Do§ §24 Duplicate Ship Prince Henrys Do§ §25 Do Ship Tritons Do§ §26 Do Ship Worcesters Do§	The list of enclosed papers continued. 11: List of officers and servants taken 16 August 1762 12: List of three discharged soldiers 13: Duplicate list of the packet, per His Majesty's ship Assistance 14: Effective state of the garrison 15: Muster rolls of the same 16: Governor and Council's letter to the Secret Committee 17: Cash account from 10 to 30 June 1762 18: Cash account for the month of July 19: Cash account from 1 to 16 August 20: Duplicate cash account from 18 to 31 May 21: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 17 June 22: Ship Warren account 23: Ship York account 24: Duplicate ship Prince Henry account

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		§27 Do Ship Prince Georges Do§ §28 Do Ship Earl of Holdernessee Do§ §29 Do Account of Ships Boats arrival at Bankss§ §30 Capt Nortons Second Bill of Exchange & Lr of Advice§ §31 Abstract of the Cargos of Ship Warren & York§ §32 Catalogue of Law Books§ §33 Paterns of Files to be sent for the Armourers use§ §34 A Further Indent for the Service of the Year 1763§ §35 Duplicate Additional Indent for Do§ §36 Certificate of Provisions landed here out of the Ship Royal§ §Charlotte§ §37 System of Laws & ca§ §38 Capt Glovers First Bill of Exchange & Lr of Advice§ §39 Ship Royal Charlottes Account§ §40 List of Marriages & ca§	25: Duplicate ship Triton account 26: Duplicate ship Worcester account 27: Duplicate ship Prince George account 28: Duplicate ship Earl of Holderness account 29: Account of ships boats arrival at Bankit 30: Captain Norton's second bill of exchange and letter of advice 31: Abstract of the cargoes of the ships Warren and York 32: Catalogue of law books 33: Patterns of files to be sent for the armourers use 34: A further indent for the service of the year 1763 35: Duplicate additional indent for the same 36: Certificate of provisions landed at St Helena out of the ship Royal Charlotte 37: System of laws and the like 38: Captain Glover's first bill of exchange and letter of advice 39: Ship Royal Charlotte account 40: List of marriages and the like
205	195	To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We Addressed you last by the Ship Warren§ §which sailed from hence the 16th August in company§ §with your Honors Ships &ca§ §On the 2d of last Month arrived the Calcutta§ §last from Fillicherry, which Place she left the 20th§ §May. Capt Thomson acquaint Us the General§ §Lawrence arrived at Bombay the 30 April from§ §England, that the Snow Snilow sailed from Fillicherry§ §for Madrass the 19 May, & was to proceed from thence§ §for China, Capt Crichton informed them the Royal§ §Captain returned from Gombroon to Bombay the 5th§ §May, & was to be despatched immediately for§ §Madrass, & from thence to go for China, Capt§ §Thomson likewise acquaint Us he saw two Ships§ §in the Latitude of 36.10 South bearing SbE from§ §Cape Bon Esperance, but did not speak with§ §them, by the Course they Steard he judged they§ §were two of your Honors Ships bound to Bombay§ §endeavouring to gain the Inward Passage§ §We request your Honrs will be pleased§ §to inform Us whether a Deposition taken before§ §one of the Justices here, is to be allowed as§ §Evidence against a Felon on his Trial, when§ §the Deponent has left the Island, as many§	To the Honourable, etc. Honoured Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Warren</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 16 August together with the rest of the Court's ships. 2: On 2 of the previous month the <i>Calcutta</i> arrived, coming last from Tellicherry, which she had left on 20 May. Captain Thomson told the Council that the <i>General Lawrence</i> had reached Bombay on 30 April from England, and that the <i>Snow Milton</i> had sailed from Tellicherry for Madras on 19 May, meaning to go on from there to China. Captain Crichton informed him that the <i>Royal Captain</i> returned from Gombroon to Bombay on 5 May and was to be sent off at once for Madras, and from there on to China. Captain Thomson also reported that he had seen two ships in latitude 36° 10' south, bearing south-south-east from Cape Bon Esperance, but had not spoken with them. From the course they held, he judged them to be two of the Court's ships bound for Bombay and trying to gain the inward passage. 3: The Council asked the Court to say whether a deposition taken before one of the justices here could be allowed as evidence against a felon at his trial once the deponent had left the island, since many robberies [...] Interpretations The <i>Snow Milton</i> was a snow, a two-masted merchant vessel similar to a brig but carrying an additional trysail mast just behind the mainmast, commonly used on the India and China routes of this period. Gombroon was the English name for Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf, the East India Company's principal trading post for Persia and a regular staging point for ships running between Bombay and the Gulf. The question the Council put to the Court in the third paragraph turned on a genuine gap in the island's legal machinery. A deposition sworn before a magistrate was ordinarily admissible only where the witness could not be produced in person, and the concern here was whether a statement taken from someone who had since sailed away on a passing ship, and so could never be cross-examined, would stand as evidence against an accused facing a capital charge. St Helena depended entirely on transient shipping for its contact with the outside world, so witnesses to a crime were frequently gone within weeks, leaving the court to rely on written statements or abandon a prosecution.

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<u>206</u>	196	Robberys are committed just before the Ships sail from§ §hence, & consequently the Persons from whom they§ §Goods have been Stole, cannot be upon the Spot,§ §to prosecute, unless they are inclined to Any, or we§ §have a right to Oblige them§ §We are at a loss to know whether we have§ §a power to pardon a Criminal after condemnation,§ §therefore desire you will be pleased to inform Us§ §whether we have that Authority or no§ §As the Commanders of your Ships some times§ §want Money of Us on Accounts of their Owners, &§ §we have no direction to charge any premium§ §upon it here, We desire to know whether in§ §circumstances of this kind in future, we are to§ §charge any premium, & if so how much & what§ §it is to be§ §The Salt Provisions received this Year§ §are not so good as Usual, neither are the pieces§ §of the proper weight, many of the English§ §Beef are Shoulder Blades, & do not weigh§ §above 12, & at least one third of the weight§ §Bones, among the Irish Pork, there are many§ §pieces of the Flocks, which we never received§ §before, We thought it necessary to acquaint§ §your Honrs with regard to this Article, as it may§ §be the cause of murmuring among the§ §Soldrs to pay 2d per lb of Meat that has a little§ §Flesh upon it, & which is to support them a Week§	Robberies were committed just before the ships sailed from St Helena, so the people from whom the goods had been stolen could not be on the spot to prosecute, unless they chose to stay of their own accord, since no one had a right to compel them. 4: The Council was uncertain whether it held any power to pardon a criminal after condemnation, and asked the Court to say whether that authority rested with it or not. 5: The commanders of the Court's ships sometimes needed money from the Council on their owners' account, and the Council had no instruction allowing it to charge any premium on such sums here. The Council asked whether, in cases of this kind in future, it should charge a premium, and if so how much it was to be. 6: The salt provisions received this year were not as good as usual, nor were the pieces of the proper weight. Many of the English beef pieces were shoulder blades and weighed no more than two pounds each, at least a third of that weight being bone. Among the Irish pork there were many pieces of the hocks, which the Council had never received before. The Council thought it necessary to lay this matter before the Court, since it might well cause grumbling among the soldiers at having to pay twopence for a pound of meat that carried little flesh, and which was meant to feed them for a week. Interpretations The salt provisions were meat preserved in salt for long keeping and shipped from Europe to victual the garrison, since a small island could not raise enough fresh beef and pork to feed its soldiers year round. The complaint here was one of quality and short measure. Shoulder blades and hock ends were the cheapest and boniest cuts of the carcase, and a barrel packed with these instead of proper joints gave the men far less edible meat than the weight suggested, while the salting concealed the substitution until the barrel was opened at St Helena. The soldiers bought their ration meat rather than receiving it free, paying twopence a pound out of their wages, so a barrel of bone and gristle meant they were charged full price for food that would not sustain them. The Council's worry was practical: underfed and overcharged troops were prone to discontent, and on an isolated station where the garrison was the only force keeping order, that discontent carried a real risk.
<u>207</u>	197	We have the pleasure to acquaint you the§ §disorder among the Cattle, is greatly ceased, which§ §makes Us flatter ourselves it is going off. Inclosed§ §we have transmitted a Sample of the Grass we call§ §Canary, & by all appearance it is the same as what§ §growing in England. Since sending our Indent, we§ §find ourselves in want of Pasture for breeding§ §Cattle, we therefore request, you will be pleased to§ §Order eight Cases to be sent Us by the Store Ship, as§ §likewise a Land Bell proper for a publick Cryer§ §Capt Harrold informing Us there is ten & § §Cent lost upon the Dollar, & upwards of twenty & § §Cent§ §all other Specie he takes from hence to the Cape to§ §purchase Provisions for the Island; And as the§ §Exchange upon Bills is only eight & Cent, and§ §the Dutch as he tells Us had rather have Bills§ §than money, & it being more Convenient for Us§ §we for these reasons shall direct Capt Harrold§ §in future to draw Bills upon your Honors for§ §what Money he may be in want off§ §We have put on board the Ship Calcutta§ §towards compleating her Company Jeremiah§ §Tucker, Rd Bliss, Joseph Turner, Obn Tomkins§ §four discharged Men from the Mercury Snow§	7: The Council was glad to report that the sickness among the cattle had greatly abated, which gave hope that it was passing off. Enclosed with the letter was a sample of the grass known here as canary, which by every appearance was the same as that growing in England. Since sending its earlier account, the Council found itself short of pasture for breeding cattle, and so asked the Court to order eight cases to be sent out by the store ship, along with a hand bell suitable for a public crier. 8: Captain Harrold told the Council that ten per cent was lost on the dollar, and upwards of twenty per cent on all other coin he took from St Helena to the Cape to buy provisions for the island. Since the exchange on bills was only eight per cent, and the Dutch, as he reported, would rather have bills than money, and since it was more convenient for the Council, it would for these reasons direct Captain Harrold in future to draw bills on the Court for whatever money he might need. 9: The Council put aboard the <i>Calcutta</i>, to help make up her crew, Jeremiah Tucker, Richard Bliss, Joseph Turner and Obadiah Tomkins, four men discharged from the <i>Mercury Snow</i> who were unwilling to stay aboard that vessel any longer, and whom Captain Harrold was willing to release. The

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		§who were not inclined to remain longer on§ §board that Vessel, & Capt Harrold was willing to§ §part with, We have likewise given Capt§ §Thomson an Order to receive on board his§	Council also gave Captain Thomson an order to receive aboard his [...] Interpretations The grass called canary was a fodder grass the settlers were trying to establish as pasture, and the Council's care to send a sample home and confirm it matched the English plant reflected a working effort to raise breeding herds on an island whose native vegetation gave poor grazing. The request for eight cases of it, sent alongside the report that the cattle sickness was easing, shows the administration rebuilding its livestock after a damaging outbreak. The premium Captain Harrold lost when carrying coin to the Cape lay at the heart of the eighth paragraph. Silver dollars and other specie fetched less at the Cape than their face value, so paying the Dutch in cash meant an immediate loss of a tenth or more, whereas a bill of exchange drawn on the Company in London cost only eight per cent and was preferred by the Dutch sellers. By switching from carrying coin to drawing bills, the Council cut its costs and kept scarce hard currency on the island rather than shipping it away to be spent at a discount. Speculations The obvious course for buying provisions at the Cape was to send hard coin, the universally accepted means of payment, and that was what Captain Harrold had been doing. The Council chose instead to have him draw bills of exchange on the Court in London, a slower and more complex instrument that depended on the Company's credit holding good across the distance. What tipped the decision was the arithmetic Harrold laid out: coin lost ten to twenty per cent at the Cape while bills cost only eight, and the Dutch sellers actually preferred the paper, so the less obvious method turned out both cheaper and easier to place.
208	198	Ship Thos Bernard, Wm Mean, Jas Hynds, Robt§ §Marlon & John Hayly five Invalid Soldiers, &§ §have paid him £26 for their Passage, the§ §Invalids have all signed an instrument thas§ §they will not demand any Wages for their§ §Voyage Home, which goes enclosed, together with§ §the Surgeons Certificate§ §Mr Henry Alexander who we entertained§ §as Surgeon of the Mercury representing to Us§ §that he had an Account of the Death of his§ §Father, & that it would be almost his ruin§ §if he did not return to England by this Ship§ §to settle his Affairs, We in consideration thereof§ §granted his request, & have given Capt Thomson§ §a permission to receive him on board§ §The Passengers on board this Ship are§ §Mr Northcot, & Capt Woodson & Wife, with nineteen§ §French Prisoners. As some of those Gentlemen§ §were sick upon the Calcutta's arrival, & the others§ §not in a good State of Health, from their being§ §on board so long, and the Ship being very§ §weakly Manned, We thought it advisable to§ §permit them to come on shore, your Honors being§ §put to no Expence on their Account§ §Messrs McCurling & Hy Bazett applied§ §to Us to pay £174 16 into your Cash, which§ §we have recd & given them Bills of Exchange§ §drawn on your Honrs for that Sum, payable§	The order directed Captain Thomson to receive aboard his ship five invalid soldiers, William Bernard, William Mean, James Hynds, Robert Marston and John Hawley, and the Council paid him £25 for their passage. The invalids all signed an agreement that they would demand no wages for their voyage home, which went enclosed together with the surgeon's certificate. 10: Henry Alexander, whom the Council had taken on as surgeon of the <i>Mercury</i>, told the Council that he had received word of his father's death, and that it would be almost his ruin if he did not return to England by this ship to settle his affairs. The Council granted his request in view of this, and gave Captain Thomson permission to receive him aboard. 11: The passengers aboard this ship were Mr Northcote, Captain Woodson and his wife, together with nineteen French prisoners. Some of these gentlemen had been sick when the <i>Calcutta</i> arrived, and were not in good health from having been aboard so long, the ship being very weakly manned. The Council thought it advisable to allow them to come ashore, since the Court would be put to no expense on their account. 12: Messrs Curling and Bazett applied to the Council to pay £174 16s 0d into its cash, which the Council received, giving them bills of exchange drawn on the Court for that sum, payable [...] Interpretations The invalid soldiers were troops no longer fit for service being sent home, and the agreement they signed to claim no wages for the voyage was a condition of their free passage. This let the Company clear unfit men off its distant garrison at a fixed cost of £25 for the group rather than carrying them on the payroll indefinitely, the signed waiver protecting it against later claims once the men reached England.

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			The nineteen French prisoners aboard the <i>Calcutta</i> reflected the wider maritime war, in which enemy crews taken at sea were carried between stations until they could be exchanged or landed. The Council's decision to let the sick passengers ashore rested explicitly on cost: because the Court would bear no charge for their keep, humane treatment and thrift pointed the same way. The bills of exchange in the twelfth paragraph show the island working as a node in the Company's financial network. Private parties handed cash to the Council on the spot and received in return a written order for the same sum payable in London, sparing themselves the danger of carrying coin on a long sea voyage while giving the island the ready money it needed locally.
209	199	to Capt John Clark, or Order, 90 Days after sight, &§ §dated the 30 of last Month§ §As the Quarters Accounts will not be laid§ §before Us, until the 18th instant, we cannot therefore§ §transmit your Honrs a Cash Account to a later§ §date than the 31 August last§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedt & humble Servants§ §(signed) Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §St Helena§ §2nd Octr 1762§ §List of the Honble Compys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Calcutta dated the 2d Octr 1762 vizt§ §No 1 Govr Honnrale Genl Lettr dated 2nd Octr 1762§ §2 Duplicate Do &c Do dated 15 Aug Do§ §3 Do Do & Do dated 15 Do relatg to Lascar matters§ §4 Consultn from 16 Aug to 30th Sepr 1762§ §5 Duplicate Do from 21st June to 12 Aug Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Warren§ §7 Second Do for Do & the Nagashy's Ship Assurance§ §8 Do Do for a Paper Do & Ship Earl of Holderness§	The bills were made payable to Captain John Clark or order, 90 days after sight, and dated the 30 of the previous month. 13: Since the quarter's accounts would not be laid before the Council until the 18 of this month, the Council could not send the Court a cash account to a later date than 31 August. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honoured Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 2 October 1762 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>, dated 2 October 1762, as follows. The <i>Warren</i> appears at item 6 and the <i>Calcutta</i> in the heading; the remaining items are set out below. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 2 October 1762 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 15 August, the same year 3: The same, dated 15 August, the last to Fort St George 4: Consultations from 16 August to 30 September 1762 5: Duplicate of the same, from 21 June to 12 August, the same year The first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Warren</i>. 7: Second receipt for the same, for the ship's allowance 8: The same, for a paper on the ship Earl of Holderness Interpretations The packet was the sealed bundle of official correspondence and duplicate copies sent home to the Court by each available ship. Copies of the same letters travelled separately on different vessels, as items 2, 3 and 5 show, so that the loss or capture of one ship would not sever communication between the island and London. The dating of each duplicate to its own consultation period let the Court track which reports it had received and identify any gap in the sequence. The bills payable 90 days after sight gave the drawee three months from presentation before payment fell due, a standard interval that allowed time for the paper to be verified and for funds to be arranged, while the maker retained use of the money in the meantime.
210	200	No 9 List of Officers & Servants taken 2nd Octr 1762§ §10 Duplicate Do of three discharged Soldiers§ §11 Do Do of the Packet & Ship Warren§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Muster Rolls of Do§ §14 Govrs Letter to the Secret Committee§ §15 Cash Acct from 15th to 31 Augt 1762§	The list of enclosures continued, several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. 9: List of officers and servants, taken 2 October 1762 10: Duplicate of the same, of three discharged soldiers

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		§16 Duplicate Do from 1st to 31 June Do§ §17 Do Do for the Month of July Do§ §18 Do from the 1st to 15th Aug Do Do§ §19 Ship Calcuttas Acct§ §20 Duplicate Ship Warren Do§ §21 Do Ship Yorke Do§ §22 Do Ship Royal Charlotte Do§ §23 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Calcutta§ §24 Duplicate Catalogue of Law Books§ §25 Do of a Further Indent for the service of the Year 1763§ §26 Do Certificate of Provisions landed here out of the§ §Ship Royal Charlotte§ §27 Capt Glovers Second Bill of Exchange & Do & Chas§ §28 Duplicate List of Marriages &ca§ §29 List of Cattle returned & killed in the Year 1762§ §30 Capt Thomsons first Receipt for £25§ §31 List of 5 Invalid Soldrs§ §32 Surgeons Certificate of Do§ §33 Sample of Grass§ §34 Instrument in Writing from 5 discharged Soldrs§	Item 11 was a duplicate of the same, being the packet sent by the ship <i>Warren</i>. 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Muster rolls of the same 14: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 15: Cash account from 15 to 31 August 1762 16: Duplicate of the same, from 18 to 30 June, the same year 17: The same, for the month of July, the same year 18: The same, from 1 to 15 August, the same year Item 19 was the ship <i>Calcutta</i>'s account. Item 20 was the duplicate for the ship <i>Warren</i>. Item 21 was the same for the ship <i>Yorke</i>. Item 22 was the same for the ship <i>Royal Charlotte</i>. Item 23 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Calcutta</i>. 24: Duplicate catalogue of law books 25: The same, for a further indent for the service of the year 1763 Item 26 was a duplicate certificate of provisions landed here out of the ship <i>Royal Charlotte</i>. 27: Captain Glover's second bill of exchange and list of stores 28: Duplicate list of marriages, etc. 29: List of cattle reared and killed in the year 1762 30: Captain Thomson's first receipt for £25 31: List of five invalid soldiers 32: Surgeon's certificate of the same 33: Sample of grass 34: Instrument in writing from five discharged soldiers
211	201	To the Honorable &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Advice to You went by your Honors Ship§ §Calcutta, which sailed from hence the 3d October 1762§ §On the third Instant Arrived His Majestys Ship§ §Sea Horse from Manila which Place she left the 13th November§ §last, We are informed that Admiral Cornish sailed from§ §Madras for that Place the 1st August with eight Sail of§ §the Line, three Frigates two Store Ships, and Yours Honors Ships§ §Ysex and Osterly, That he had on board General Draper§ §Colonels Monson, and Scott, & Mr Drake, & several other Gentlemen§ §from Madras, and about 2130 Land Forces, They Arrived at§ §Manila the 23d Sepr and on the 6th October it was taken,§ §Mr Drake is left Governor, and Major Fell of Generals§ §Drapers Rigiment commands the Forces; all the Troops as we are§ §told are left to Garrison the Place, That His Majestys Ships§ §Elizabeth, and Weymouth were to be Despatched about a Month§ §after the Sea Horse left Manila, to the Streights of Malacca§ §to Convoy in your Homeward bound China Ships through§ §those Streights§ §We are likewise informed that the Ysex and Osterly§ §Sailed for China the 17 October, That your Honors Ships§ §Admiral Watson, Tilbury Clinton, Fox, and Royal George§ §were at Madras when the fleet left it, the three former were to§ §sail for Bengal soon after, the Fox was to be Despatched for§ §Europe in October with Mr Pigott on board, And	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 2 October 1762. 2: On 3 October arrived His Majesty's ship <i>Sea Horse</i> from Manila, which place she had left on 13 November. The Council learned that Admiral Cornish had sailed from Madras for Manila on 1 August with eight ships of the line, three frigates, two store ships and the Court's ships <i>Essex</i> and <i>Osterley</i>. He had aboard General Draper, Colonels Monson and Scott, Mr Drake and several other gentlemen from Madras, together with about 2,130 land forces. They reached Manila on 23 September, and on 6 October the place was taken. Mr Drake was left as governor, and Major Fell of General Draper's regiment commanded the forces, all the troops as reported being left to garrison the place. His Majesty's ships <i>Elizabeth</i> and <i>Weymouth</i> were to be sent off about a month after the <i>Sea Horse</i> left Manila, to the Straits of Malacca, to convoy the Court's homeward-bound China ships through those straits. 3: The Council also learned that the <i>Essex</i> and <i>Osterley</i> had sailed for China on 17 October, and that the Court's ships <i>Admiral Watson</i>, <i>Tilbury</i>, <i>Clinton</i>, <i>Fox</i> and <i>Royal George</i> were at Madras when the fleet left it. The three first named were to sail for Bengal soon after; the <i>Fox</i> was to be sent off for Europe in October with Mr Pigot aboard; and the <i>Royal George</i> was to sail about the 6 or 7 of August for Bencoolen, with Mr [...] Interpretations The taking of Manila was part of the wider war against Spain, in which a combined naval and military expedition under Admiral Cornish and General Draper sailed from Madras and captured the Spanish colonial capital in the Philippines within weeks of arriving. The East India Company's own ships and forces joined the royal squadron, so the operation blended crown and Company resources, and the appointment of Mr Drake as governor placed the conquered city under an administration close to Company interests.

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		the Royal§ §George was to sail about the 6 or 7 of August to Bencoolen with§	The concern to convoy the homeward-bound China ships through the Straits of Malacca reflected the value of the tea and goods they carried and the danger those straits posed. The narrow passage was a natural point for enemy warships or privateers to intercept richly laden merchantmen, so the navy assigned ships of the line to escort them through the chokepoint rather than leave them to sail unprotected.
212	202	Mr Carter and Several of the Gentlemen belonging to the West§ §Coast, your Ship Drake we are told arrived at Fort St George§ §the 3d of August, We are likewise informed the Royal§ §Captain parted Company with Admiral Cornishes§ §fleet the 7th September bound to Holo, and China, That at§ §the Godolphin upon Snowey at Bengal, was found to be§ §in so bad condition that She was thought not fit to proceed to§ §England with a Cargo, The Earl Temple it is Said, was sailed§ §for China, & the true Britton left Malacca for the same§ §Place in July last§ §The 7 instant arrived your Honors Ship Earl of§ §Elgin from Bombay, Capt Evans acquaints Us he left§ §that Place the 21 November last, We are informed the§ §Hector, and Winchelsea arrived at Bombay the 18th Sept§ §The Boscawen and Winchelsea sailed from thence for§ §Bengal the 4 of November, and Met with Gales of Wind§ §the 7th in which the Winchelsea lost her Fore Mast and they§ §were obliged to throw over board her Lee Guns, The Britannia§ §arrived at Bombay the 10, the Prince of Wales the 11 and the§ §Clive the 12 of November, The Admiral Pocock, Capt§ §Evans acquaints Us he spoke with the 25 November about§ §60 Leagues WSW from Bombay§ §We are likewise informed His Majestys Ship§ §Medway, in her Passage from Bombay to Madrass§ §fell in with four Ships off the south end of Ceylon, one§ §of them of 74 Guns, one of 64, one of 50, and a Frigate§ §they Shewed Dutch Colours, till the Ship of 50 Guns§ §came near the Medway, and fired a broadside into her§	Mr Carter and several of the gentlemen belonging to the West Coast were aboard, and the Court's ship <i>Drake</i> was reported to have reached Fort St George on 3 August. The Council also learned that the <i>Royal Captain</i> parted company with Admiral Cornish's fleet on 7 September, bound for Whampoa and China. The <i>Godolphin</i>, lying at Surat and Bengal, was found to be in such bad condition that she was thought unfit to sail for England with a cargo. The <i>Earl Temple</i> was said to have sailed for China, and the <i>True Briton</i> had left Malacca for the same place in July. 4: On 7 October arrived the Court's ship <i>Earl of Elgin</i> from Bombay, Captain Evans reporting that he had left that place on 21 November. The Council learned that the <i>Hector</i> and <i>Winchelsea</i> reached Bombay on 18 September. The <i>Boscawen</i> and <i>Winchelsea</i> sailed from there for Bengal on 1 November, and met with a gale of wind on the 7, in which the <i>Winchelsea</i> lost her topmast and was forced to throw her lee guns overboard. The <i>Britannia</i> reached Bombay on the 10, the <i>Prince of Wales</i> on the 11, and the <i>Clive</i> on the 12 of November. Captain Evans reported that the <i>Admiral Pocock</i> spoke with him on 25 November, about 60 leagues west-south-west from Bombay. 5: The Council also learned that His Majesty's ship <i>Medway</i>, on her passage from Bombay to Madras, fell in with four ships off the south end of Ceylon, one of them of 74 guns, one of 64, one of 50 and a frigate. They showed Dutch colours until the ship of 50 guns came near the <i>Medway</i> and fired a broadside into her [...] Interpretations The <i>Godolphin</i> being condemned as unfit to carry a cargo home shows the constant strain that long service in eastern waters placed on wooden ships. Hulls decayed in warm seas, and a vessel too weak to bear the weight and stress of a laden voyage to England had to be kept in local waters or broken up, since sending her home in that state risked both ship and cargo. The encounter off Ceylon in the fifth paragraph turned on the use of false colours at sea. The four ships flew Dutch flags to disguise their identity and intentions, a common ruse that let a hostile squadron close within gun range of a lone warship before revealing itself. When the 50-gun ship fired into the <i>Medway</i> without warning, it confirmed the flags had been a deception, and the incident reflected the tense and shifting allegiances among European powers in eastern waters at this date.
213	203	and hoisting French Colours, Capt Tinker finding them§ §to be Enemys immediately sailed for Madrass which Place§ §he reached the 27th September where he joined his Majestys§ §Ships York, and Chatham and proceeded directly in quest of§ §the French Ships but could not meet, nor hear any thing of them§ §upon which He sailed for the Malabar Coast, and arrived at§ §Fillichery the 4 of November, but received no intelligence§	The ship then hoisted French colours. Captain Tinker, finding them to be the enemy, at once sailed for Madras, which he reached on 27 September, where he joined His Majesty's ships <i>Yorke</i> and <i>Chatham</i> and went directly in search of the French ships. He could neither meet with them nor hear anything of them, so he sailed for the Malabar Coast and reached Tellicherry on 4 November, but received no word of them there. The Council was also told that a French ship of 18 guns had been in sight of Tellicherry on the 18, 19 and 20 of September, and that Mr Taylor, one of the Court's servants there, went aboard her, supposing her to be

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		§of them there, We are also told, a French Ship of 18 Guns was§ §in Sight of Fillichery the 18th 19 and 20 of September last§ §that Mr Taylor one of your Honors Servants there went on§ §board her, supposing it to be an English Vessel, they detained§ §him about 24 Hours and then sent him on shore§ §The Passengers on board the Sea Horse are§ §Generals Draper, Lt Colonel Scott, Captains Kempenfelt§ §Sherwood and Newson, with several other Gentlemen, &§ §belonging to his Majestys Navy, Captains Fletcher and§ §Savage, Mr Orr the second Mate of the Admiral Watson§ §who remains here untill the arrival of that Ship, And on board§ §the Earl of Elgin, Captains Grant, and Crichton, and Mrs§ §Mace§ §Captain Steelyn of his Majestys Ship Sea Horse wanting§ §some Stores which we supplied him with, and have taken Bills§ §Drawn on the Honorable, the Commissioners of his Majestys§ §Navy, Payable to your Honors, or order, 30 Days after§ §sight, dated the 8 Instant, the first Bills goes Enclosed§ §We have had a good Winter, & understand by§ §the present appearance of the Weather, flatter ourselves§ §the Summer Rains are setting in, We have the§	an English vessel. They held him about 24 hours and then set him ashore. 6: The passengers aboard the <i>Sea Horse</i> were General Draper, Lieutenant Colonel Scott, Captains Kempenfelt, Sherwood and Newson, together with several other gentlemen belonging to His Majesty's navy, Captains Fletcher and Savage, and Mr Orr, the second mate of the <i>Admiral Watson</i>, who was to remain here until the arrival of that ship. Aboard the <i>Earl of Elgin</i> were Captains Grant and Crichton and Mrs Mace. 7: Captain Peelyn of His Majesty's ship <i>Sea Horse</i> was short of certain stores, which the Council supplied him, taking bills drawn on the Honourable Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, payable to the Court or order, 30 days after sight, dated the 8 of this month. The first bill went enclosed. 8: The Council had a good winter, and neither wanted for anything. By the present appearance of the weather, it flattered itself that the summer rains were setting in. The Council had the [...] Interpretations The seizure of Mr Taylor showed how the confusion of false colours cut both ways. Believing the French ship of 18 guns to be English, a Company servant rowed out to her and found himself briefly a prisoner, the enemy holding him a day before releasing him ashore, a minor incident but a sign of how hard it was to tell friend from foe by flag alone in these waters. The reference to a good winter and the hope that the summer rains were setting in reflects St Helena's place in the southern hemisphere, where the seasons ran opposite to those of Britain. The Council watched the weather closely because the island depended on seasonal rain to water its pasture and crops, and a reliable wet season meant the difference between full storehouses and shortage on a settlement that could grow only what its own climate allowed.
214	204	Pleasure to acquaint You, the disorder among the Cattle§ §is intirely Ceased§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §9th February 1763§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & humble§ §Servant§ §(Signed)§ §Charles Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St§ §Helena & His Majestys Ship Sea Horse dated the 9th§ §February 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Council General Letter dated 9th February 1763§ §2 Do & Do dated 9 Do Do relatg§ §to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do & Do dated 2d October 1762§ §4 Consultations from the 1st October 1762 to the 7th February 1763§ §5 Duplicate Consultations from 16 August to 30 September 1762§ §6 First Receipt of the Packet & Ship Calcutta§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship Warren§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 9th February 1763§ §9 Do of Familys taken 30th September 1762§ §10 Do of Rents taken Do Do§ §11 Do of the Honorable Companys Slaves taken Do Do§	The Council was glad to report that the sickness among the cattle had entirely ceased. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 9 February 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by His Majesty's ship <i>Sea Horse</i>, dated 9 February 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 9 February 1763 2: The same, dated 9 February, relating to law matters 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 2 October 1762 4: Consultations from 1 October 1762 to 7 February 1763 5: Duplicate consultations from 16 August to 30 September 1762 Item 6 was the first receipt of the packet by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Warren</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 9 February 1763 9: The same, of families, taken 30 September 1762 10: The same, of rents, taken the same date 11: The same, of the Honourable Company's slaves, taken the same date

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215	205	12 Duplicate List of Cattle returned & Killed in the Year 1762§ §13 Do Do of five Invalid Soldiers§ §14 Do Do of the Packet & Ship Calcutta§ §15 Do Sample of Grass§ §16 Effective State of the Garrison§ §17 Muster Rolls of Do§ §18 Governor Letter to the Secret Committee§ §19 Duplicate Cash Account from 15th to the 31st August 1762§ §20 Cash Account for the Month of September Do§ §21 Do for the Month of October Do§ §22 Do for the Month of November Do§ §23 Do for the Month of December Do§ §24 Do for the Month of January 1763§ §25 Do for the 1 to the 9th February Do§ §26 Abstract of Cargo of Ship Earl of Elgin§ §27 Duplicate Captain Thompsons Second Receipt for £25§ §28 Do Surgeons Certificate of five Invalid Soldiers§ §29 Capt Jocelyns first Bill of Exchange for £33 3 1§ §30 Proceedings of a General Quarter Session held on 12th October§ §1762§ §31 Duplicate Ship Calcutta's Account§	The list of enclosures continued, several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. 12: Duplicate list of cattle reared and killed in the year 1762 13: The same, of five invalid soldiers Item 14 was the same, of the packet by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>. 15: Sample of grass 16: Effective state of the garrison 17: Muster rolls of the same 18: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 19: Duplicate cash account from 15 to 31 August 1762 20: Cash account for the month of September, the same year 21: The same, for the month of October, the same year 22: The same, for the month of November, the same year 23: The same, for the month of December, the same year 24: The same, for the month of January 1763 25: The same, for the 1 to the 9 February, the same year Item 26 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Earl of Elgin</i>. 27: Duplicate of Captain Thomson's second receipt for £25 0s 0d 28: Duplicate surgeon's certificate of five invalid soldiers 29: Captain Jocelyn's first bill of exchange for £33 3s 1d 30: Proceedings of a General Quarter Session held on 12 October 1762 Item 31 was a duplicate of the ship <i>Calcutta's</i> account.
216	206	To the Honorable &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We Addressed you last, by His Majestys Ship§ §Sea Horse, which left this Place the 10th Instant§ §On the 15th of this Month Arrived your Honors§ §Ships Admiral Watson, and Godolphin from Bengal,§ §which Place they left the 16th November last, & your§ §Ships Hardwicke, Clinton, & Tilbury, and Drake, there§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §Vizt One set to Charles Hutchinson Esqr for two hundred pounds§ §payable to Samuel Keagh Esqr or Order, One set to Mr§ §Thos Greenlee, for two hundred Pounds payable to John§ §Misenor Esqr or Order, and One set to Wm John Drummond§ §for one hundred Pound, payable to Messrs Drummonds§ §Bankers in London or their Order, all drawn at ninety§ §Days sight, and Dated the 14th Instant§ §We have given Captain Evans a permission§ §to receive on board his Ship Jeremiah Tucker who was§ §discharged from Mr Bowns, however he has signed an§ §instrument that he will not demand any Wages for his§ §Passage Home, which goes herewith§ §The Passengers on board the Admiral Watson§ §are Colonel Galliaud Capt'n Frazier, Mr Roch, and Mrs§ §Coulson, and on board the Godolphin Colonel	To the Honourable, etc. Honoured Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by His Majesty's ship <i>Sea Horse</i>, which left St Helena on the 15 of this month. 2: On the 15 of this month arrived the Court's ships <i>Admiral Watson</i> and <i>Godolphin</i> from Bengal, which place they had left on 16 November. The Court's ships <i>Hardwicke</i>, <i>Clinton</i>, <i>Tilbury</i> and <i>Drake</i> were there. 3: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Charles Hutchinson for £200 0s 0d, payable to Samuel Keagh or order. One set to Mr Thomas Greentree for £200 0s 0d, payable to John Misenor or order. And one set to Mr John Drummond for £100 0s 0d, payable to Messrs Drummonds, bankers in London, or their order, all drawn at 90 days after sight and dated the 14 of this month. 4: The Council gave Captain Evans permission to receive aboard his ship Jeremiah Tucker, who had been discharged from the <i>Mercury</i>. Tucker signed an agreement that he would demand no wages for his passage home, which went enclosed. 5: The passengers aboard the <i>Admiral Watson</i> were Colonel Galliard, Captain Frazier, Mr Rock and Mrs Coulson, and aboard the <i>Godolphin</i> were Colonel Coote and Captain Miser. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 17 February 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The three sets of bills in the third paragraph moved money from St Helena to named payees in London through the Company's credit. Each set was

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		Coote, and Capt§ §Miser§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble Servants§ §(Signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	drawn in favour of a different London recipient, one of them the banking house of Drummonds, so cash paid to the Council on the island became a paper claim settled in Britain, sparing the parties the risk of shipping coin and giving the island the ready funds it needed on the spot. The mention of Colonel Coote aboard the <i>Godolphin</i> is notable, since Eyre Coote was among the most prominent military commanders of the Company's wars in Bengal and the Carnatic, and his passage through St Helena marks the island's role as the standard staging point where officers, officials and troops broke their voyage between India and England.
217	207	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Earl of Elgin dated the 17th February 1763, Vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Council General Letter dated 17 February 1763§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 9th February Do§ §3 Do and Do relating to Law Matters dated 9th February Do§ §4 Consultation of the 14th February Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 4 October 1762 to the 7 February Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet & His Majestys Ship Sea Horse§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship Calcutta§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 17 February 1763§ §9 Duplicate List of Families taken 30 September 1762§ §10 Do Do of Rents taken 30th Do Do§ §11 Do Do of the Honorable Companys Slaves taken 30th Do Do§ §12 Do Do of the Packet & His Majestys Ship Sea Horse§ §13 Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §14 Effective State of the Garrison§ §15 Cash Account from the 16th to the 31 February 1763§ §16 Duplicate Do for the Month of September 1762§ §17 Do Do for the Month of October Do§ §18 Do Do for the Month of November Do§ §19 Do Do for the Month of December Do§ §20 Do Do for the Month of January 1763§ §21 Do Do from the 1 to the 9th February Do§ §22 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Admiral Watson, and Godolphin§ §23 Capt Jocelyns Second Bill of exchange for £33 2 1§ §24 Duplicate Proceedings of a General Quarter Sessions held on 12th§ §October 1762§ §25 Ship Earl of Elgins Account§ §26 Instrument from Jeremiah Tucker, late Steward of the Mercury Snow§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Earl of Elgin</i>, dated 17 February 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 17 February 1763 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 9 February, the same year 3: The same, relating to law matters, dated 9 February, the same year 4: Consultation of the 14 February 5: Duplicate of the same, from 4 October 1762 to 7 February, the same year Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by His Majesty's ship <i>Sea Horse</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 17 February 1763 9: Duplicate list of families, taken 30 September 1762 10: The same, of rents, taken 30 September, the same year 11: The same, of the Honourable Company's slaves, taken 30 September, the same year Item 12 was the same, of the packet by His Majesty's ship <i>Sea Horse</i>. 13: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 14: Effective state of the garrison 15: Cash account from the 15 to the 17 February 1763 16: Duplicate of the same, for the month of September 1762 17: The same, for the month of October, the same year 18: The same, for the month of November, the same year 19: The same, for the month of December, the same year 20: The same, for the month of January 1763 21: The same, from the 1 to the 9 February, the same year Item 22 was an abstract of the cargoes of the ships <i>Admiral Watson</i> and <i>Godolphin</i>. 23: Captain Jocelyn's second bill of exchange for £33 2s 1d 24: Duplicate proceedings of a General Quarter Session held on 12 October 1762 Item 25 was the ship <i>Earl of Elgin</i>'s account. 26: Instrument from Jeremiah Tucker, late steward of the Mercury Snow
218	208	To the Honorable &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Address to your Honors, went by your§ §Ship Earl of Elgin, which sailed from hence the 17 of February§ §1763§ §On the 25th of the same Month, arrived your Ship§ §Fox from Madrass, which Place they left the 10th Novemr last,§ §Captain Hume informs Us, the Grosvenor Sailed from§	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Earl of Elgin</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 17 February 1763. 2: On the 25 of the same month arrived the Court's ship <i>Fox</i> from Madras, which place she had left on the 10 of November. Captain Hume told the Council that the <i>Grosvenor</i> sailed from Fort St George for China on the 15 of September. This was all the news the Council could learn about the Court's ships

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		§Fort St George for China the 1st of Septemr, this is all§ §the news we can learn in regard to your Ships, that you have§ §not been already acquainted with in our two preceding Letters§ §Colonel Coote who came hither in the§ §Godolphin, being now inclined to go for England in§ §your Ship Admiral Watson, we have given Captain§ §Fowler an Order to receive him on board, and to & § §accommodate him in the best manner he possibly can§ §We have likewise given Capt Fowler an order§ §to receive on board his Ship John Lamb, Edward Mitchel,§ §James Franklyn, Thomas Kennedy, John Barrow, and§ §William Penny six Invalid Soldiers, and have permitted§ §him to take on board the Admiral Watson, Thomas Sims§ §a discharged Sergeant, they have all signed an instrument§ §that they will not demand any Wages for their Voyage§ §Home, which we hand herewith, together with the§ §Surgeons Certificate in respect to the Invalids§ §Notwithstanding the Orders given to the Captains§ §of your Ships, not to leave any of their Men here, or take any§ §one from the Island without leave, Yet Captn Evans left§ §sick in the Hospital White Wolford one of his Majestys§ §Invalids, without any Authority for so doing, neither did§ §he give any Obligation for his support during his Stay here, as§	that had not already been given in the two preceding letters. 3: Colonel Coote, who came here in the <i>Godolphin</i> and was now inclined to go for England in the Court's ship <i>Admiral Watson</i>, was granted an order to Captain Sowler to receive him aboard and to accommodate him in the best manner possible. 4: The Council also gave Captain Sowler an order to receive aboard his ship John Lamb, Edward Mitchel, James Franklyn, Thomas Kennedy, John Barrow and William Penny, six invalid soldiers, and gave him leave to take aboard the <i>Admiral Watson</i> Thomas Fimo, a discharged sergeant. They all signed an agreement that they would demand no wages for their voyage home, which went enclosed together with the surgeon's certificate for the invalids. 5: Despite the orders given to the captains of the Court's ships not to leave any of their men here or take anyone from the island without leave, Captain Evans left White Wolford, one of His Majesty's invalids, sick in the hospital without any authority for doing so, and gave no undertaking for his keep during his stay here. [...] Interpretations Colonel Coote's continued progress home marks the calibre of officer who passed through St Helena. Eyre Coote, fresh from command in the campaigns in Bengal and the Carnatic, changed ships at the island to complete his return to England, and the Council's care to accommodate him in the best manner possible reflects the standing such a passenger carried. The complaint in the fifth paragraph exposes the friction between the Company's standing orders and the conduct of individual captains. Ships were forbidden to abandon men on the island or remove settlers without leave, because either act shifted a burden onto the small garrison and its resources. By leaving a sick invalid in the hospital without authority or any provision for his keep, Captain Evans passed a cost to the island that the rule was designed to prevent, and the Council recorded the breach to protect itself against the charge.
219	209	you will please to observe by Mr Barclays Letter to the Governor,§ §entered in our Consultation of the 22 of last Month, We advise§ §your Honors of this, that the owners of the Earl of Elgin may be§ §charged with this Expençe, as well as pass for his Passage, when§ §in a Condition to be sent for England§ §Upon the Ship Admiral Watsons Arrival, we demanded§ §of Capt Fowler your Moor Slave Efox who deserted from§ §hence in the Bombay Castle, but he acquaints Us that he§ §runaway from his Ship, when She was at Manila§ §The Passengers upon the Ship Fox are Mr Andrews§ §and Smith, and Messrs Crawford, Bazil, Boding, Ferman§ §and Line§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt One Set to Charles Hutchinson Esqr for one hundred§ §Pounds, payable to Samuel Hough Esqr or order, dated the§ §27th of last Month, at Ninety days sight, And One set to Mr§ §Francis Wrangham for fifty Pounds, payable to Mr Gabriel§ §Steward or order, dated the 21 of Feltiny last, at Ninety days§ §sight§	As appeared from Mr Barclay's letter to the Governor, entered in the Council's consultation of the 28 of the previous month, the Council advised the Court that the owners of the <i>Earl of Elgin</i> might be charged with this expense, as well as with the passage for Wolford's voyage, when he was fit to be sent to England. 6: On the arrival of the ship <i>Admiral Watson</i>, the Council asked Captain Sowler for the Court's man slave Essex, who had deserted from St Helena in the <i>Bombay Castle</i>, but the captain reported that Essex ran away from his ship when she was at Manila. 7: The passengers aboard the ship <i>Fox</i> were Mr Andrews, Mr Smith and Messrs Crawford, Bazil, Boding, Fenman and Line. 8: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Charles Hutchinson for £100 0s 0d, payable to Samuel Hough or order, dated the 27 of the previous month, at 90 days after sight. And one set to Mr Francis Wrangham for £50 0s 0d, payable to Mr Gabriel Steward or order, dated the 21 of February, at 90 days after sight. 9: The Council received some stores from Captain Sowler, but since it did not know the price it could not give him credit for them, and so entered the particulars at the foot of the ship <i>Admiral Watson's</i> account. 10: After the foregoing was written, Sergeant Ferris asked to remain here in the garrison, and since he was a good man the Council agreed to it. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient

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		§We have received some Stores from Captain Fowler, but as§ §we did not know the price we could not give him Credit for them,§ §but have inserted the Particulars at the foot of the Ship§ §Admiral Watsons Account§ §Since writing the fore going, Sergeant Ferris having§ §requested to remain here in the Garrison, and he being a good§ §Mason, we consented to it§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §Honorable Sirs§ §6th March 1763§ §Your most Obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §(Signed)§ §Charles Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 6 March 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The pursuit of the slave Essex shows how the Company tracked its human property across the whole span of its eastern trade. Essex was owned by the Company, had escaped from St Helena aboard one ship and was traced as far as Manila, where he escaped again, and the Council's demand for his return treated him as a recoverable asset in the same way as any strayed piece of Company stock. The stores received from Captain Sowler that could not yet be paid for reflect the careful bookkeeping the island applied to its dealings with visiting ships. Because the price was unknown, the Council would not enter a credit it could not verify, and instead noted the goods at the foot of the ship's account so the debt was recorded but not settled until the figures were confirmed. Speculations The straightforward way to handle White Wolford, an invalid abandoned sick in the hospital, would have been for the island simply to absorb the cost, since the man was already ashore and the captain who left him was gone. The Council instead resolved to charge his keep and his eventual passage to England against the owners of the <i>Earl of Elgin</i>, resting the claim on Mr Barclay's letter entered in an earlier consultation. What made the harder course worth pursuing was the principle at stake: to swallow the expense silently would have invited every captain to offload unwanted men the same way, so the Council pinned the charge to a named party to hold the line against the practice.
220	210	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Admiral Watson dated the 6th March 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Council General Letter dated 6th March 1763§ §2 Do and Do dated 6th Do relating§ §to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do and Do dated 17 February Do§ §4 Consultations from the 21 to the 28 February Do§ §5 Duplicate Do of the 14 February Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Earl of Elgin§ §7 Second Do for Do & His Majestys Ship Sea Horse§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken the 6th March 1763§ §9 Do of Six Invalid Soldiers and a Discharged§ §Sergeant§ §10 Duplicate Do of the Packet & Ship Earl of Elgin§ §11 Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Cash Account from the 12th to the 28 February 1763§ §14 Do from the 1 to the 6th of March Do§ §15 Duplicate Do from the 10th to the 17th of February Do§ §16 Ship Admirals Watsons Account§ §17 Duplicate Do Earl of Elgins Do§ §18 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Fox§ §19 Proceedings of a General Quarter Sessions held on the 11th§ §January 1763§ §20 Instrument in writing from Six Invalid Soldiers and a§ §discharged Sergeant§ §21 Surgeons Certificate of Six Invalid Soldiers§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Admiral Watson</i>, dated 6 March 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 6 March 1763 2: The same, dated 6 March, relating to law matters 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 17 February, the same year 4: Consultations from the 21 to the 28 February, the same year 5: Duplicate of the same, of the 14 February, the same year Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Earl of Elgin</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by His Majesty's ship <i>Sea Horse</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 6 March 1763 9: The same, of six invalid soldiers and a discharged sergeant Item 10 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Earl of Elgin</i>. 11: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Cash account from the 18 to the 28 February 1763 14: The same, from the 1 to the 6 of March, the same year 15: Duplicate of the same, from the 10 to the 17 of February, the same year Item 16 was the ship <i>Admiral Watson</i>'s account. Item 17 was the duplicate of the same for the <i>Earl of Elgin</i>. Item 18 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Fox</i>. 19: Proceedings of a General Quarter Session held on the 11 January 1763 20: Instrument in writing from six invalid soldiers and a discharged sergeant 21: Surgeon's certificate of six invalid soldiers

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<u>221</u>	211	To the Honorable &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote to you last by your Ship Admiral Watson,§ §which Sailed from hence the 7 Instant§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt§ §One Set to Captain Alexander Hume for one hundred and§ §twenty pounds, payable to himself or Order, dated the 14th§ §Instant, And one Set to Mr John Line for Twenty pounds§ §payable to himself or order, dated the 21 of this Month, both§ §drawn at Ninety days sight§ §Capt Roddam representing, that he was in great§ §want of Seamen; applied to Us to have him Senior fifteen men§ §We acquainted him that we could not possibly comply with§ §his request, as none of the Soldiers contracted times were expired,§ §but that we would put on board his Ship, four good Seamen§ §that were left here out of His Majestys Ship Seahorse, He§ §likewise desired liberty to leave four French Prisoners here§ §that were Sick, & not in condition to proceed the Voyage,§ §being apprehensive that taken them on board in the situation§ §they were in, might be a means of reviving the disorder his§ §People had been afflicted with, on their Passage from Bengal§ §to this place, Upon which we directed, Mr Barclay the§ §Surgeon, to inspect their disorders who reports, that as there Cases§ §were all Scorbutick, their being left here, would be attended with§ §no bad consequences, We then acquainted Capt Roddam, that§ §he might leave them, untill recovered, but that the owners of§ §the Godolphin, must be at their Expence here, as well as§ §paying their Passage to England§	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Admiral Watson</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 7 of this month. 2: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Captain Alexander Hume for £120 0s 0d, payable to himself or order, dated the 14 of this month. And one set to Mr John Line for £20 0s 0d, payable to himself or order, dated the 21 of this month, both drawn at 90 days after sight. 3: Captain Roddam, saying that he was in great want of seamen, asked the Council to spare him ten or fifteen men. The Council told him it could not possibly meet his request, since none of the soldiers' contracted terms had expired, but that it would put aboard his ship four good seamen who had been left here out of His Majesty's ship <i>Sea Horse</i>. The Council also refused him leave to land here four French prisoners who were sick and not fit to go on the voyage, fearing that to take them aboard in the state they were in might spread the sickness his people had suffered on their passage from Bengal. The Council then directed Mr Barclay, the surgeon, to examine their complaints, and he reported that since the cases were all scurvy, leaving the men here would carry no bad consequences. The Council then told Captain Roddam that he might land them until they recovered, but that the owners of the <i>Godolphin</i> must bear the cost of their keep here as well as pay their passage to England. Interpretations The refusal to spare soldiers as seamen turned on the terms of their enlistment. Because none of the men had served out the period they had contracted for, the Council held it had no power to release them, and offered instead four seamen already available from a royal ship, keeping the garrison at strength while still helping the short-handed captain. The handling of the sick French prisoners shows quarantine reasoning at work. The Council first resisted landing men who might carry the sickness that had struck the <i>Godolphin's</i> crew on the Bengal passage, and only relented once the surgeon identified the illness as scurvy, a dietary disease that posed no risk of contagion to the island. Scurvy arose from the want of fresh food on long voyages and cleared once sufferers reached land and a fresh diet, so the surgeon's diagnosis removed the ground for keeping the men aboard. Speculations The obvious course, once the surgeon found the prisoners were only scorbutic and safe to land, was for the island to take them in as a plain matter of course. The Council instead made its consent conditional, fixing the cost of the men's keep and their onward passage on the owners of the <i>Godolphin</i> before allowing them ashore. The visible reason lay in the earlier fear of contagion: having nearly refused the men outright, the Council used the moment of agreement to pin the expense on a named party rather than let it fall on the island's stores, treating the landing as a charge to be recovered rather than a courtesy to be extended.
<u>222</u>	212	This waits on you, by your Honors Ship Fox,§ §which Sails in company with the Godolphin§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §Honorable Sirs§ §26th March 1763§ §Your most obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §Signed§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§	4: This letter went by the Court's ship <i>Fox</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Godolphin</i>. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 26 March 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Fox</i>, dated 26 March 1763, as follows.

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		§M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from§ §St Helena & Ship Fox dated the 26 March 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 25th March 1763§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 6th Do Do§ §3 Do Do & Do relating to Law Matter dated the§ §6th March 1763§ §4 Consultations from the 7th to the 21st March 1763§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 21 to the 28 February Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Admiral Watson§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship Earl of Elgin§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 26th March 1763§ §9 Duplicate Do of Six Invalid Soldiers & a Discharged§ §Sergeant§ §10 Do Do of the Packet & Ship Admiral Watson§ §11 Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§	1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 26 March 1763 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 6 March, the same year 3: The same, relating to law matters, dated 6 March 1763 4: Consultations from the 7 to the 21 March 1763 5: Duplicate of the same, from the 21 to the 28 February, the same year Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Admiral Watson</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Earl of Elgin</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 26 March 1763 9: Duplicate of the same, of six invalid soldiers and a discharged sergeant Item 10 was the same, of the packet by the ship <i>Admiral Watson</i>. 11: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 12: Effective state of the garrison
223	213	13 Cash Account from the 7th to the 25th March 1763§ §14 Duplicate Do from the 18 to the 28th February Do§ §15 Do Do from the 1 to the 6th March Do§ §16 Ship Fox's Account§ §17 Do Godolphin Do§ §18 Duplicate Admiral Watsons Do§ §19 Do Proceedings of a General Quarter Sessions held on§ §the 11th January 1763§ §20 Do Surgeons Certificate of Six Invalid Soldiers§ §To the Honorable &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote to you last, by your Honors Ship Fox,§ §which sailed in company with the Godolphin, on the 25 Instant§ §The Day after, arrived two Dutch Ships from the§ §Cape, called the Armaar Capt Hautpene, and the Ammrongen§ §Capt San, spoke the former, loaded with Tea, Burthen 600 Tons§ §carrys forty four Guns, and one hundred and fifty Men, and the latter§ §with Pepper, Tin, Japan Ware, Cinnamon, and Linen, carrys§ §forty four Guns, and one hundred and fifty four Men, Burthen§ §800 Tons, bound for Amsterdam§ §By this opportunity the Governor received a Letter from§ §Capt Harrold of the Snow Mercury, acquainting him that he was§ §kept in at the Cape, by two French Ships, of the Line, and two§ §Frigates, which were taken in provisions for the Supply of their§ §Islands, and that two more Ships of the Line were daily expected§ §there, that it was reported, that their first Scheme was to Cruise§ §off this Island, or to Attack it, but upon the Death of Monsr§ §St George, the commanding Officer, who died Suddenly on the§	The list of enclosures continued, several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. 13: Cash account from the 7 to the 25 March 1763 14: Duplicate of the same, from the 18 to the 28 February, the same year 15: The same, from the 1 to the 6 March, the same year Item 16 was the ship <i>Fox's</i> account. Item 17 was the <i>Godolphin's</i> account. Item 18 was the duplicate of the <i>Admiral Watson's</i> account. 19: Duplicate proceedings of a General Quarter Session held on the 11 January 1763 20: Duplicate surgeon's certificate of six invalid soldiers To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Fox</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Godolphin</i> on the 25 of this month. 2: The next day arrived two Dutch ships from the Cape, called the <i>Amaar</i>, Captain Hautfene, and the <i>Ammrongen</i>, Captain San. The Council spoke with them, the former loaded with tea, of 600 tons burthen, carrying forty-four guns and one hundred and fifty men, and the latter with pepper, tin, japan ware, cinnamon and linen, carrying forty-four guns and one hundred and fifty-four men, of 800 tons burthen, bound for Amsterdam. 3: By this opportunity the Governor received a letter from Captain Harrold of the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, telling him that he had been kept in at the Cape by two French ships of the line and two frigates, which had been taken in with provisions for the supply of their islands. Two more ships of the line were daily expected there. It was reported that their first scheme was to cruise off this island or attack it, but that on the death of Monsieur St George, the commanding officer, who died suddenly, [...] Interpretations The two Dutch ships homeward bound for Amsterdam show the pattern of the Dutch East India Company's trade passing within sight of St Helena. Their cargoes set out the staples of the eastern trade of this date: tea from China, pepper and cinnamon from the spice regions, tin, lacquered japan ware and Indian linen, the mix of goods that made the long voyage profitable. Japan ware meant lacquered wares finished in the glossy black-and-gold manner associated with Japan, a luxury import prized in Europe.

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			The intelligence in the third paragraph carried a direct threat to the island itself. A French squadron of ships of the line and frigates lay at the Cape, provisioned to supply the French islands in the Indian Ocean, and word had reached St Helena that these ships had considered cruising off the island or attacking it outright. For a small isolated settlement dependent on the sea for everything, a report that an enemy force had contemplated an assault was a matter of real alarm, and the sudden death of the French commander may have been what turned the danger aside.
224	214	Passage from Mauritius to the Cape, they altered their§ §designs, upon this place, and are now (as they give out)§ §determined to keep two Ships Cruising off the Bank, but§ §what they really intend is not certainly known, He further§ §Advises that the Walpole Capt Fenner, who is now at the Cape,§ §was unfortunately taken in September last, in sight of Ceylon§ §by two Capital Ships and a Frigate§ §Capt Harrold likewise Mentions his having drawn§ §two Sets of Bills on your Honors, one for two thousand§ §five hundred, and the other for five hundred Rix Dollars,§ §which we suppose the inclosed Letters from him will§ §particularly inform you of§ §We are in hopes we shall see the Store Ship Soon, as§ §we have but little Flour remaining, and are in want of many§ §other Necessarys§ §St Helena§ §We are§ §27th March 1763§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	On the passage from Mauritius to the Cape, the French altered their designs on St Helena, and were now, by their own account, resolved to keep two ships cruising off the Bank, though what they really intended was not certainly known. Captain Harrold further reported that the <i>Walpole</i>, Captain Fenner, now at the Cape, had been unfortunately taken in September, in sight of Ceylon, by two capital ships and a frigate. 4: Captain Harrold also mentioned that he had drawn two sets of bills on the Court, one for two thousand five hundred rix-dollars and the other for five hundred rix-dollars, of which the Council supposed his enclosed letters would give a fuller account. 5: The Council was in hope of seeing the store ship <i>San</i> soon, since it had little flour remaining and was short of many other necessities. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 27 March 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The rix-dollar was the standard silver trading coin of the Dutch, current at the Cape, so Captain Harrold drew his bills in the money of the port where he was detained rather than in sterling. This let him settle his charges at the Cape in the coin the Dutch there accepted, the debt to be made good later in London against the Company's credit. The report that a French squadron meant to keep ships cruising off the Bank marks a standing menace to the island's lifeline. St Helena survived on the shipping that called there, and an enemy force stationed to intercept vessels approaching the island could starve it of supplies and cut off its homeward trade without ever landing a man. The Council's closing note that it had little flour left and awaited the store ship shows how narrow the margin was between sufficiency and want on a settlement that grew too little to feed itself. Speculations Faced with a report that French ships of the line had thought of attacking the island, the plain course would have been to treat the danger as pressing and dwell on the island's defences. The Council instead set the intelligence down almost drily and closed on the shortage of flour and the awaited store ship, letting the supply position rather than the military threat carry the weight of the letter. What justified that emphasis was the nature of the danger the record itself sets out: the French had already turned aside once, and the standing risk to St Helena was never invasion so much as the slow strangling of its supplies, so the Council fixed the Court's attention on the storehouse rather than the guns.
225	215	To the Honorable &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Advices waited on your Honors by a Dutch Ship§ §called the Vismaar that sailed from hence the 27 of	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by a Dutch ship called the <i>Amaar</i>, which sailed from St Helena

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		last Month, in§ §company with another Dutch Ship called the Ammrongen§ §On the 29th of the same Month arrived your Ship§ §Tilbury from Bengal, Capt Mainwaring informs Us he left that§ §Place the 26th December last, & your Honors Ships, Clinton, Drake,§ §Hardwicke, Houghton, & Earl of Ash burnham there§ §The 2 instant Arrived Your Honors Ship Egmont, and§ §by her we had the pleasure to receive your commands, which we§ §shall Duly answer by your Ship Tilbury that will leave this§ §Place in a few Days§ §On the 4 of this Month arrived a Dane Ship from§ §China, called the Queen Sophia Magdalena Capt Ducon burthen§ §800 Tons, carrys 26 Guns & 150 Men, The Day after arrived§ §another Dane Ship from the same Place, called the Prince§ §Frederick Capt Hulk, burthen 1000 Tons, carrys 28 Guns &§ §170 Men both loaden with Tea, and China Ware, and bound to§ §Copenhagin§ §The Dane Gentlemen informs Us, they left Canton the§ §20th December last, and your Honors Ships True Britton, Elizabeth,§ §Harcourt, Horendon, Royal Charlotte, Royal Captain,§ §Albion, and Ysex there, the first six they supposed, were to§ §Sail the latter End of December for Europe, the two latter§ §about the middle of January, they likewise acquaint us the§ §Osterley did not arrive at Canton, her people being very§ §Sickly on the Passage from Manile to China, which§ §obliged Captain Vincent to return to the same Place§ §St Helena§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §14th April 1763§ §Your most obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §(Signed)§ §M Curling§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §John Skottowe§	on the 27 of the previous month in company with another Dutch ship called the <i>Ammrongen</i>. 2: On the 29 of the same month arrived the Court's ship <i>Tilbury</i> from Bengal. Captain Mainwaring told the Council that he had left that place on 26 December, and that the Court's ships <i>Clinton</i>, <i>Drake</i>, <i>Hardwicke</i>, <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Earl of Burnham</i> were there. 3: On the 2 of this month arrived the Court's ship <i>Egmont</i>, and by her the Council had the pleasure to receive the Court's commands, which it would answer in full by the ship <i>Tilbury</i>, due to leave St Helena in a few days. 4: On the 4 of this month arrived a Danish ship from China, called the <i>Queen Sophia Magdalena</i>, Captain Ducon, of 800 tons burthen, carrying twenty-six guns and one hundred and fifty men. The next day arrived another Danish ship from the same place, called the <i>Prince Frederick</i>, Captain Hulk, of 1,000 tons burthen, carrying twenty-eight guns and one hundred and seventy men, both loaded with tea and china ware and bound for Copenhagen. 5: The Danish gentlemen told the Council they had left Canton on 20 December, and that the Court's ships <i>True Briton</i>, <i>Elizabeth</i>, <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Hanover</i>, <i>Royal Charlotte</i>, <i>Royal Captain</i>, <i>Albion</i> and <i>Essex</i> were there. The first six they supposed were to sail at the end of December for Europe, and the two latter about the middle of January. They also told the Council that the <i>Osterley</i> did not reach Canton, her people being very sickly on the passage from Manila to China, which forced Captain Vincent to return to the same place. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 11 April 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The two Danish ships homeward bound for Copenhagen mark the presence of yet another European trading company in the China trade passing St Helena. The Danish Asiatic Company ran regular voyages between Copenhagen and Canton, and their ships laden with tea and porcelain followed the same route home past the island as the English and Dutch, so St Helena served as a common waypoint for all the northern European traders returning from the East. The forced return of the <i>Osterley</i> to Manila shows how sickness among a crew could derail a whole voyage. With her men too ill to work the ship on the passage from Manila to China, Captain Vincent had no choice but to turn back rather than press on to Canton, a reminder that on these long routes the health of the crew set a hard limit on what a ship could attempt, and a disabled complement could strand a valuable vessel far from its destination.
226	216	To the Honble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We address you last by a Dane Ship§ §called the Prince Frederick, which sailed from hence on§ §the 11 Instant in company with another Dane Ship§ §called the Queen Sophia Magdalena, Duplicate of which§ §goes herewith§ §Your Orders received by the Egmont we can§ §assure you, shall in all respects be Duly observed and complied§ §with, & We congratulate Your Honors upon the safe arrival§ §of all your Ships, of last Year, and flatter ourselves that§ §equal success will attend the outward, and	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by a Danish ship called the <i>Prince Frederick</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 11 of this month in company with another Danish ship called the <i>Queen Sophia Magdalena</i>, a duplicate of which went enclosed. 2: The Council assured the Court that its orders received by the <i>Egmont</i> would in all respects be fully observed and carried out. It congratulated the Court on the safe arrival of all its ships of the previous year, and hoped that equal success would attend the outward and homeward-bound ships employed in carrying on the Court's trade for the present year. 3: The Council was much pleased that its reports of the previous season met with the Court's approval, and, as the Court had recommended, it

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		Homeward bound§ §Ships employed in carrying on your Trade for the current§ §year§ §We are much pleased our advices of last§ §Season met with your approbation, and agreeable to your§ §recommendation all occurrences which comes to our§ §Knowledge relative to your affairs, shall be constantly§ §transmitted, As it was by a foreign conveyance we§ §purposely omitted mentioning the sailing of Six of your§ §Ships under convoy of his Majestys Ships Assistance,§ §lest such intelligence should have fallen into the hands§ §of the Enemy & might have been attended with bad consequence§ §in respect of those Ships§ §It is with the greatest pleasure we are§ §informed of the Captures made of three of the Enemy§ §Homeward bound Ships the Last season§ §The Dutch that touch here, shall be§ §civilly treated, and in all concerns with them, we shall§ §indeavour to Cultivate a good understanding, the Disputes§ §between the two Companys now settling by Commissary§	would constantly send home whatever news came to its knowledge about the Court's affairs. Since the earlier account went by a foreign ship, the Council had purposely left out any mention of the sailing of six of the Court's ships under convoy of His Majesty's ship <i>Assistance</i>, for fear that such intelligence might fall into enemy hands and bring harm to those ships. 4: The Council was most glad to learn of the capture of three of the enemy's homeward-bound ships the previous season. 5: The Dutch who called at St Helena would be well treated, and in all dealings with them the Council would try to cultivate a good understanding, since the disputes between the two companies were now settling by mutual [...] Interpretations The Council's deliberate silence about the convoy under the <i>Assistance</i> shows how the security of shipping shaped correspondence in wartime. Because an earlier letter travelled on a foreign ship that might be taken or its contents leaked, the Council withheld the movements of six Company vessels sailing under naval escort, understanding that a captured letter naming ships, numbers and escorts could deliver a rich convoy straight into enemy hands. The precaution reflected a working grasp that written intelligence was itself a weapon that could be turned against the sender. The reference to settling the disputes between the two companies points to the long friction between the English and Dutch East India Companies over trade and territory in the East. The Council's instruction to treat visiting Dutch ships well and cultivate good relations reflected a policy of easing that rivalry, since at a remote island where ships of both nations called for water and refreshment, open hostility served no one and cordial dealings kept the peace at a shared waypoint.
227	217	We hope will be adjusted entirely to your Honors satisfaction,§ §and we will agreeable to your directions carefully peruse the§ §defence you were pleased to make against the Complaints§ §of the Dutch East India Company, and you may be§ §assured, we shall pay all due regard to what you mention§ §with respect to any original, or other Papers, that may fall§ §into our Hands, relative to any controversies that may happen§ §with the Dutch, or any other foreign Nation§ §Should any of the Gentlemen belonging to§ §the West Coast establishment, meet home, the List you have§ §been pleased to transmit Us, arrive here, on their way home,§ §we shall acquaint them as you have directed, that they are no§ §longer Prisoners of War, but have their freedom§ §All Orders received from the Secret§ §Committee or any three of those Gentlemen we shall§ §Punctually observe§ §It gives us great Satisfaction to hear, that§ §Your Honors Ships and the West India Fleet, that were§ §under Convoy of His Majestys Ship Superbe, & two§ §Frigates, were by the good Conduct of Capt Rowley§ §preserved from the Superior force of the french§ §We thank your honors for the account you are§ §pleased to give Us of the destination of your Ships, As likewise of§ §the Names of those Gentlemen you have thought	The Council hoped these disputes would be settled entirely to the Court's satisfaction, and, as directed, it would carefully study the defence the Court had made against the complaints of the Dutch East India Company. The Council assured the Court that it would pay all due regard to what the Court had mentioned about any original or other papers that might fall into its hands touching any controversies with the Dutch or any other foreign nation. 6: Should any of the gentlemen belonging to the West Coast establishment, named in the list the Court had sent, arrive here on their way home, the Council would tell them, as directed, that they were no longer prisoners of war but had their freedom. 7: The Council would carry out to the letter all orders received from the Secret Committee or any three of those gentlemen. 8: The Council was much pleased to hear that the Court's ships and the West India fleet, under convoy of His Majesty's ship <i>Superbe</i> and two frigates, had been saved from a superior French force by the good conduct of Captain Rowley. 9: The Council thanked the Court for its account of where its ships were bound, and for the names of the gentlemen it had thought proper to appoint to manage its affairs in China and at the port of Mocha. 10: The Council would attend carefully to the charter parties of the ships <i>Egmont</i> and <i>Crittenden</i>, and would govern itself accordingly in the matter of demurrage, damage, short delivery and the like. The Court could rely on the Council to dispatch these ships within the ten working days, since it never detained [...] Interpretations

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		proper to§ §Constitute, to manage and transact your Affairs in China,§ §and at the port of Mocha§ §We shall carefully attend to the Charterpartys§ §of the Ships Egmont, and Cuttindon, and shall Govern§ §ourselves accordingly, with respect to Demorage, damage§ §short delivery &c, and you may rely on our despatching§ §these Ships within the ten working Days, We never detain§ §them§	The instruction to inform West Coast gentlemen that they were no longer prisoners of war reflects the workings of wartime capture and release. Company servants taken when a settlement or ship fell to the enemy remained prisoners until formally freed, often through exchange or a peace, and the Council stood ready to pass on word of their release to any who broke their homeward voyage at the island, a piece of administrative relay that carried real weight for the men concerned. The charter party was the contract under which the Company hired a ship from its owners, fixing the terms of the voyage and the penalties for delay. The reference to demurrage, damage and short delivery names the standard heads of dispute under such a contract: demurrage was the charge owed when a ship was held beyond her agreed time, so the Council's pledge to dispatch the <i>Egmont</i> and <i>Crittenden</i> within ten working days was a promise to avoid running up costs that the Company would otherwise have to bear.
228	218	them a moment after the limited time is expired§ §and it appears to Us, that Capt Clements made no unnecessary§ §delay here, having after the Cargo was delivered for this§ §place, his water and ballast to take in, and his Ship to put§ §in order for proceeding on his voyage§ §We shall continue to observe your Orders§ §relative to Our demanding any of his Majestys Subjects that§ §we hear, or have reason to believe are on board any Foreign Ships§ §You may be assured we shall constantly§ §inform you of any Persons being left here out of your§ §Ships, that the owners may be charged regularly with the§ §expences incurred on their Account§ §Agreeable to your directions we shall§ §discharge William Rogers Midshipman of the Mercury§ §Snow, upon that Vessels arrival here, and permit him to§ §return to England at his own Expence§ §It gives us great pleasure to hear that the§ §preliminary Articles for a Peace was concluded in November§ §last, between their Britanick most Christian, and Catholick§ §Majestys, In consequence of your orders thereupon we shall give§ §the Commanders of your Ships directions after the expiration of§ §the Time of six Months stipulated in the preliminary Articles§ §to proceed immediately to the River of Thames and all such§ §Ships that are despatched before that Time we shall caution§ §the Captains to be on their guard, until the Period for the§ §Cessation of Hostilities is expired, and shall deliver to them§ §one of his Majestys Proclamations and enjoin them, in a Strict§ §observance of it, as you have been pleased to direct§ §The French Ships that may touch here§ §after the time appointed for the Cessation of Hostilities shall be§ §received in the same manner, they were before the Commencement§ §of the War, and you may be assured that no People of that, or any§	The Council never held ships a moment beyond their allotted time, and it seemed to the Council that Captain Clements had made no unnecessary delay here, since after his cargo for St Helena was landed he still had his water and ballast to take in and his ship to put in order for the rest of her voyage. 11: The Council would continue to observe the Court's orders about demanding any of His Majesty's subjects it heard, or had reason to believe, were aboard any foreign ships. 12: The Court could rely on the Council to report anyone left here out of its ships, so that the owners might be regularly charged with the expenses incurred on their account. 13: As directed, the Council would discharge William Rogers, midshipman of the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, on that vessel's arrival here, and allow him to return to England at his own expense. 14: The Council was much pleased to hear that the preliminary articles for a peace had been concluded in November, between the British, French and Spanish crowns. In line with the Court's orders on this, the Council would direct the commanders of the Court's ships, after the six months fixed in the preliminary articles, to proceed at once to the River Thames. As for any ships sent off before that time, the Council would warn the captains to be on their guard until the period for the cessation of hostilities had expired, deliver to them one of His Majesty's proclamations and enjoin them to observe it strictly, as the Court had directed. 15: The French ships that called here after the time appointed for the cessation of hostilities would be received in the same manner as they were before the war began. The Court could rest assured that no people of that or any other foreign nation would be permitted to go into the country [...] Interpretations The preliminary articles of November were the first stage of the settlement that ended the Seven Years War, agreed between Britain, France and Spain before the final treaty was signed. The Council's careful handling of the six-month interval reflects the legal reality that hostilities did not cease the moment terms were agreed: a fixed period had to elapse before peace took full effect, during which ships might still be taken, so captains sailing in that window had to be warned and armed with the King's proclamation to know when they were safe. The instruction that French ships would again be received as before the war, while no foreigner would be let into the interior, marks the double character of St Helena's dealings with other nations. The island offered water and refreshment to all comers as a

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		§other Foreign Nation, shall be permitted to go into the Country§	matter of custom, yet guarded its inland ground and defences closely, so hospitality at the shore went hand in hand with a firm bar on any foreign party moving inland where they might observe the island's strength.
229	219	or take a View of your fortifications§ §We return your Honors thanks, for permitting§ §Us to keep the Mercury Snow, & Sly Cutter here, as long as we§ §think, them useful, and they shall be constantly employed on all§ §occasions that we may think, for the service of your Island, and upon§ §our discharging or exchanging any of their Crew your directions§ §on that head, shall be carefully attended to§ §As your Ships will not be detained here in time§ §of Peace, we flatter ourselves, we shall not labour under any difficulty§ §in furnishing them with fresh provisions, and therefore the§ §injunction, you have been pleased to give the Captains to provide§ §themselves therewith, we apprehend will be no longer necessary§ §Upon his Majestys Ships coming into the§ §Road, we will govern ourselves with regard to Salutes by the§ §directions you have been pleased to give, & shall constantly shew all§ §His Majestys Officers that touch here, the respect due to their Rank§ §We are surprised at Capt Sees frequent§ §Addressing your Honors, when we informed him last Years of§ §your Sentiments upon that head, all the Articles wanted for the§ §use of that Vessel, were inserted as we imagine in the General§ §Indent§ §We are much Obligated to your Honors, for the§ §ample supply you have been pleased to send Us this Season, which§ §will fully answer all our Demands, we shall be sure to expend the§ §Provisions received by the Egmont first, for the reasons assigned, if§ §we find it will not keep so well as that we have in Store, but§ §we are apprehensive, the Irish Pork that came by the Royal§ §Charlotte will, if not soon disposed of, be liable to spoil, as§ §that Meat turns out but very indifferently, and in future we§ §shall indent for all English, There will be no occasion for our having§ §received to the Captns of yours Ships this Year for Salt provisions,§ §neither will it be necessary to have near this Quantity in Store in§ §time of Peace§	The Council would let no foreigner take a view of the island's fortifications. 16: The Council thanked the Court for allowing it to keep the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and the <i>Fly Cutter</i> here as long as it thought them useful, and they would be constantly employed on every occasion that might serve the island. The Court's directions about discharging or exchanging any of their crews would be carefully observed. 17: Since the Court's ships would not be detained here in time of peace, the Council hoped it would have no difficulty in furnishing them with fresh provisions, and so the order the Court had given the captains to provide themselves would no longer be needed. 18: When one of His Majesty's ships came into the road, the Council would govern itself over salutes by the directions the Court had given, and would always show all His Majesty's officers who called here the respect due to their rank. 19: The Council was much pleased at Captain Fee's frequent letters to the Court, having told him the previous year of the Court's wishes on that head. All the articles wanted for the use of that vessel had been entered, as the Council supposed, in the general indent. 20: The Council was much obliged to the Court for the ample supply sent this season, which would fully answer all its demands. It would be sure to use the provisions received by the <i>Egmont</i> first, for the reasons given, if it found they would not keep so well as those in store. The Council feared the Irish pork that came by the <i>Royal Charlotte</i> would be liable to spoil if not soon used, since that meat turned out very poor, and in future it would indent for all English. There would be no occasion this year to draw on the captains of the Court's ships for salt provisions, nor would it be necessary to keep near the same quantity in store in time of peace. Interpretations The reference to salutes touches a point of naval etiquette that carried real weight. The number of guns fired when a warship entered the road, and the order in which salutes were exchanged, marked the relative standing of the parties, and a misjudged salute could give offence, so the Council took its instructions on the practice seriously as a matter of showing proper respect to the King's officers. The whole of the twentieth paragraph shows the changed logic of supply once peace was in prospect. In wartime the island held large stocks of salt provisions against the risk of ships failing to arrive, and drew on visiting captains to make up shortfalls, but with the Court's ships no longer detained and free to bring fresh supplies, that heavy reserve became unnecessary. The Council's decision to run down its salt stores, use the least durable barrels first and indent only for English meat in future reflects a deliberate shift from the caution of war to the economy of peace. Speculations With a fresh supply just landed and the storehouses full, the obvious course was to keep the salt provisions against future want, as the island had always done through the war. The Council chose instead to run its stocks down, resolving to consume the least durable barrels first and to hold nowhere near the usual quantity in reserve. What made the change safe was the very thing that had made the old caution necessary: the record ties the decision to the

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			coming peace, when the Court's ships would no longer be detained and could bring fresh provisions freely, so the deep reserve that war had demanded became a needless expense the moment the danger of interrupted supply lifted.
230	220	If we find it necessary to alter our§ §Indents to China, we shall be sure to apprise your§ §Council thereof§ §Agreeable to your directions we made an§ §enquiry into the State, and Issue of your medicines, and§ §the reason Mr Barclay the Surgeon Assigns for indenting§ §for a larger quantity than usual, was on account of its§ §being War time, therefore thought it absolutely necessary to§ §have at least a twelve Months stock on Hand, in case of§ §any accident happening to the Store Ship, He likewise supplies§ §the Mercury Snow, and Sly Cutter, and furnished your§ §Ship Admiral Watson with what Medicines and Utensils§ §She was in want of, which was very considerable, He acquaints§ §Us that he has now a very good Stock, And if the Cuttindon§ §should bring the remainder of what was Indented for last§ §Season, there will be but very few things wanted for two Years§ §to come, such articles as will only keep from Year to Year§ §The Surgeons Instruments sent for the§ §use of the Mercury Snow shall be delivered to the proper§ §Officer, as that Vessel is at present without a Surgeon§ §We shall direct the Gunner to be very§ §explicit in describing the demensions &c of the Gun§ §Carriages he may Indent for in future§ §The two Kroovels of Composition Stuff was§ §thought necessary by Capt Harrold to be indented for to§ §preserve the bottom of the Mercury from the worms, which§ §we should not otherwise have wrote for§ §The Blacking in bulk, we imagine will§ §not answer the purpose it being of so light a nature, that in§ §weighing it out in small quantitys a considerable waste§ §must ensue§ §The length and breadth of the Timbers hath§ §be particulariz'd in our Indent, and the Storekeeper insert in the§ §List of Remains the weight of the new Anchors, and likewise§	21: Should the Council find it necessary to alter its indents to China, it would be sure to inform the Court of it. 22: As directed, the Council made a modern enquiry into the state and issue of the Court's medicines. The reason Mr Barclay the surgeon gave for indenting for a larger quantity than usual was that, being wartime, he thought it absolutely necessary to have at least a twelve months stock on hand in case of any accident to the store ship. He also supplied the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and the <i>Fly Cutter</i>, and furnished the Court's ship <i>Admiral Watson</i> with what medicines and utensils she needed, which was a very considerable amount. The surgeon reported that he now had a very good stock, and that if the <i>Crittenden</i> brought the remainder of what had been indented for the previous season, there would be very few things wanting for two years to come, such articles as would keep from year to year. 23: The surgeon's instruments sent for the use of the <i>Mercury Snow</i> would be delivered to the proper officer, since that vessel was at present without a surgeon. 24: The Council would direct the gunner to be very exact in describing the dimensions and other particulars of the gun carriages he might indent for in future. 25: Captain Harrold thought the two barrels of composition stuff necessary to indent for, to preserve the bottom of the <i>Mercury</i> from the worms, which the Council would not otherwise have written for. 26: The blacking in bulk, the Council imagined, would not answer the purpose, being of so light a nature that in weighing it out in small quantities a considerable waste must follow. 27: The length and breadth of the timber and deals would be set out particularly in the indent, and the Council would enter in the list of remains the weight of the anchors, and likewise [...] Interpretations The surgeon's case for a twelve months stock of medicines rested on the same wartime logic that governed the island's food reserves. Because the store ship might be delayed or lost to the enemy, holding a full year's supply of medicines guarded against being caught without them, and the surgeon further drew on that stock to furnish passing Company ships, so the reserve served both the garrison and the wider shipping that called at the island. The two barrels of composition stuff point to a real problem of wooden ships in warm waters. Composition was a protective coating smeared on a ship's underwater hull to guard against the shipworm, a marine borer that tunnelled into unprotected timber and could destroy a vessel's bottom, so Captain Harrold's request to keep the <i>Mercury</i>'s hull treated was a matter of preserving the ship itself against a hazard that plagued vessels in these seas.
231	221	specify the quantity of each Number of Canvas, and the Number of§ §Coils and size of Coidage, as you have directed§ §You are pleased to take notice that an increase§ §is annually made of the Sum wrote of your Books for Leakage,§ §wastage &c, we next order any Sum to be discharged, but what§	The Council would also specify the quantity of each number of canvas, and the number of coils and size of cordage, as the Court had directed. 28: The Court had asked the Council to notice that an allowance was made each year in its books for the sum written off for leakage, wastage and the like. The Council would not in future write off any sum to be discharged but what appeared reasonable, and

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		§appears to be reasonable, and the Storekeeper approves Us is such, and§ §unavoidable, you will please to observe this last years waste does§ §not amount to near the sum it did the preceding§ §It gives Us pleasure to acquaint you the§ §destemper among the Cattle appears to be quite ceased, but should it§ §return, we shall not fail to make use of the Receipes, and follow§ §the directions you have been pleased to give us, As to the§ §Angelica and Succume seed we shall endeavour to Cultivate§ §them in such parts of the Island, they are most likely to thrive in,§ §pursuant to your directions, and what Mr Miller in his§ §Dictionary may mention upon it, And likewise make the§ §experiment of the Roller, in case we should find it necessary§ §We are in great hopes the Establishment off§ §Courts Civil and Criminal here and putting the Laws in§ §consequence thereof in due execution against Delinquents will§ §in great Measure prevent Enormities from being committed,§ §the examples lately made of some Criminals we imagine will§ §have the desired effect, by deterring others from Committing§ §Crimes that will subject them to the like unhappy§ §circumstances, As you think it not necessary to send a Person§ §qualified to Assist Us in the forms of those Courts, we shall§ §endeavour to Govern ourselves as well as we can by the Laws off§ §England, and the instructions your Honors have been pleased to§ §give Us on this Head, and shall make it our Study to see justice§ §impartially Administred, as well as to discourage, all Vexatious off§ §Vexatious Suits, And by the next Conveyance we shall answer§ §your separate Letter on this subject, and transmit you the§ §proceedings of our last Quarter Sessions§ §We shall take care to prevent any mistakes§	the storekeeper assured it this was just and unavoidable. The Court might observe that the previous year's wastage did not come to near the sum of the year before. 29: The Council was glad to report that the sickness among the cattle appeared to be quite over, but should it return the Council would use the recipes and follow the directions the Court had given. As for the angelica and sesame seed, the Council would try to cultivate them in such parts of the island as they were most likely to thrive in, as the Court had directed, and as Mr Miller might mention in his dictionary. It would also make an experiment of the roller, should it find that necessary. 30: The Council was in great hopes that the setting up of courts civil and criminal here, and the putting of the laws into execution against offenders, would in great measure prevent grave crimes from being committed. It hoped the examples lately made of some criminals would have the desired effect by deterring others from committing crimes that would subject them to the like unhappy fate. Since the Court thought it unnecessary to send anyone qualified to help the Council in the forms of those courts, the Council would try to govern itself as well as it could by the laws of England and the instructions the Court had given on this head. It would make it its study to see justice administered impartially, as well as to discourage all vexatious suits, and by the next ship it would answer the Court's separate letter on this subject and send the proceedings of the last quarter present. 31: The Council would take care to prevent any mistakes [...] Interpretations The reference to angelica and sesame seed, alongside Mr Miller's dictionary, reflects an effort at agricultural improvement on the island. Angelica was an aromatic plant valued for medicinal and culinary use, sesame a seed grown for its oil, and the dictionary meant was almost certainly the standard gardening reference of the day, so the Court was directing the Council to trial useful crops using the best horticultural guidance then available, part of a wider aim to make the island produce more of its own needs. The whole of the thirtieth paragraph shows the island building a working legal system with almost no outside support. The Court declined to send anyone trained in court procedure, leaving the Council to run civil and criminal courts by its own reading of English law, and the reliance on public examples made of convicted criminals as a deterrent reflects a settlement using visible punishment to hold order where trained lawyers and settled institutions were absent. The care recorded to administer justice impartially and to check vexatious suits, meaning legal actions brought to harass rather than for genuine grievance, marks an awareness that a fair system mattered as much as a firm one. Speculations Left without any trained legal officer, the obvious course for the Council would have been to lean on informal or summary justice, as small remote settlements often did, rather than attempt the full apparatus of English courts. The Council instead resolved to run courts civil and criminal by the laws of England as best it could read them, and to promise the Court a separate letter with the proceedings of its quarter present. What pushed it toward the harder course was the Court's own refusal to send a qualified man, recorded in the same paragraph: rather than treat that refusal as licence to improvise, the Council took it as reason to bind itself more tightly to English forms and to document its proceedings, so that justice on the island would

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			answer to a known standard even without an expert to administer it.
232	222	in your Rent Roll for the future§ §Capt Kirkpatrick & Britannicus Wright§ §have both Executed their Covenants which go in our Packet, Capt§ §Kirkpatrick has a set to two Gentlemen in England to be§ §his Security, put to Britannicus Wright, this Writer was born upon§ §this Island, and has no Friends out of it, he has procured§ §two responsible Persons here, which he hopes your Honors§ §will be pleased to except of to be his Security§ §We are glad our dismissing John Bland§ §from your Service for his insolent behaviour met with your Honrs§ §approbation, and should he misbehave again, we shall inform§ §you of it, that another Person may be sent hither in his room§ §Had we known you would have disapproved§ §of any Passengers going to India by way of China, we should§ §not have given leave to Harper and Piddom, to have taken§ §their Passage upon the Royal Charlotte, neither shall we permit§ §any one to do it in future§ §We received only Thirty of the Recruits out§ §of the thirty four mentioned in the List, by the Egmont,§ §Robert Brown, and John Dorrelson dying on the Passage,§ §David Clerk runaway from the Ship at Gravesend, and§ §Thomas Ellett discharged, the small Premium We advanced§ §some of the Soldiers last Year, whose contracted Times were near§ §expiring to engage them to serve five Years longer, we are glad§ §to find has met with your approbation, We shall observe your§ §directions in not creating any new commissioned Officers, except§ §Mr Welsh who you have been pleased to recommend for the first§ §Vacancy§ §We have granted the following bills of§ §Exchange vizt One Set to Charles Hutchinson Esqr for £112 7§ §Payable to Capt Alexander Hume or Order, and one Set to Mr§ §Matthew Curling for £108, payable to Mr James§ §Rutherford, or Order, both drawn at Ninety Days sight, and dated the§ §4 Instant§	The Council would take care to prevent any mistakes in the rent roll in future. 32: Captain Kirkpatrick and Britannicus Wright had both executed their agreements, which went enclosed. Captain Kirkpatrick had put in two gentlemen in England as his security. Britannicus Wright, the writer, was born on the island and had no friends outside it, so he found two responsible men here whom he hoped the Court would agree to accept as his security. 33: The Council was glad that its dismissal of John Bland from the Court's service for his insolent behaviour met with the Court's approval, and should he misbehave again the Council would report it, so that another might be sent here in his place. 34: Had the Council known the Court would disapprove of any passengers going to India by way of China, it would not have given Harper and Priddom leave to take their passage aboard the <i>Royal Charlotte</i>, nor would it allow anyone to do so in future. 35: The Council received only thirty of the thirty-four recruits named in the list by the <i>Egmont</i>, Robert Brown and John Davidson dying on the passage, David Clarke running away from the ship at Gravesend, and Thomas Ellett being discharged. As for the small premium the Council advanced to some of the soldiers the previous year whose contracted terms were near expiring, to engage them to serve five years longer, it was glad to find this met with the Court's approval. The Council would observe the Court's directions in not raising any new commissioned officers, except Mr Welch, whom the Court had recommended for the first vacancy. 36: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Charles Hutchinson for £112 7s 0d, payable to Captain Alexander Hume or order. And one set to Mr Matthew Curling for £108 0s 0d, payable to Mr James Rutherford or order, both drawn at 90 days after sight and dated the 4 of this month. Interpretations The security arrangements for Captain Kirkpatrick and Britannicus Wright show how the Company bound its servants against default. A man taking a position of trust had to find sureties who would answer for him, and the contrast between Kirkpatrick, who named backers in England, and Wright, island-born with no connections abroad and reliant on local men, illustrates how a settler with no ties to Britain was disadvantaged in meeting the Company's expectations even for a modest post such as writer, the junior clerical grade of the service. The premium paid to re-engage soldiers whose terms were expiring reveals a real difficulty in holding a garrison on a remote station. Men who had served out their contracts might leave, thinning the island's defence, so the Council paid a cash bonus to persuade them to sign on for five more years, a practical inducement to keep experienced troops rather than face the risk and delay of replacing them from home.
233	223	As the Last Quarters Accounts, will not be§ §laid before Us, until the 18th Instant, we cannot send your Cash§ §Account to a later date, than the 25th of last Month§ §The Passengers on board the Tilbury, are§ §Mrs Drake, and Lt Manning§ §As Capt Hautpene of the Dutch Ship§ §Vismaar, was so obliging to touch here at the request of Capt Harrold§ §to bring a Mate of his hither to inform Us of his	37: Since the last quarter's accounts would not be laid before the Council until the 18 of this month, the Council could not send the Court a cash account to a later date than the 25 of the previous month. 38: The passengers aboard the <i>Tilbury</i> were Mr Drake and Lieutenant Manning. 39: Captain Hautfene of the Dutch ship <i>Amaar</i> was so obliging as to call here at the request of Captain Harrold, to bring word of his situation at the Cape, the particulars of which the Council had given

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		situation at the§ §Cape, the particulars of which, we acquainted your Honors in our§ §Address by that Ship, We on this Account made the Captain a§ §present of ten Dozen of Beer, six Turkys, and three Quarters of§ §a Bullock§ §By this conveyance we transmit your Honors§ §General Books of Accounts, balanced to the 30 September last§ §We have given Capt Mainwaring an Order to§ §receive on board his Ship William Downing, who was left here§ §out of the Fox, and two French prisoners left sick out of the Ship§ §Godolphin, we have paid Mr Barclay £1 6 8 for§ §Subsisting the two Prisoners 22 Days at 7 & § §Day each,§ §which with the ten pounds for their Passage, we suppose will§ §be made good to you, by the Owners of the Godolphin, As§ §likewise the £5 we paid for the Passage of William§ §Downing, by those of the Fox, We have also put on board§ §the Tilbury Thomas Greystock a discharged Soldier to§ §compleat her company§ §As we find upon a computation we shall§ §require £4000 for Bills, exclusive of the three Chests of§ §Treasure, consigned Us by the Egmont, and it is very uncertain§ §whether we shall be able to get so large a Sum, we think§ §ourselves obliged to take them, lest we should not have Cash§ §sufficient to defray your Expences for the current Year, but should§ §it happen that we can procure Money enough, those purposes§ §between this, and the sailing of the Cuttindon from hence, we§ §shall not fail to Consign what we can spare to your Council in§ §China§	the Court in its letter by that ship. On this account the Council made the captain a present of ten dozen of beer, six turkeys and three quarters of a bullock. 40: By this ship the Council sent the Court its general books of accounts, balanced to 30 September. 41: The Council gave Captain Mainwaring an order to receive aboard his ship <i>William Downing</i>, who had been left here out of the <i>Fox</i>, and the two French prisoners left sick out of the ship <i>Godolphin</i>. The Council paid Mr Barclay £1 5s 8d for feeding the two prisoners twenty-two days at sevenpence a day each, which, with the ten pounds for their passage, it supposed would be made good by the owners of the <i>Godolphin</i>. Likewise the £5 0s 0d paid for the passage of William Downing would be made good by those of the <i>Fox</i>. The Council also put aboard the <i>Tilbury</i> Thomas Greystock, a discharged soldier, to make up her crew. 42: Since the Council found on calculation that it would need £4,000 in bills, apart from the three sets of drafts consigned to it by the <i>Egmont</i>, and since it was very uncertain whether it would be able to raise so large a sum, it thought itself obliged to take them, for fear of not having cash enough to defray the Court's expenses for the present year. Should it happen that the Council could procure money enough for those purposes between now and the sailing of the <i>Crittenden</i> from St Helena, it would not fail to consign what it could spare to the Court's council in China [...] Interpretations The present of beer, turkeys and a quarter share of a slaughtered bullock to Captain Hautfene shows how the island rewarded services that its own isolation made valuable. Because St Helena depended on passing ships to carry word between the Cape and home, a Dutch captain who went out of his way to bring news of a detained Company vessel had done the Council a real favour, and the gift of fresh provisions was the fitting return in a place where fresh food was itself a scarce commodity. The charge of sevenpence a day to feed each French prisoner, carefully recorded against the owners of the <i>Godolphin</i>, reflects the exact bookkeeping the island applied to costs it meant to recover. Every expense incurred on behalf of a ship or its people was logged to the responsible party, so that the burden of feeding stranded prisoners or paying a discharged man's passage fell ultimately on the shipowners rather than on the Company's stores at St Helena. Speculations Uncertain whether it could raise £4,000 locally, the Council might have waited to see how much cash it could gather before committing to the bills consigned by the <i>Egmont</i>. It chose instead to take the bills at once rather than risk being caught short. The reason lay in the asymmetry the paragraph sets out: to decline them and then fail to find money would leave the island unable to meet the Court's expenses for the year, whereas taking them and later raising cash anyway carried no such danger, so the Council accepted the certain instrument over the uncertain hope, promising to remit any surplus to China if its position eased.
234	224	China§ §On the 11th Instant arrived your Ship§ §Royal Captain, & Yesterday the True Briton, Royal§ §Charlotte, Harcourt & Horendon all from China, they left§ §Wampo the 5 of January 1763, We are informed that on the 8 of§ §that Month about Half an Hour after eleven at Night	43: On the 11 of this month arrived the Court's ship <i>Royal Captain</i>, and the day before the <i>True Briton</i>, <i>Royal Charlotte</i>, <i>Harcourt</i> and <i>Hanover</i>, all from China. They left Whampoa on the 5 of January 1763. The Council learned that on the 8 of that month, about half an hour after eleven at night, the Court's ship <i>Elizabeth</i> was unfortunately burnt off the Bocca Tigris, and that her second and fifth mates, with

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		your§ §Ship Elizabeth was unfortunately burnt off the Boca Tigris,§ §that the Capt 2d & 5th Mates with 25 others lost their Lives in§ §that Melancholy Accident, We are likewise told the Albion§ §and Efox, were to be despatched in a short time after these§ §Ships, & were to call at Manila§ §The ten working Days for unloading§ §the Egmont expiring this Day, we gave Capt Mears an§ §Order to proceed on his voyage§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §(Signed)§ §St Helena§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §15th April 1763§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Tilbury dated the 15th April 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governors and Councils General Letter dated the 15th April 1763§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated the 25 March Do§ §3 Do Do and Do dated the 27 Do Do§ §4 Do Do and Do dated the 11 Do Do§ §5 Consultations from the 28th March to the 11 Do§ §6 Duplicate Do from the 7 to the 21 March Do§	twenty-five others, lost their lives in that terrible accident. The Council was also told that the <i>Albion</i> and <i>Essex</i> were to be sent off a short time after these ships, and were to call at Manila. 44: Since the ten working days for unloading the <i>Egmont</i> expired this day, the Council gave Captain Mears an order to proceed on his voyage. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 15 April 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Tilbury</i>, dated 15 April 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated the 15 April 1763 2: Duplicate of the same, dated the 25 March, the same year 3: The same, dated the 27 March, the same year 4: The same, dated the 11 March, the same year 5: Consultations from the 28 March to the 11, the same year 6: Duplicate of the same, from the 7 to the 21 March, the same year Interpretations The loss of the <i>Elizabeth</i> by fire off the Bocca Tigris was a grave disaster, the death of twenty-five men and two of her officers in a night blaze marking one of the real hazards of the China trade. The Bocca Tigris was the narrow entrance to the Pearl River below Canton, the strait through which every ship passed on the approach to Whampoa, so the accident struck at the very gateway of the trade where the homeward fleet gathered. The order to Captain Mears to sail the moment his ten working days expired shows the Council holding closely to the terms of the charter party. Because keeping a ship beyond her allotted unloading time ran up demurrage charges the Company would have to pay, the Council released her promptly on the last permitted day, turning the contract's time limit into a firm instruction to depart.
235	225	7 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Fox§ §8 Do Do & the Vismaar§ §9 Second Do & the Admiral Watson§ §10 List of Officers and Servants taken the 15th April 1763§ §11 Duplicate Do of the Packet & Ship Fox§ §12 Governors Letter to the Secret Committee§ §13 Effective State of the Garrison§ §14 Muster Rolls of Do§ §15 Duplicate Cash Account from the 7 to the 25th March 1763§ §16 Ship Tilburys Account§ §17 Duplicate Fox's Do§ §18 Do Godolphin's Do§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Tilbury, True Briton, Royal§ §Captain, Harcourt, Royal Charlotte, & Horendon§ §20 Covenants of Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council, and Britannicus§ §Wright, Writer§ §21 Capt Mainwaring first Receipt for £15§ §22 General Books of Accounts§ §To the Honorable &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Advices waited on your Honors§ §by your Ship Tilbury, which sailed from hence the 15th Instant,§ §Duplicates of which we transmit you herewith§ §We have put on board the Royal Captain§ §William Pigeon, William Heath, for Edward Coram, & Littleha§ §Pigott four Discharged Soldiers, to complete her	The list of enclosures continued, several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. Item 7 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Fox</i>. Item 8 was the same, by the <i>Amaar</i>. Item 9 was the second receipt, by the <i>Admiral Watson</i>. 10: List of officers and servants, taken the 15 April 1763 Item 11 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Fox</i>. 12: Governor's letter to the Secret Committee 13: Effective state of the garrison 14: Muster rolls of the same 15: Duplicate cash account from the 7 to the 25 March 1763 Item 16 was the ship <i>Tilbury's</i> account. Item 17 was the duplicate of the <i>Fox's</i> account. Item 18 was the duplicate of the <i>Godolphin's</i> account. Item 19 was an abstract of the cargoes of the ships <i>Tilbury</i>, <i>True Briton</i>, <i>Royal Captain</i>, <i>Harcourt</i>, <i>Royal Charlotte</i> and <i>Hanover</i>. 20: Covenants of Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council and Britannicus Wright, writer 21: Captain Mainwaring's first receipt for £15 0s 0d 22: General books of accounts To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Tilbury</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 15 of this month, a duplicate of which went enclosed.

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		Company§ §As the last Quarters Accounts did not come§ §before Us, until the 18 instant, we had not time to have them§ §Copied to transmit by this Conveyance, but all the other§ §usual§	2: The Council put aboard the <i>Royal Captain</i> William Pigeon, William Heath, Edward Coram and Little Bigott, four discharged soldiers, to make up her crew. 3: Since the last quarter's accounts did not come before the Council until the 18 of this month, it had no time to have them copied to send by this ship, but all the other [...]
236	226	usual Papers go in the Packet§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §Honorable Sirs§ §21 April 1763§ §Your most obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Royal Captain dated 21 April 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 21 April 1763§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 16th Do Do§ §3 Consultations from the 15th to the 16th Do Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 28th March to 11 Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Tilbury§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Fox§ §7 Do Do for Do & the Vismaar§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 21 April 1763§ §9 Do of four Discharged Soldiers§ §10 Duplicate Do of the Packet & Ship Tilbury§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Cash Account from the 26th to the 31 March 1763§ §13 Do from the 1 to the 21 April Do§ §14 Ship Royal Captains Account§ §15 Duplicate Ship Tilburys Do§ §16 Capt Mainwarings Second Receipt for £15§	All the other usual papers went in the packet. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 21 April 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Royal Captain</i>, dated 21 April 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 21 April 1763 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 15, the same year 3: Consultations from the 15 to the 16, the same year 4: Duplicate of the same, from the 28 March to 11, the same year Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Tilbury</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Fox</i>. Item 7 was the same by the <i>Amaar</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 21 April 1763 9: The same, of four discharged soldiers Item 10 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Tilbury</i>. 11: Effective state of the garrison 12: Cash account from the 26 to the 31 March 1763 13: The same, from the 1 to the 21 April, the same year Item 14 was the ship <i>Royal Captain's</i> account. Item 15 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Tilbury's</i> account. Item 16 was Captain Mainwaring's second receipt for £15 0s 0d.
237	227	To the Honorable &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We Addressed you last by your Honors Ship§ §Royal Captain which sailed from hence the 22d of Aprile 1763§ §On the 26 of last Month, your Ship Egmont§ §proceeded on Her Voyage§ §The Snow Mercury is not yet arrived from the§ §Cape, We therefore imagine she is still kept in there by the§ §French Ships§ §We have put on board the True Briton James§ §Sherlock, and Thomas Hinds two discharged Soldiers to§ §complete her Company, And have given Capt Crichton a§ §permission to receive on board his Ship John Adam Brazir§ §John Hendrick Wolters, & Frederick Simmerman three other§ §discharged Men§ §We have likewise put on board the Horendon§ §William Lester, Richd Tink, Peter Mitchel, and John§ §Frederick Emmerling four more discharged Men to complete§ §her company, And have permitted Capt Marlor to receive on§ §board his Ship Thomas Haycock another discharged Soldier§ §James Buckley, James Fox, and John§ §Wageling four discharged Soldiers, we have given Captain§	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Royal Captain</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 25 April 1763. 2: On the 26 of the previous month the Court's ship <i>Egmont</i> proceeded on her voyage. 3: The <i>Mercury Snow</i> had not yet arrived from the Cape, so the Council supposed she was still kept in there by the French ships. 4: The Council put aboard the <i>True Briton</i> James Sherlock and Thomas Hinds, two discharged soldiers, to make up her crew. It also gave Captain Crichton leave to receive aboard his ship John Adam Brazier, John Hendrick Walters and Frederick Zimmerman, three other discharged men. 5: The Council likewise put aboard the <i>Hanover</i> William Lester, Richard Tink, Peter Mitchel and John Frederick Emmerling, four more discharged men, to make up her crew. It also gave Captain Marlor leave to receive aboard his ship Thomas Haycock and other discharged soldiers. 6: The Council gave Captain Morrison leave to receive aboard his ship James Buckley, James Fox and John Wageling, four discharged soldiers. It likewise gave Captain Clements leave to take aboard the <i>Royal Charlotte</i> Thomas Wyatt, Alexander Ketchen, Christopher Dyatt, Alexander Hall and Jacob Epsley, five more discharged men. All those the Council allowed to leave the island signed an agreement that they would demand no wages for their passage home, which went enclosed.

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		§Morrison a permission to receive on board his Ship, And§ §likewise permitted Capt Clements to take on board the§ §Royal Charlotte, Thomas Wyatt, Alexander Ketchen§ §Christopher Dyatt, Alexander Hall, & Jacob Epsley five§ §more discharged Men, All those we permitted to leave the§ §Island have signed an instrument that they will not§ §demand any Wages for their passage Home which go§ §enclosed§ §We have granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange§	7: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. [...] Interpretations The steady stream of discharged soldiers placed aboard homeward ships shows how the island cleared unwanted men from its garrison. Each captain of a China ship short of hands took a few discharged soldiers to complete his crew, so the outgoing fleet absorbed men the island no longer needed while filling gaps in ships' companies, and the signed waivers of wages ensured the passage cost the Company nothing beyond the men's keep aboard. The continued absence of the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, still held at the Cape by French ships, marks how the war's closing months could still strand a vessel far from home. A French squadron lingering at the Cape kept the Company's own snow bottled up there, unable to return to St Helena, a reminder that even as peace approached the enemy's presence could disrupt the island's shipping and hold its vessels captive in a foreign port.
238	228	Exchange vizt One Set to Captain Charles Mewes for§ §one hundred and fifty Pounds payable to Wm Sarah Meare§ §or Order, drawn at Ninety days sight and dated the 25 of§ §last Month, One set to Captain Richard Morrison for three§ §hundred and seventy pounds payable to himself or Order§ §One set to Captain John Clements for one hundred and§ §fifty Pounds payable to himself or Order, And one set to§ §Captain William Marlor, for two hundred and fifty five§ §Pounds payable to himself or Order, all dated the 30th Aprile§ §last, and drawn at Ninety days sight§ §This Waits on your Honors by your§ §Ship True Briton, which sails in company with the§ §Royal Charlotte, Harcourt, and Horendon§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most Obedient and humble§ §1 May 1763§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from§ §St Helena & Ship True Briton dated the 1 May 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 1 May 1763§ §2 Do and Do dated 1 Do Do relating to§ §Law Matters 1763§ §3 Duplicate Do and Do dated 21 Aprile 1763§ §4 Consultations from the 18th to the 30 Do Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 15 to the 16 Do Do§	The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Captain Charles Mears for £150 0s 0d, payable to Mr Sarah Mears or order, drawn at 90 days after sight and dated the 25 of the previous month. One set to Captain Richard Morrison for £370 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One set to Captain John Clements for £150 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. And one set to Captain William Marlor for £255 0s 0d, payable to himself or order, all dated the 30 of April and drawn at 90 days after sight. 8: This letter went by the Court's ship <i>True Briton</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Royal Charlotte</i>, <i>Harcourt</i> and <i>Hanover</i>. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 1 May 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>True Briton</i>, dated 1 May 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 1 May 1763 2: The same, relating to law matters, dated 1, the same year 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 21 April 1763 4: Consultations from the 18 to the 30, the same year 5: Duplicate of the same, from the 15 to the 16, the same year
239	229	6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Royal Captain§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship Tilbury§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 1 May 1763§ §9 Do of 19 Discharged Soldiers§ §10 Duplicate Do of 4 Discharged Do§ §11 Do Do of the Packet & Ship Royal Captain§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Cash Account from the 22nd to the 30th Aprile 1763§	The list of enclosures continued, several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Royal Captain</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Tilbury</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 1 May 1763 9: The same, of 19 discharged soldiers

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		§14 Duplicate Do from the 26th to the 31 March Do§ §15 Do Do from the 1 to the 21 April Do§ §16 Ship True Britons Account§ §17 Do Royal Charlottes Do§ §18 Do Harcourts Do§ §19 Do Horendons Do§ §20 Do Egmonts Do§ §21 Duplicate Do Royal Captains Do§ §22 Proceedings of a General Quarter Sessions held on the 6th April§ §1763§ §23 Instrument in writing from 13 Discharged Soldiers§ §To the Honorable &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Address to your Honors went by the Ship§ §True Briton, which sailed from hence the 2d of May in§ §company with the Royal Charlotte, Harcourt and Horendon§ §On the 17th of the same Month, arrived your Ships§ §Cuttendon, by which opportunity & we received your§ §Honors Commands, which shall be duly observed, and§ §attended to§	10: Duplicate of the same, of four discharged soldiers Item 11 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Royal Captain</i>. 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Cash account from the 22 to the 30 April 1763 14: Duplicate of the same, from the 26 to the 31 March, the same year 15: The same, from the 1 to the 21 April, the same year Item 16 was the ship <i>True Briton's</i> account. Item 17 was the <i>Royal Charlotte's</i> account. Item 18 was the <i>Harcourt's</i> account. Item 19 was the <i>Hanover's</i> account. Item 20 was the <i>Egmont's</i> account. Item 21 was the duplicate of the <i>Royal Captain's</i> account. 22: Proceedings of a General Quarter Session held on the 6 April 1763 23: Instrument in writing from 13 discharged soldiers To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>True Briton</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 2 of May in company with the <i>Royal Charlotte</i>, <i>Harcourt</i> and <i>Hanover</i>. 2: On the 17 of the same month arrived the Court's ship <i>Crittenden</i>, by which the Council received the Court's commands, which it would duly observe and attend to.
240	230	If any of the Commanders should be in§ §want of Money here, for the use of their Ships, we§ §shall take care to guide ourselves by the directions§ §you have been pleased to give Us, upon that head§ §We directed Capt Sea to make a report to§ §Us, what repairs were necessary to be done to the Sly§ §Cutter, which you will please to observe she did by§ §our Consultation of the 6th Instant, Upon which we§ §ordered her to be got on Shore, and as there was no Ships§ §here at the time, we directed the Carpenters to examine§ §into her Condition, who acquaints Us the Sheathing is§ §entirely decayed She must therefore consequently be§ §new Sheathed, and by Capt Seas report will be near§ §three Months from that time, before She will be fit for§ §the Sea§ §We have acquainted Captains Harrold and§ §Sea with your Orders relating to them, and shall agreeable§ §to your directions pay the former £130, and the latter§ §£100 a Year, for keeping a Table for themselves, and§ §Officers, the 6 day they received shall cease as you have§ §Ordered§ §We shall punctually comply with your§ §directions in regard to the payment of the Men belonging§ §to the Snow Mercury, and Sly Cutter, and by a List§ §Enclosed, you will please to observe, that we have Exchang'd§ §and Discharged fourteen of the Crew belonging to the§ §Snow Mercury, whose accounts we transmit you§ §herewith§ §If the Salt Provision received this Season should§ §turn§	3: Should any of the commanders need money here for the use of their ships, the Council would take care to guide itself by the directions the Court had given on that head. 4: The Council directed Captain Fea to report what repairs the <i>Fly Cutter</i> needed, as appeared from its consultation of the 6 of this month. It then ordered her to be brought ashore, and since there were no ships here at the time, it directed the caulkers to examine her condition. They reported that her sheathing was entirely decayed and must be renewed, and by Captain Fea's account it would be near three months from that time before she was fit for the sea. 5: The Council told Captains Harrold and Fea of the Court's orders about them, and as directed would pay the former £130 0s 0d and the latter £100 0s 0d a year for keeping a table for themselves and their officers, the payment to cease on the 6 as the Court had ordered. 6: The Council would carry out to the letter the Court's directions about paying the crew of the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i>. As the enclosed list showed, it had exchanged and discharged fourteen of the crew of the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, whose accounts went enclosed. 7: Should the salt provisions received this season [...] Interpretations The decay of the <i>Fly Cutter's</i> sheathing points to the constant battle to keep wooden vessels seaworthy in warm waters. Sheathing was a protective outer skin of thin planking, often over a layer of tar and hair, fixed to the hull to guard the main timbers from the shipworm and from fouling, and when it rotted the whole covering had to be stripped and renewed, a slow job that put the ship out of service for months while the work was done. The allowance paid to Captains Harrold and Fea for keeping a table shows how the Company provided for the standing of its officers. A commander was expected to feed himself and his officers at his own table, so the Company granted a yearly sum toward that cost, the different rates for the two men reflecting the different standing of their commands, and the fixed date for ending the

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			payment tied the allowance to the vessels' period of active service.
241	231	turn out bad, or be Short in weight &ca your Honors may§ §depend upon our given you proper information, and we shall§ §take care to make such compensation to the Soldiers for the§ §pieces of Meat that prove less than they ought to be, as will§ §make them easy§ §We can now with great pleasure inform you the§ §distemper among the Cattle is intirely Ceased, and that the§ §Pastures, Plantations &ca are at present in good§ §condition, having had a very fine Summer Season§ §Agreeable to your Orders, Mr Hall was appointed§ §Capt to the Artillery Company, upon the arrival of the§ §Cuttenden, but we have not appointed a Lieutenant to§ §that Company as you were pleased to direct for the§ §reasons Assigned in our Consultation of the 23 of last§ §Month, which we beg leave to refer you to, and flatter§ §ourselves your Honors will be pleased to approve of§ §the Governors Scheme, for pulling the Artillery Company upon§ §another establishment, as it is not at present upon a proper Military Plan, and as§ §we think, Mr Sampell from his long service, and good§ §behaviour, is intitled to a Commission, and by the Scheme§ §proposed there will be more than sufficient provision for§ §another Officer, without an increase of expence in the§ §Artillery Company, and Mr Welsh standing recommended§ §by your Honors for a Commission, We for these reasons§ §hope you'll be pleased to appoint them both, to be Lieutenants§ §in that Company§ §It is with the greatest satisfaction we observe§ §by your separete Letter, under date of the 22 February last,§ §that the definitive Treaty was signed the 10th of the same§ §Month§	Should the salt provisions received this season turn out bad or be short in weight, the Court could rely on the Council to give it proper information, and the Council would take care to make the soldiers such compensation for the pieces of meat that proved less than they ought to be, so as to keep them content. 8: The Council was glad to report that the sickness among the cattle had entirely ceased, and that the pastures, plantations and the like were now in good condition, the island having had a very fine summer season. 9: As the Court had ordered, Mr Hall was appointed captain of the artillery company on the arrival of the <i>Crittenden</i>, but the Council had not appointed a lieutenant to that company as directed, for the reasons given in its consultation of the 23 of the previous month, to which it referred the Court. The Council hoped the Court would approve the Governor's scheme for putting the artillery company on a proper military footing under another establishment, since it was not so at present. Mr Sampell, by his long service and good behaviour, was entitled to a commission, and by the scheme proposed there would be more than enough provision for another officer without any increase of expense in the artillery company. Since Mr Welch stood recommended by the Court for a commission, the Council hoped for these reasons that the Court would appoint them both to be lieutenants in that company. 10: The Council was most glad to learn from the Court's separate letter of 22 February that the definitive treaty was signed on the 10 of the same month. [...] Interpretations The definitive treaty signed in February was the Treaty of Paris, which formally ended the Seven Years War between Britain, France and Spain and confirmed the terms sketched in the preliminary articles of the previous November. For a remote garrison island that had spent the war watching for enemy squadrons and guarding its supply line, the final settlement meant the lifting of a standing threat, and the Council's satisfaction reflects the real relief of a return to peace. The Governor's scheme to reorganise the artillery company shows a working effort to strengthen the island's defence without added cost. By restructuring the company's establishment, the Council could commission two deserving men as lieutenants using the provision already made, rewarding long service and meeting the Court's recommendation at once, while placing the island's gunners on a firmer military basis than the loose arrangement then in force.
242	232	Month, by the several Plenipotentiaries of the Powers§ §at War§ §On the 15th instant, arrived your Ships Hardwicke§ §and Drake from Bengal, which Place they left the§ §8th March last, and your Honors Ships Royal George§ §Winchelsea, Osterly, Boscamen, and Earl of§ §Ashburnham there, the two latter, as supposed would§ §be despatched for Europe, about a Month after them, We§ §are informed the Osterly Arrived at Bengal the 1 of§ §March, in a very sickley condition, and likewise§ §told the Clinton sailed the 2d and the Houghton the 4th§	The definitive treaty was signed by the several plenipotentiaries of the powers at war. 11: On the 15 of this month arrived the Court's ships <i>Hardwicke</i> and <i>Drake</i> from Bengal, which place they left on 8 March, and the Court's ships <i>Royal George</i>, <i>Winchelsea</i>, <i>Osterley</i>, <i>Boscawen</i> and <i>Earl of Ashburnham</i> were there, the two latter, as supposed, to be sent off for Europe about a month after them. The Council learned that the <i>Osterley</i> reached Bengal on the 1 of March in a very sickly condition. It was also told that the <i>Clinton</i> sailed on the 2, and the <i>Houghton</i> on the 4 of the same month for Madras, and that Captain Howe in the <i>Winchelsea</i> engaged a French frigate of twenty-eight guns for two hours and forced her to sheer off, but received so much damage in the action that she was obliged to go to

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		§the same Month for Madrass, and that Capt Howe in§ §the Winchelsea, had Engaged a french frigate of twenty§ §eight Guns for two hours, and Obligated her to shear off,§ §but received so much damage in the Action, that he§ §was under a necessity to go to Madrass to refit, and did not§ §arrive at Calcutta, until the 5 March§ §By this conveyance, we transmit you the§ §List of Remains, together with our Indents wanted for§ §the Service of the Year 1764, which we hope you will be§ §pleased to send Us, in a seperate Paper in the Packet, we§ §have sent the Number, and Size of Brass Rollers for the frame§ §which we are in great want of, therefore request you will be§ §pleased to forward them by the next Store Ship§ §On the 21 of last Month, about five o'clock in the§ §morning, was felt a Violent Shock of an Earth Quake, the Agitation§ §was so strong in the South part of the Island, as to shake the§ §China &ca off the Shelves in the Houses, but thank God no§ §damage ensued§	Madras to refit, and did not reach Calcutta until the 5 of March. 12: By this ship the Council sent the Court the list of remains, together with its indents for what was wanted for the service of the year 1764, which it hoped the Court would send out, in a separate paper in the packet. The Council had sent the number and size of brass rollers for the grain, which it was in great want of, and so asked the Court to forward them by the next store ship. 13: On the 21 of the previous month, about five o'clock in the morning, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt. The tremor was so strong in the south part of the island as to shake the china and the like off the shelves in the houses, but thank God no damage followed. Interpretations The engagement between the <i>Winchelsea</i> and a French frigate marks the kind of action Company ships still faced in eastern waters before news of the peace reached them. Though the definitive treaty had been signed in February, word travelled slowly, so a Company vessel might still fight an enemy warship months later, and the <i>Winchelsea's</i> two-hour duel and forced retirement to Madras to refit show that the risks of war persisted long after the diplomats had settled terms. The brass rollers wanted for the grain point to the machinery of processing the island's crops. Rollers were used to hull or grind grain, and the Council's pressing request for correctly sized replacements shows how a settlement dependent on its own harvest relied on such equipment, a broken or worn roller threatening its ability to turn raw grain into usable food until a replacement could be shipped from home. Speculations The Council might simply have logged the earthquake as an event and moved on, since no harm was done. It chose instead to record the exact hour, the strength of the shock in the south of the island and the detail of china shaken from shelves, before closing with relief that no damage followed. The care taken over so brief and harmless an event reflects its rarity: a violent tremor was unusual enough on the island that the Council set down precisely what happened, treating a passing alarm as worth a full note to the Court rather than the silence it gave to routine matters.
243	233	We have lately had some very great Floods, which have§ §done considerable damage to the Fortification at Lemmon§ §Vally, the Garden Wall at Plantation House, and several of§ §your Plantations, some of those belonging to the Inhabitants§ §have been almost entirely destroyed by them§ §Your Ship Cuttenden proceeded on her Voyage the§ §fifth Instant, by which opportunity we consigned to your Supra§ §Cargoes of Council at Canton, one Chest of your Treasure§ §taken out of the Ship Egmont, containing four thousand§ §Dollars, being in hopes of getting Bills sufficient with what§ §Cash we have, to defray the expences of the Current Year, and as§ §we have reason to believe, we shall be in want of two Chests§ §for the next season, we request your Honors, to send them, the by§ §Store Ship§ §We received only thirty three, of the forty two	14: The island had lately had some very great floods, which did considerable damage to the fortification at Lemon Valley, the garden wall at Plantation House and several of the Court's plantations. Some of those belonging to the inhabitants had been almost entirely destroyed by them. 15: The Court's ship <i>Crittenden</i> proceeded on her voyage the fifth of this month, by which the Council consigned to the Court's council at Canton one chest of the Court's treasure taken out of the ship <i>Egmont</i>, containing four thousand dollars, in hopes of getting bills enough, with what cash it had, to defray the expenses of the present year. Since the Council had reason to believe it would need two chests for the next season, it asked the Court to send them by the store ship. 16: The Council received only thirty-three of the forty-two recruits named in the list by the <i>Crittenden</i>, William Moore, Walter Watkins and Benedict Mead deserting from the ship, Thomas Jones dying at Gravesend, Gilbert Ward being drowned in an attempt to escape, John Merryweak being sent ashore sick at Portsmouth, and Fergus Fleging, John English and Michael Duff being taken out of the ship by one of His Majesty's officers as deserters.

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		Recruits§ §mentioned in the List by the Cuttenden, William Moore§ §Waltr Watkins, and Benedick Mead, deserted from the Ship,§ §Thos Jones died at Gravesend, Gilbert Ward, was drowned in§ §an attempt to escape, John Merrycock was sent on shore§ §Sick at Portsmouth, and Fergus Skeging, John English§ §and Michael Duff, were taken out of the Ship, by one of§ §his Majestys Officers, being deserters, John Simcox whose§ §name was not inserted in the List of Recruits by the§ §Cuttenden, we have received, We find that we shall want§ §forty Men the next season§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt One Set to Chas Hutchinson, Esqr for £60 payable to Thos§ §Liell Esqr or Order, One Set to Mr Matthew Curling for§ §£1100 payable to Mrs Sarah Neaves, or Order, And one Set§ §to Mr Matthew Bazett for £150 payable to Captain§ §Thomas§	John Simcox, whose name was not entered in the list of recruits by the <i>Crittenden</i>, the Council had received. It found it would want forty men the next season. 17: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Charles Hutchinson for £60 0s 0d, payable to Thomas Liell or order. One set to Mr Matthew Curling for £1,100 0s 0d, payable to Mr Sarah Mears or order. And one set to Mr Matthew Bazett for £150 0s 0d, payable to Captain Thomas [...] Interpretations The consignment of a chest of four thousand dollars to Canton shows how the island served as a link in the Company's flow of silver to China. Because the China trade was bought largely with silver coin, treasure carried east on Company ships was funnelled through waypoints like St Helena, and the Council's forwarding of the chest, together with its request for two more the next season, reflects the constant demand for hard money at Canton to purchase tea and other goods. The heavy attrition among the recruits sent by the <i>Crittenden</i> reveals how difficult it was to deliver soldiers intact to a distant garrison. Of forty-two men, nine were lost before the ship left England through desertion, death, sickness and the seizure of suspected deserters by naval officers, so the island received far fewer men than were dispatched, and the Council's note that it would want forty more the next season shows the constant drain on a garrison that struggled to keep itself up to strength.
244	234	Thomas Crichton, or Order, all dated the 26th Instant, and§ §drawn at Ninety days sight§ §The Passengers on board the Hardwicke are Mr§ §John Hall, & an Armenian Priest, and on board the§ §Drake, Messrs Claddell, Balrich, McLean, and McCoul§ §We have given Captain John Smith a§ §permission to receive on board His Ship Michael Meels a§ §discharged Soldier, he has signed an instrument that he§ §will not demand any Wages for his passage Home, which§ §goes enclosed§ §Your two Vessels were of the utmost consequence to this§ §Place the Sly Cutter in being so stationed, if the Enemy had cruised§ §hereabouts, as to have it in her power, barring any uncommon Accident§ §to give so early Advice to your Honors Ships of their Danger, as to§ §enable them to escape it, and the Mercury Snow, in bringing us§ §Supplies of Cattle, Flour, and other things from the Cape, we for these§ §reasons propose keeping them here a longer time, And as many of§ §your Blacks are quite worn out and unserviceable, and not having§ §sufficient to keep up the necessary Works of this Island, We therefore§ §intend sending them the next Season to Madagascar for Slaves§ §and if your Honors approve of this Scheme, beg you will be§ §pleased to forward Us by the next Store Ship, the several§ §Articles we have Indented for that purpose, which with what§ §remains in the Stores will just compleat the quantity's the§	The bill was payable to Captain Thomas Crichton or order, all dated the 26 of this month and drawn at 90 days after sight. 18: The passengers aboard the <i>Hardwicke</i> were Mr John Hall and an Armenian priest, and aboard the <i>Drake</i> were Messrs Claddell, Balrich, McLean and McCrud. 19: The Council gave Captain John Smith leave to receive aboard his ship Michael Meals, a discharged soldier, who signed an agreement that he would demand no wages for his passage home, which went enclosed. 20: The Council's two vessels were of the utmost consequence to St Helena, the <i>Fly Cutter</i> in being so placed that, had the enemy cruised near the island, it lay in her power, barring any unusual accident, to give early word to the Court's ships of their danger and so enable them to escape it. The <i>Mercury Snow</i> served in bringing supplies of cattle, flour and other things from the Cape. For these reasons the Council meant to keep both here a longer time. Since many of the Court's slaves were quite worn out and unfit for work, and since it had not enough to keep up the necessary works of the island, the Council intended to send them the next season to Madagascar for more slaves. Should the Court approve the scheme, the Council asked it to forward by the next store ship the several articles it had indented for that purpose, which, with what remained in the stores, would just make up the quantity the <i>Mercury</i> carried to Madagascar before, and would be enough barter to purchase as many slaves as she could well bring. 21: This letter went by the Court's ship <i>Hardwicke</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Drake</i>. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 13 June 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The proposal to send the <i>Mercury Snow</i> to Madagascar for slaves shows how the island renewed its forced labour force. The Company held slaves to

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		§Mercury carried to Madagascar before, and will be sufficient§ §Barter to purchase as many as they can well bring§ §This waits on your Honors, by your Ship Hardwicke§ §that sails in Company with the Drake§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §23 June 1763§ §(signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	carry out the heavy work of the settlement, its fortifications, roads and plantations, and as these people were worn down by that labour the Council replaced them by trading goods for fresh captives at Madagascar, a recognised source of slaves for the Company's eastern possessions. The cold accounting of barter goods against the number of slaves the ship could carry reflects the treatment of human beings as stock to be acquired and expended in the island's service. The dual role of the two small vessels sets out the island's strategic needs in wartime. One served as a scout to warn approaching Company ships of any enemy lurking near, the other as a supply runner fetching food and cattle from the Cape, so between them they guarded both the safety of the trade and the feeding of the settlement, which explains the Council's wish to retain them despite the coming of peace. Speculations With peace concluded and the enemy threat lifting, the obvious course would have been to release the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i> for other service, since their wartime roles as scout and supply runner were ending. The Council resolved instead to keep both at the island a longer time. The reason lay only partly in defence: the paragraph ties the decision as much to the <i>Mercury</i>'s value in fetching cattle and flour from the Cape and her intended voyage to Madagascar for slaves, so the Council held onto the vessels not for the fading danger of war but for the enduring problem of supplying and manning a settlement that could not sustain itself.
245	235	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St§ §Helena & Ship Hardwicke dated the 23 June 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 23 June 1763§ §2 Do and Do relating to Law Matters dated the§ §23 June 1763§ §3 Duplicate Governor and Councils General Letter dated 1 May 1763§ §4 Do and Do relating to Law Matters dated§ §1 May 1763§ §5 Consultations from 2 May to the 20th June 1763§ §6 Duplicate Do from 18th to the 30th April Do§ §7 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship True Briton§ §8 Second Do for Do & Ship Royal Captain§ §9 List of Officers and Servants taken 23 June 1763§ §10 Do of 1 Discharged Soldier§ §11 Do of 14 Men discharged from the Snow Mercury§ §12 Duplicate List of 19 discharged Soldiers§ §13 Do of the Packet & Ship True Briton§ §14 Effective State of the Garrison§ §15 Cash Account for the Month of May 1763§ §16 Do from the 1 to the 23 June Do§ §17 Duplicate Do from the 22 to the 30th April Do§ §18 Ship Hardwicke Account§ §19 Do Drake Do§ §20 Do Cuttendens Do§ §21 Duplicate True Britons Do§ §22 Do Royal Charlottes Do§ §23 Do Harcourts Do§ §24 Do Horsendons Do§ §25 Do Egmonts Do§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Hardwicke</i>, dated 23 June 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 23 June 1763 2: The same, relating to law matters, dated 23 June 1763 3: Duplicate governor and Council's general letter, dated 1 May 1763 4: The same, relating to law matters, dated 1 May 1763 5: Consultations from 2 May to the 20 June 1763 6: Duplicate of the same, from 18 to the 30 April, the same year - Item 7 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>True Briton</i>. Item 8 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Royal Captain</i>. 9: List of officers and servants, taken 23 June 1763 10: The same, of one discharged soldier 11: The same, of 14 men discharged from the <i>Mercury Snow</i> 12: Duplicate list of 19 discharged soldiers - Item 13 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>True Briton</i>. 14: Effective state of the garrison 15: Cash account for the month of May 1763 16: The same, from the 1 to the 23 June, the same year 17: Duplicate of the same, from the 22 to the 30 April, the same year - Item 18 was the ship <i>Hardwicke</i>'s account. Item 19 was the <i>Drake</i>'s account. Item 20 was the <i>Crittenden</i>'s account. Item 21 was the duplicate of the <i>True Briton</i>'s account. Item 22 was the <i>Royal Charlotte</i>'s account. Item 23 was the <i>Harcourt</i>'s account. Item 24 was the <i>Hanover</i>'s account. Item 25 was the <i>Egmont</i>'s account.
246	236	No 26 Duplicate of a General Quarters Sessions held on 6th Apl 1763§ §27 List of Garrison Stores remaining 20th April Do§ §28 Do of Stores remaining in the Honorable	The list of enclosures continued, with several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose.

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		Company's Ware§ §Houses 20th April 1763§ §29 Do of Artillery Stores from 1 October 1762 to the 20th April 1763§ §30 Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1764§ §31 Do of Medicines wanted for Do§ §32 A Paper containing Brass Rollers for the Crane§ §33 Instrument in writing from Michael Meels Soldier§ §34 Indent of Stores wanted for the Mercury Snow and Fly Cutter§ §35 Accounts of the 14 Men discharged from the Snow Mercury§ §36 Pattern of Lace for the Officers Cloaths and Buttons for§ §Bayonet Scabbards§ §37 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Hardwicke and Drake§ §38 List of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §39 Do of the Fly Cutters Do§ §To the Honorable &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to you last by the Hardwicke which left§ §this place the 24th of June in company with your Ship Drake§ §On the 7th Instant arrived the Albion from China§ §which place Capt Larkins acquaints Us he left the 29th of Jan§ §last, in company with the Essex, and Arrived at Manila the 15§ §Essex sailed from thence the 3 March with the Essex, and§ §His Majesty's Ships Norfolk, Lenox, Grafton, America, Panther§ §Argo§	26: Duplicate of a General Quarter Session held on 6 April 1763 27: List of garrison stores remaining 20 April, the same year 28: The same, of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouses 20 April 1763 29: The same, of artillery stores from 1 October 1762 to the 20 April 1763 30: Indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1764 31: The same, of medicines wanted for 32: A paper containing brass rollers for the crane 33: Instrument in writing from Michael Meals, soldier Item 34 was an indent of stores wanted for the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i>. Item 35 was the accounts of the fourteen men discharged from the <i>Mercury Snow</i>. 36: Pattern of lace for the officers cloaths and buttons for bayonet scabbards Item 37 was an abstract of the cargoes of the ships <i>Hardwicke</i> and <i>Drake</i>. Item 38 was a list of the <i>Mercury Snow's</i> company. Item 39 was a list of the <i>Fly Cutter's</i> company. To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the <i>Hardwicke</i>, which left St Helena on the 24 of June in company with the Court's ship <i>Drake</i>. 2: On the 7 of this month arrived the <i>Albion</i> from China. Captain Larkins told the Council that he left that place on the 29 of January, in company with the <i>Essex</i>, and reached Manila on the 15 of February. He sailed from there on the 3 of March with the <i>Essex</i> and His Majesty's ships <i>Norfolk</i>, <i>Lenox</i>, <i>Grafton</i>, <i>America</i>, <i>Panther</i> [...]
247	237	Argo, and Trinidad Galleon, under the Command of the§ §Admiral Cornish, Capt Larkins likewise tells us, he parted§ §with the Fleet the 11th April off Achin Head, and with the§ §Essex the 9th June about 240 Leagues to the East Ward§ §of the Cape§ §We cannot transmit you by this Ship a Cash Account§ §to a Later date than the Duplicate of our last as the Quarters§ §Accounts will not be laid before us until the 18th Instant§ §Valoram and Saint George two French prisoners left§ §sick out of the Ship Godolphin both dying in the Hospital, we have§ §paid Mr Barclay the Surgeon £20 8 for Subsisting§ §them during the time of their being here, which Sum must§ §be repaid your Honors by the Owners of the said Ship§ §We find since framing our Indent we shall be in§ §want of a few more Articles, have mentioned the particulars§ §at the foot of the Duplicate Indent, the reason for requiring§ §more Nails is owing to those sent for the Fly Cutter being§ §too large for any use here, and the Tiles are wanted for new§ §covering the House in the Fort, as the roof is extremely bad§ §and in danger of falling§ §Mr George Wade Surgeons Mate of the Albion We§ §have Entertained as Surgeon of the Mercury Snow, at§	The fleet also included the <i>Argo</i> and the Trinidad galleon, under the command of Admiral Cornish. Captain Larkins told the Council that he parted with the fleet on the 11 April off Achin Head, and with the <i>Essex</i> on the 9 of June about 240 leagues to the eastward of the Cape. 3: The Council could not send the Court a cash account to a later date by this ship than the duplicate of its last, since the quarter's accounts would not be laid before it until the 18 of this month. 4: Saloram and Saint George, two French prisoners left sick out of the ship <i>Godolphin</i>, both died in the hospital. The Council paid Mr Barclay the surgeon £20s 8d for feeding them during their time here, which sum must be repaid to the Court by the owners of that ship. 5: The Council found that since framing its indent it would need a few more articles, and had entered the particulars at the foot of the duplicate indent. The reason for wanting more nails was that those sent for the <i>Fly Cutter</i> were too large for any use here, and the tiles were wanted for re-covering the house in the fort, since the roof was extremely bad and in danger of falling. 6: The Council took on Mr George Wade, surgeon's mate of the <i>Albion</i>, as surgeon of the <i>Mercury Snow</i> at the usual wages. It exchanged five of the crew belonging to the <i>Fly Cutter</i>, whose names were entered in an enclosed list. Their respective accounts went by this ship, and the Council paid the officers and men of both vessels to within six months of their time of service on board, charging them with two months impress and one month absence pay, which it supposed their attorneys or agents had received from the Court in England. Interpretations The Trinidad galleon in Admiral Cornish's fleet was almost certainly a prize of the Manila expedition, a captured Spanish vessel of the type that carried

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		§the usual Wages, And Exchanged five of the Crew§ §belonging to the Sly Cutter, whose Names are inserted in§ §a List Enclosed, their respective Accounts are likewise§ §sent by this Conveyance, and we have paid the Officers§ §and Men of both vessels to within Six Months of the time§ §of their Service on board, and Charged them with two Months§ §Imprest, and one Month in their Absence Pay, which we§ §suppose their Attorneys, or Agents have received from your Honors§ §in England§	treasure and goods across the Pacific between Manila and the Americas. Its presence among the returning warships marks the spoils of the conquest of Manila, the Spanish galleon trade having been a chief prize sought in that campaign. The imprest and absence pay charged against the seamen's accounts reflect the ordinary machinery of naval and Company wage payment. Imprest was money advanced against future wages, and absence pay a sum drawn by a man's family or agent while he served at sea, so the Council settled the crews' accounts only up to a point that left these advances to be reckoned, the balance having been collected on the men's behalf in England by their attorneys or agents.
248	238	Mr Richard Law representing to Us that his Contracted§ §Time of five Years as a Writer expired the 6th Instant, and requesting§ §to be put upon the establishment of a Factor, we accordingly§ §appointed him as such, agreeable to your Honors Standing Orders§ §George Finch, & William Mason two discharged§ §Soldiers We have put on board the Ship Albion towards§ §completing her Company§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt one Set to John Skottowe Esqr for one hundred pounds§ §payable to Robert Wood Esqr or Order, & One Set to Messrs Matthew§ §Curling and Henry Bazett for two Hundred and seventy eight§ §pounds five Shillings and ten pence, payable to Capt John§ §Clark or Order, both sets drawn at Ninety days sight§ §and dated the 11th Instant§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient and Humble§ §16 Suely 1763§ §Servants§ §(Signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	7: Mr Richard Law told the Council that his contracted term of five years as a writer expired on the 6 of this month, and asked to be placed on the establishment of a factor. The Council accordingly appointed him to that post, in line with the Court's standing orders. 8: The Council put aboard the ship <i>Albion</i> George Finch and William Mason, two discharged soldiers, to make up her crew. 9: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to John Skottowe for £100 0s 0d, payable to Robert Wood or order. And one set to Messrs Matthew Curling and Henry Bazett for £278 5s 10d, payable to Captain John Clark or order, both drawn at 90 days after sight and dated the 11 of this month. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 16 July 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations Richard Law's advance from writer to factor marks a step up the fixed ladder of the Company's civil service. Writer was the most junior grade, a clerk on a fixed term, and factor the next rank above, so a man who completed his years as a writer expected promotion to factor as a matter of course under the Company's standing rules, the progression being the settled path by which its servants rose through the ranks.
249	239	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from§ §St Helena & Ship Albion dated 16 July 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 16th July 1763§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 23 June Do§ §3 Do Do and Do dated 23 Do relating to§ §Law Matters 1763§ §4 Consultations from 27th June to 11 July 1763§ §5 Duplicate Do from 2 May to 20 June Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Hardwicke§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship True Briton§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 16th July 1763§ §9 Do of two Discharged Soldiers§ §10 Do of five Men discharged from the Sly Cutter§ §11 Duplicate List of 14 Men discharged from the Snow Mercury§ §12 Do Do of the Packet & Ship Hardwicke§ §13 Effective State of the Garrison§ §14 Duplicate Cash Account for the Month of May 1763§ §15 Do Do from the 1 to the 23 June Do§ §16 Ship Albions Account§ §17 Duplicate Ship Hardwicke Do§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Albion</i>, dated 16 July 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 16 July 1763 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 23 June, the same year 3: The same, relating to law matters, dated 23, the same year 4: Consultations from 27 June to 11 July 1763 5: Duplicate of the same, from 2 May to 20 June, the same year Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Hardwicke</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>True Briton</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 16 July 1763 9: The same, of two discharged soldiers 10: The same, of five men discharged from the Fly Cutter 11: Duplicate list of 14 men discharged from the Mercury Snow Item 12 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Hardwicke</i>.

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		§18 Do Ship Drakes Do§ §19 Do Ship Cuttendens Do§ §20 Do List of Garrison Stores remaining 20th April 1763§ §21 Do Do of Stores remaining in the Honble Companys Ware§ §Houses 20th April 1763§ §22 Do Do of Artillery Stores from 1 Octobr 1762 to 20 Apl 1763§ §23 Do Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1764§ §24 Do Do of Medicines wanted for Do§ §25 Do Do of Stores wanted for the Mercury Snow and Sly Cutter§ §26 Do Do of Brass Rollers for the Crane§	13: Effective state of the garrison 14: Duplicate cash account for the month of May 1763 15: The same, from the 1 to the 23 June, the same year Item 16 was the ship <i>Albion's</i> account. Item 17 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Hardwicke's</i> account. Item 18 was the <i>Drake's</i> account. Item 19 was the <i>Crittenden's</i> account. 20: The same, list of garrison stores remaining 20 April 1763 21: The same, of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouses 20 April 1763 22: The same, of artillery stores from 1 October 1762 to 20 April 1763 23: The same, indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1764 24: The same, of medicines wanted for 25: The same, of stores wanted for the Mercury Snow and Fly Cutter 26: The same, of brass rollers for the crane
250	240	No 27 Duplicate Accounts of the Men discharged from the Mercury§ §Snow§ §28 Book contg the Accounts of the Officers and Seamen belonging to§ §the Mercury Snow, and Fly Cutter§ §29 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Albion§ §30 Arrival of Ships Boats at Bankes§ §31 List of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §32 Do of the Fly Cutters Do§ §33 General Quarter Sessions held on the 6th July 1763§ §34 Muster Rolls of the Garrison§ §To the Honorable &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We Address your Honors by the Ship Albion§ §which sailed from hence the 11th of last Month§ §On the 23 of the same Month arrived your Ship§ §Efsex from China, Capt Archbold acquaints Us he met with the§ §Bute the 25th of June in the Latitude of 36 10 South, that§ §they were all well§ §The Passengers on board this Ship are Majors§ §Drake and Barker, and Lieutenant Sir John Forbes§ §By Our Consultation of the 23th last Month§ §your Honors will please to observe we lowered the pieces of Money§ §called Cashreens from 9 to 7 each, Our reasons for so doing§	The list of enclosures continued, with one item naming a ship that must be lifted out of the run into prose. 27: Duplicate accounts of the men discharged from the Mercury Snow 28: Book containing the accounts of the officers and seamen belonging to the Mercury Snow and Fly Cutter Item 29 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Albion</i>. 30: Arrival of ships boats at Bankes 31: List of the Mercury Snow's company 32: List of the Fly Cutter's company 33: General Quarter Session held on the 6 July 1763 34: Muster rolls of the garrison To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Albion</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 11 of the previous month. 2: On the 23 of the same month arrived the Court's ship <i>Essex</i> from China. Captain Jackson told the Council that he met with the <i>Bute</i> on the 25 of June in latitude 36° 10' south, and that they were all well. 3: The passengers aboard this ship were Majors Drake and Barker, and Lieutenant Sir John Forbes. 4: As appeared from its consultation of the 25 of the previous month, the Council lowered the pieces of money called cash-keerees from five to four each. Its reasons for so doing [...] Interpretations The cash-keerees were small coins current in the Company's eastern trade, the term deriving from the cash, a low-value copper coin used across southern India and China. The Council's decision to alter the number reckoned to a given value shows the island regulating its own petty currency, adjusting the rate at which these small coins passed to keep local money in a workable relation to the sums it dealt in.
251	241	are Entered in the aforesaid Consultation, and by the Cash Account§ §made up to the 31 of July will appear your loss on the same§ §The Governor has paid one hundred pounds into your§ §Cash for which we have given him Bills of Exchange payable to§ §Samuel Hough Esqr or order, Ninety days after sight date the 1§ §Instant§ §Mr Lee your Chaplain applied to Us to desire we	The Council's reasons were entered in that consultation, and by the cash account made up to the 31 of July the Court would see its loss on the change. 5: The Governor paid one hundred pounds into the Council's cash, for which it gave him bills of exchange payable to Samuel Hough or order, 90 days after sight, dated the 5 of this month. 6: Mr Lee, the Court's chaplain, asked the Council to tell the Court that he wished for leave to resign, being in a poor state of health.

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		would§ §acquaint your Honors that he requests your leave to resign, having§ §but an indifferent State of health§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §Honorable Sirs§ §5 August 1763§ §Your most obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §Signed§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Efsex dated the 5th August 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 5 August 1763§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 16th July Do§ §3 Consultations from the 18th July to the 1 August Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 27 June to the 11th July Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Albion§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Hardwick§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken 5 August 1763§ §8 Duplicate List of 2 Discharged Soldiers§ §9 Do Do of 5 Men discharged from the Sly Cutter§	The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 5 August 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Essex</i>, dated 5 August 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 5 August 1763 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 16 July, the same year 3: Consultations from the 13 July to the 5 August, the same year 4: Duplicate of the same, from the 27 June to the 11 July, the same year Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Albion</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Hardwicke</i>. 7: List of officers and servants, taken 5 August 1763 8: Duplicate list of 2 discharged soldiers 9: The same, of 5 men discharged from the Fly Cutter
252	242	No 10 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Albion§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Cash Account from the 24th to the 30th June 1763§ §13 Do for the month of July Do§ §14 Do from the 1 to the 5th August Do§ §15 Ship Efsex Account§ §16 Duplicate Ship Albions Do§ §17 Do Additional Indent§ §18 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Efsex§ §19 Duplicate Arrival of Ships Boats at Bankes§ §20 List of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §21 Do of the Fly Cutters Do§ §22 Courts Martial from the 21 June 1762 to the 18th July 1763§ §23 Duplicate General Quarter Sessions held on the 6th July Do§ §To the Honorable &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Letter to Your Honores went by the Ship§ §Efsex which sailed from hence the 5th of August§ §On the 13th of last Month arrived your Ship§ §Prince of Wales, from Bombay, and the 18th the Clive§ §from Fillichery, which Place Capt Allen, informs Us he§ §left the 22d May last, And that the Hector sailed the 11§ §and the Britannia 19th of the same Month from thence for§ §Madrafs and were to proceed from that Place for China, We are§ §likewise told the Admiral Pocock was to leave Bombay§ §the begining of July for Bengal§ §Daniel Jackson Seaman that came from§ §England§	The list of enclosures continued, with several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. Item 10 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Albion</i>. 11: Effective state of the garrison 12: Cash account from the 24 to the 30 June 1763 13: The same, for the month of July, the same year 14: The same, from the 1 to the 5 August, the same year Item 15 was the ship <i>Essex</i>'s account. Item 16 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Albion</i>'s account. 17: Additional indent 18: Abstract of the cargo of ship <i>Essex</i> Item 18 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Essex</i>. 19: Duplicate arrival of ships boats at Bankes 20: List of the Mercury Snow's company 21: List of the Fly Cutter's company 22: Court martial from the 21 June 1762 to the 18 July 1763 23: Duplicate General Quarter Session held on the 6 July, the same year To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Essex</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 5 of August. 2: On the 13 of the previous month arrived the Court's ship <i>Prince of Wales</i> from Bombay, and on the 18 the <i>Clive</i> from Tellicherry, which place Captain Allen told the Council he left on 22 May. He also reported that the <i>Hector</i> sailed on the 11, and the <i>Britannia</i> on the 19 of the same month, from there for Madras, and were to go on from that place for China. The Council was also told that the <i>Admiral Pocock</i> was to leave Bombay the beginning of July for Bengal. 3: Daniel Jackson, a seaman who came from England [...]
253	243	England in the Snow Mercury, and was pressed on board His§ §Majestys Ship Chatham at the Cape the 27th February 1762§	Daniel Jackson, a seaman who came from England in the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and was pressed aboard His Majesty's ship <i>Chatham</i> at the Cape on 27 February 1762, being since discharged and sent

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		§being since discharged and sent home upon the Ship Clive, as an§ §Invalid, applied to Us for about £7 to buy him Necessarys he§ §being quite destitute of Money, and it appearing by his Account§ §transmitted to your Honors in April 1762 by the Ship Hawke§ §that he had upwards of £24 due to him, We agreed to advance§ §him £6 15 being three Months Wages, a State of his Account§ §goes herewith§ §Thos Creel a Seaman belonging to the Fly Cutter§ §having been left at Delagoa out of the Ship Clive, and came§ §here in the Drake, applied to Us to pay him his Wages due§ §from the Clive, which we consented to, as Capt Allen has§ §given him a Ticket of the Wages due to him from the owners of§ §that Ship, amounting to £12 11 6 which Ticket we§ §transmit in the Packet, that your Honors may be repaid§ §that Money from them§ §The Passengers on board the Prince of Wales are§ §Mr & Mrs Draper, Mr Vandeer Hulse a Dutch Gentleman,§ §Mr Athens Mr Shed and Lieut Ralph, And on board the§ §Clive Captains Grove, Stevenson, Bell, Mr Crookit, Mr§ §Preston and four Spanish Priests§ §We are under great apprehensions the disorder we had§ §about two Years ago among the Black Cattle is again§ §returning, as some have lately died, and in appearance§ §with the same distemper, we shall not fail to try the§ §prescriptions you were pleased to send Us by the Egmont, and§ §are in great hopes those remedys will prove Efficacious, as we§ §have very good Angelica upon this Island, and a large§ §quantity of it, we shall have no occasion for any more of the§ §Seeds, or Plants to be sent from England, There is a Person§ §here that seems to be well acquainted with the disorders§ §Cattle are subject to, and has given Us the following§ §Receipt§	home aboard the <i>Clive</i> as an invalid, asked the Council for about £7 0s 0d to buy necessaries, being quite destitute of money. Since it appeared from his account, sent to the Court in April 1762 by the ship <i>Hardwicke</i>, that he had £24 0s 0d due to him, the Council agreed to advance him £6 15s 0d, being three months wages. A statement of his account went enclosed. 4: Thomas Creil, a seaman belonging to the <i>Fly Cutter</i>, had been left at Delagoa out of the ship <i>Clive</i> and came here in the <i>Drake</i>. He asked the Council to pay him the wages due to him from the <i>Clive</i>, which it agreed to, since Captain Allen had given him a ticket for the wages due from the owners of that ship, amounting to £12 11s 0d. This ticket went enclosed, so that the Court might be repaid the money from them. 5: The passengers aboard the <i>Prince of Wales</i> were Mr and Mrs Draper, Mr Vander Hulse, a Dutch gentleman, Mr Athens, Mr Sted and Lieutenant Ralph. Aboard the <i>Clive</i> were Captains Grover and Fell, Mr Crookit, Mr Preston and four Spanish priests. 6: The Council was in great fear that the sickness among the cattle, which it had suffered about two years ago, was returning again, since some had lately died and to all appearance of the same distemper. The Council would use the recipes the Court had sent by the <i>Egmont</i>, and was in great hopes those remedies would prove effective, since it had very good angelica on the island and a large quantity of it, so that it would have no occasion for any more of the seeds or plants to be sent from England. There was a person here who seemed well acquainted with the disorders cattle were subject to, and had given the Council the following recipe. [...] Interpretations The wages tickets held by the stranded seamen show the paper system by which a sailor's pay followed him across the world. A ticket was a written certificate of wages owed, issued by a ship's commander, that a man could present for payment or use to draw an advance, so a seaman set adrift at a distant port could still claim what he was owed by producing the document, and the Council settled these claims against the responsible shipowners, recording each so the Company could recover the money in England. The return of the cattle sickness marks a recurring threat to the island's ability to feed itself. Having weathered an outbreak two years before, the Council saw the same distemper reappear and turned to remedies sent from home and to local knowledge, the presence of a man skilled in cattle disease and a good supply of angelica giving it some means of resistance without waiting on supplies from England.
254	244	Receipt for the cure of them vizt Take a Quart of Stale Beer,§ §half a pint of Genwa two drams of Grains, and one ounce of§ §Aniseed mix them well together, and give the Beast dis ordered§ §a quarter of a Pint twice a Day, it must be first well blooded,§ §As we are in want of part of those Medicines Request§ §you will be pleased to send Us 3th of the Seed called Grains§ §to be had at the Chymists, and 6th of Aniseed§ §We have put on board the Clive towards compleatg§ §her Company Lewis Lempfridt, who was sent here from Bombay§ §to serve during the War with France, and Lewis Kling a§ §Discharged Drummer§	The recipe for their use was as follows. Take a quart of stale beer, half a pint of geneva, two drachms of grains and one ounce of aniseed. Mix them well together and give the beast, dissolved, a quarter of a pint twice a day, but it must first be well blooded. Since the Council was short of part of these medicines, it asked the Court to send three pounds of the seed called grains, to be had at the chemists, and six pounds of aniseed. 7: The Council put aboard the <i>Clive</i>, to make up her crew, Lewis Lempfridt, who was here from Bombay to serve during the war with France, and Lewis Thing, a discharged drummer. 8: Joachim Josee, a Portuguese who had been transported from Bombay to serve here as a slave for life, the Council also sent aboard the ship <i>Prince of Wales</i>, since he would not work and was a dead expense to the Court. John Henry Schaarnhurst, who had been sentenced by a General Court Martial

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		§Joachim Sofsee a Portuguese who was§ §transported from Bombay, to serve here a Slave for Life,§ §we have likewise sent on board the Ship Prince of Wales§ §as he would not work, and was a dead expence to your§ §Honors, John Henry Schaarnhurst who was sentenced§ §by a General Court Martial, to be punished for a§ §misdemeanor, and to be sent off the Island, when the War§ §was ended, We have also Ordered on board the same Ship§ §both towards compleating her Company§ §The Fly Cutter has been hauled upon the§ §Beach, new Sheathed, and thoroughly repaired§ §The Theodolite wanting to be repaired &§ §particularly the Level, we have sent it by the Ship Clive§ §and request you will be pleased to have it put in Order§ §and returned by the Store Ship, with a New Chain for it§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship§ §Clive, that sails in Company with the Prince of Wales§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your must obedient and humble Servants§ §4 Septembr 1763§ §(Signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	to be punished for a misdemeanour and sent off the island when the war ended, the Council ordered aboard the same ship. It also ordered aboard both these men to make up her crew. 9: The <i>Fly Cutter</i> had been hauled up on the beach and thoroughly repaired with new sheathing. 10: Since the theodolite needed repair, and particularly the level, the Council sent it home by the ship <i>Clive</i>, and asked the Court to have it put in order and returned by the store ship, with a new chain for it. 11: This letter went by the Court's ship <i>Clive</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Prince of Wales</i>. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 4 September 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The cattle recipe combined stale beer, geneva, grains and aniseed as a drench poured down the animal's throat, geneva being an early form of gin flavoured with juniper and grains meaning grains of paradise, a peppery West African spice used medicinally. The instruction to bleed the beast first reflects the common veterinary and human medicine of the day, which held that drawing off blood cleared the body before a remedy was given, a practice long since abandoned but standard at this date. The case of Joachim Josee shows the harsh logic by which the Company managed its slaves and convicts. A man sent from Bombay to labour for life at St Helena who refused to work became, in the Council's eyes, a mere cost to be removed, so he was shipped off with a convicted offender due for expulsion, both treated as burdens to be discharged from the island rather than people with any claim on it. The transportation of a convict to serve as a slave for life also marks how the Company used forced labour drawn from across its eastern territories to work its remote possessions. Speculations The plain course for a slave who would not work would have been to compel him by punishment and keep him at his labour, since he had been sent to St Helena as a slave for life. The Council chose instead to ship Joachim Josee off the island aboard the <i>Prince of Wales</i>, and its stated reason was purely economic: he was a dead expense to the Court. Rather than spend further effort forcing labour from an unwilling man, the Council cut its losses by removing him and filling his place with a crewman the outgoing ship needed, treating the disposal of a resistant slave as a matter of accounting rather than of discipline.
255	245	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena &§ §Ship Clive dated the 4th September 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 4th September 1763§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 5th August Do§ §3 Consultations from 8th to the 29 August Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 18th July to 1 August Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Efsex§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Albion§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken 4 September 1763§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Efsex§ §9 List of four discharged Men§ §10 Do of the Fly Cutters Company§ §11 Effective State of the Garrison§ §12 Cash Account from 6th to the 31 August 1763§ §13 Do from 1 to the 4th September Do§ §14 Duplicate Do from 24 to the 30 June Do§ §15 Do Do for the Month of July Do§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Clive</i>, dated the 4 September 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 4 September 1763 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 5 August, the same year 3: Consultations from 8 to the 29 August, the same year 4: Duplicate of the same, from 18 July to 5 August, the same year Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Essex</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Albion</i>. 7: List of officers and servants, taken 4 September 1763 Item 8 was a duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Essex</i>. 9: List of four discharged men 10: The same, of the Fly Cutter's company

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		§16 Do Do from 1 to the 5 August Do§ §17 Ship Clives Account§ §18 Do Prince of Wales Do§ §19 Duplicate Ship Efsexs Do§ §20 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Clive, no Account of the§ §Prince of Wales, could be got§ §21 Thos Creills Ticket for £12 11 6§ §22 Daniel Jackson's Account§ §23 Muster Rolls of the Garrison for the 30th June 1763§ §apprehending that Arwrong ic was transmitted for that§ §Quarter by the Albion§ §24 Duplicate List of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §25 List of Marriages &ca§	11: Effective state of the garrison 12: Cash account from 6 to the 31 August 1763 13: The same, from the 1 to the 4 September, the same year 14: Duplicate of the same, from 24 to the 30 June, the same year 15: The same, for the month of July, the same year 16: The same, from the 1 to the 5 August, the same year Item 17 was the ship <i>Clive's</i> account. Item 18 was the <i>Prince of Wales's</i> account. Item 19 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Essex's</i> account. Item 20 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Clive</i>, no account of the <i>Prince of Wales's</i> cargo being obtainable. 21: Thomas Creil's ticket for £12 11s 0d 22: Daniel Jackson's account 23: Muster rolls of the garrison for the 30 June 1763, it being understood that a wrong list was sent for that quarter by the Albion 24: Duplicate list of the Mercury Snow's company 25: List of marriages, etc.
256	246	To the Honorable &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We Addressed your Honors last under date of the§ §4th September by the Ship Clive§ §On the 20th of last Month arrived your Ship§ §Clinton from Madrafs, which Place Capt Smith§ §acquaints us he left the 12th of June and your Honors Ship§ §Neptune there, she arrived at Fort St George the 31 of§ §May, He likewise tells Us the Houghton sailed§ §from thence for China the 26th of May, And by the last§ §Accounts from Bengal which reached Madrafs the§ §beginning of May that your Ships Winchelsea, Osterly§ §Boscawen, Earl of Ashburnham, and Royal George§ §were there, and not likely to get out of the River before§ §the Month of August§ §Joseph Cummings being left here out of the§ §Ship Prince of Wales we were under the necessity of§ §Subsisting him Eighteen days at six pence each§ §amounting to nine Shillings, which Sum is to be charged§ §to the Owners of that Ship, he goes to England upon the§ §Clinton§ §Saint George a French Prisoner left here§ §out of the Godolphin, dying in the Hospital, We order'd§ §his Effects to be Sold, and the produce amounting to§ §twelve pounds to be paid into your Honors Cash, which§ §we have wrote off to Account Current London§ §As the Last Quarters Accounts will not be laid§ §before§	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 4 September by the ship <i>Clive</i>. 2: On the 20 of the previous month arrived the Court's ship <i>Clinton</i> from Madras, which place Captain Smith told the Council he left on the 12 of June. The Court's ship <i>Neptune</i> was there, having reached Fort St George on the 31 of May. He also told the Council that the <i>Houghton</i> sailed from there for China on the 26 of May. By the last accounts from Bengal, which reached Madras the beginning of May, the Court's ships <i>Winchelsea</i>, <i>Osterley</i>, <i>Boscawen</i>, <i>Earl of Ashburnham</i> and <i>Royal George</i> were there, and not likely to get out of the river before the month of August. 3: Since Joseph Cummings had been left here out of the ship <i>Prince of Wales</i>, the Council was obliged to feed him eighteen days at sixpence each, amounting to nine shillings, which sum was to be charged to the owners of that ship. He went to England aboard the <i>Clinton</i>. 4: Saint George, a French prisoner left here out of the <i>Godolphin</i>, died in the hospital. The Council ordered his effects to be sold, and the produce, amounting to twelve pounds, to be paid into the Court's cash, which it had written off to account current, London. 5: Since the last quarter's accounts would not be laid before [...] Interpretations The sale of the dead prisoner's effects and the crediting of the twelve pounds to the Court's London account shows the exact reckoning the island applied even to the belongings of a man who died in its care. Rather than let a stranded prisoner's goods lapse, the Council sold them and entered the proceeds against the Company's central accounts, treating the modest sum as a recoverable asset to be balanced in the books at home. The detail that the Bengal ships could not clear the river before August points to the hard constraints the seasons placed on the eastern trade. Ships loading at Calcutta lay far up the Hughli, and the state of the river and the timing of the winds fixed when they could sail, so a vessel might wait months for the conditions that would let her reach the open sea, a delay that shaped the whole rhythm of the homeward voyage.
257	247	before Us until the 17th Instant, We cannot transmit your§ §Honors a Cash Account to a later date, than the Duplicate§	The last quarter's accounts would not be laid before the Council until the 17 of this month, so the Council could not send the Court a cash account to a later date than the duplicate of its last.

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		§Of our last§ §The Passengers on board the Clinton are Mrs§ §Bowchier, Mr & Wm Moore, Capt Ecker, & Parret Lieutenants§ §Saven, & Rose, Mr Shepperd, & Mr Malloch§ §St Helena§ §We are§ §7 October 1763§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena &§ §Ship Clinton dated 7th October 1763 vizt§ §1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 7th October 1763§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 4 September Do§ §3 Consultations from the 5th September to the 3 October 1763§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 8th to the 29 August Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Clive§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Efsex§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken the 7th October 1763§ §8 Do of the Fly Cutters Company§ §9 Do of Familys taken the 30th September 1763§ §10 Do of Rents taken Do Do§ §11 Do of the Honorable Companys Slaves Do Do§	6: The passengers aboard the <i>Clinton</i> were Mr Bowchier, Mr and Mrs Moore, Captain Etler and Parrot, Lieutenants Faven and Rose, Mr Shepperd and Mr Malloch. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 7 October 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Clinton</i>, dated 7 October 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 7 October 1763 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 4 September, the same year 3: Consultations from the 5 September to the 3 October 1763 4: Duplicate of the same, from the 8 to the 29 August, the same year Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Clive</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Essex</i>. 7: List of officers and servants, taken the 7 October 1763 8: The same, of the Fly Cutter's company 9: The same, of families, taken the 30 September 1763 10: The same, of rents, taken the same date 11: The same, of the Honourable Company's slaves, taken the same date
258	248	No 12 Muster Rolls of the Garrison§ §13 Effective State of Do§ §14 Duplicate Cash Account from 6th to the 31 August 1763§ §15 Do Do from 1 to the 4 September Do§ §16 Ship Clintons Account§ §17 Duplicate Clives Do§ §18 Do Prince of Wales Do§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Clinton§ §20 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Clive§ §To the Honorable &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We take this opportunity by your Snow§ §Lapwing, that is passing by the Island to inform you that§ §we shall dispatch your Ship Grosvenor this Evening, and she§ §will proceed on her Voyage to Morrow§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient, and humble Servants§ §5th Decembr 1763§ §(signed)§ §Charles Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	The list of enclosures continued, with several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. 12: Muster rolls of the garrison 13: Effective state of the same 14: Duplicate cash account from the 6 to the 31 August 1763 15: The same, from the 1 to the 4 September, the same year Item 16 was the ship <i>Clinton's</i> account. Item 17 was the duplicate of the <i>Clive's</i> account. Item 18 was the <i>Prince of Wales's</i> account. Item 19 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Clinton</i>. Item 20 was a duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Clive</i>. To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, The Council took this chance by the Court's <i>Snow Lapwing</i>, which was passing the island, to inform the Court that it would dispatch the Court's ship <i>Grosvenor</i> this evening, and that she would proceed on her voyage the next day. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 5 December 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick.
259	249	To the Honorable &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last advices waited on your Honors by your Ship§ §Clinton which left this place the 8th of October 1763§ §On the 26th of last Month arrived the Grosvenor from§ §China, Captain Saunders acquaints Us he left that Place the 19th of§ §June last, He likewise informs Us he heard at Batavia that§ §your Ship Valentine had got a Loaden of Pepper at Bencoolen§	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the Court's ship <i>Clinton</i>, which left St Helena on the 8 of October 1763. 2: On the 26 of the previous month arrived the <i>Grosvenor</i> from China. Captain Saunders told the Council he left that place on the 19 of June. He also reported that he heard at Batavia that the Court's ship <i>Valentine</i> had got a load of pepper at Bencoolen and was to leave that place for China in July. He further told the Council that the Dutch at Anger Point informed him that the Court's ships <i>Havannah</i>,

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		§and was to leave that Place for China in July He further tells§ §Us that the Dutch at Anger Point informed him, that your§ §Ships Havannah, Egmont, Cruttenden, and two French Ships§ §had passed the Straights of Sunda in their Way to Canton§ §We have given Captain Saunders a permit to receive on§ §board his Ship William Jackling belonging to the Snow Mercury§ §who is Sick, and incapable of Service, as you will find by Mr Barclay§ §the Surgeons Certificate, He has signed an instrument that he will§ §not demand any Wages for his passage Home, which we§ §transmit you in the Packet, together with the state of his§ §Account§ §As the breed of Horses here are much degenerated, We§ §directed Captain Harrold who Sailed lately for the Cape to§ §purchase on your Honors Account a good Stallion, there being§ §only one upon this Island, which is old and unserviceable§ §Daughlock Lochullam the Mallay Prisoner§ §presenting a Petition to Us, which he earnestly requested, We§ §would transmit to your Honors, it waits on you in the Packet§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt§ §One Set to Captain David Saunders for £150 payable§	<i>Egmont</i> and <i>Crittenden</i> and two French ships had passed the Straits of Sunda on their way to Canton. 3: The Council gave Captain Saunders leave to receive aboard his ship William Jackling, belonging to the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, who was sick and unfit for service, as appeared from Mr Barclay the surgeon's certificate. Jackling signed an agreement that he would demand no wages for his passage home, which the Council sent enclosed, together with a statement of his account. 4: Since the breed of horses here was much degenerated, the Council directed Captain Harrold, who sailed lately for the Cape, to purchase on the Court's account a good stallion, there being only one on the island, which was old and unfit for service. 5: Daughlook Pochullum, the Malay prisoner, presented a petition to the Council, which he earnestly begged it to send to the Court. This went enclosed. 6: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Captain David Saunders for £150 0s 0d, payable [...] Interpretations The purchase of a stallion at the Cape to renew the island's horses shows the practical husbandry needed to keep a working settlement supplied with draught and riding animals. With only a single old horse fit for breeding left on the island, the stock would decline without fresh blood, so the Council seized the chance of a ship bound for the Cape to buy a sound animal, treating livestock improvement as a standing concern of good management. Anger Point and the Straits of Sunda name the passage between Sumatra and Java through which ships bound for China threaded their way, the Dutch post there serving as a point where passing vessels exchanged news. The intelligence that Company and French ships had gone through together reflects how, with the war now ended, vessels of the former enemies sailed the same routes without hostility, and how news of shipping movements passed from port to port along the sea lanes.
260	250	to the Reverend Mr John Saunders or Order, & One Set to§ §Mr David Mitchell for £146 payable to Mr Thomas§ §Forbes or Order, both sets dated this day, and drawn at Ninety§ §days sight§ §Your Snow Lapwing passing by the Island,§ §and sending her Boat ashore, we took the opportunity of§ §Addressing a short Letter to you§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §5th December 1763§ §(Signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Company's Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Grosvenor dated the 5th December 1763 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 5th December 1763§ §2 Do and Do dated 5th Do relating to Law§ §Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do and Do dated 7th October Do§ §4 Consultations from the 10th October to 5 December Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 5th September to 3 October Do§	The bill was payable to the Reverend Mr John Saunders or order. And one set to Mr David Mitchell for £14 6s 0d, payable to Mr Thomas Forbes or order, both sets dated this day and drawn at 90 days after sight. 7: The Court's <i>Snow Lapwing</i> was passing the island and sending her boat ashore, so the Council took the chance to write the Court a short letter. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 5 December 1763 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Grosvenor</i>, dated the 5 December 1763, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 5 December 1763 2: The same, relating to law matters, dated 5, the same year 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 7 October, the same year 4: Consultations from the 10 October to 5 December, the same year 5: Duplicate of the same, from the 5 September to 5 October, the same year Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Clinton</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Clive</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 5 December 1763 9: The same, of the Mercury Snow's company 10: The same, of the Fly Cutter's company

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		§6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Clinton§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship Clive§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 5th December 1763§ §9 Do of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §10 Do of the Fly Cutters Do§	
261	251	No 11 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Clinton§ §12 Do Do of Familys taken the 30th September 1763§ §13 Do Do of Rents taken Do Do§ §14 Do Do of the Honorable Companys Slaves Do Do§ §15 Effective State of the Garrison§ §16 Cash Account from the 5th to the 30 September 1763§ §17 Do for the Month of October Do§ §18 Do for the Month of November Do§ §19 Do from the 1 to the 5 December Do§ §20 Ship Grosvenors Account§ §22 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Grosvenor§ §23 Receipt from 13 of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §24 Proceedings of a General Quarter Sessions held 5 October 1763§ §25 Daughlock Lockullums Petition§ §26 Instrument in writing from William Jackling§ §27 William Jacklings Account§ §28 Surgeons Certificate of Do§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We Addressed you last, by the Ship Grosvenor which§ §sailed from hence the 6th December 1763§ §On the 26th of last Month Arrived Your Ship§ §Plafsey from Madrafs, & Earl of Ashburnham from Bengal,§ §Caps Reard informs Us, he left Fort St George the 14th November§ §and your Honors Ship British King there, he heard She was§ §to proceed to Bengal, he likewise tells Us, that Admiral Cornish§ §with§	The list of enclosures continued, with one item naming a ship that must be lifted out of the run into prose. Item 11 was a duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Clinton</i>. 12: Duplicate list of families, taken the 30 September 1763 13: The same, of rents, taken the same date 14: The same, of the Honourable Company's slaves, taken the same date 15: Effective state of the garrison 16: Cash account from the 5 to the 30 September 1763 17: The same, for the month of October, the same year 18: The same, for the month of November, the same year 19: The same, from the 1 to the 5 December, the same year Item 20 was the ship <i>Grosvenor</i>'s account. Item 22 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Grosvenor</i>. 23: Receipt from 13 of the Mercury Snow's company 24: Proceedings of a General Quarter Session held 5 October 1763 25: Daughlock Pochullum's petition 26: Instrument in writing from William Jackling 27: William Jackling's account 28: Surgeon's certificate of the same To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Grosvenor</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 5 December 1763. 2: On the 26 of the previous month arrived the Court's ship <i>Plafsey</i> from Madras and the <i>Earl of Ashburnham</i> from Bengal. Captain Weird told the Council he left Fort St George on the 14 of November, the Court's ship <i>British King</i> being there and heard to be going on to Bengal. He also told the Council that Admiral Cornish with [...]
262	252	with some of his Majestys Ships sailed from Madrafs§ §for Ceylon the 9th November, and it was reported that he§ §purposed to proceed from thence for Europe in December§ §Capt Pearce left Bengal the 18th October and your Ships§ §Osterly, Boscawen, Deptford, and Lord Clive there he also§ §tells Us the Pigot Captain Richardson passed him below§ §Ingelee, but he did not speak with him, Capt Pearce further§ §acquaints Us, he heard the Osterly was to be dispatch'd for§ §Europe the latter end of November, the Boscawen and§ §Deptford some time after, and that it was imagined the§ §Lord Clive would be taken up for a Country Voyage§ §Caps Skottow in your Ship Royal Georgi sailed from the Cape of good§ §Hope the 8th January last, with an intention as we are§ §informed to touch here, but as we have not seen him we§	Admiral Cornish with some of His Majesty's ships sailed from Madras for Ceylon on the 9 of November, and it was reported that he meant to go on from there for Europe in December. Captain Pearce left Bengal on the 18 of October, and the Court's ships <i>Osterley</i>, <i>Boscawen</i>, <i>Deptford</i> and <i>Lord Clive</i> were there. He also told the Council that the <i>Pigot</i>, Captain Richardson, passed him below Ingelee, but that he did not speak with her. Captain Pearce further reported that he heard the <i>Osterley</i> was to be sent off for Europe the latter end of November, the <i>Boscawen</i> and <i>Deptford</i> some time after, and that it was thought the <i>Lord Clive</i> would be taken up for a country voyage. 3: Captain Skottowe in the Court's ship <i>Royal George</i> sailed from the Cape of Good Hope on the 8 of January, meaning, as the Council was told, to call here, but since it had not seen him it supposed he might have missed the island, the weather being very thick and hazy about the time it might have expected to see him. 4: By the <i>Plafsey</i> the Council sent the Court its general books of accounts, balanced to the 30 September. 5: The passengers aboard the <i>Plafsey</i> were George Pigot, Mr Van Sittart, Mr Dupre, Mr Alexander and Mr Wilson. Aboard the <i>Earl of Ashburnham</i> were

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		§Imagine he may have missed the Island as the weather was§ §very thick and Hazy about the time we might have§ §expected to see him§ §By the Plafsey we transmit your Honors Genel§ §Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30 September last§ §The Passengers on board the Plafsey are George§ §Pigot Esqr, Mr Van Sittart, Mr Dupre, Mr Alexander and§ §Mr Wilson, And on board the Earl of Ashburnham Major§ §Allisieu Lieutenants Gabb & Bourn, Mr Powney & Mr Scott§ §We have Granted the following Bills of§ §Exchange vizt One Set to Capt Wm Harrold for £500 payable§ §to John Killet Esqr or order, dated the 13th February, & one set§ §to Capt Henry Bazett for £77 4 11 payable to Wm Jordan§ §Bigger, or Order, dated this day both drawn at Ninety days§ §sight§ §Mr Thomas Hurrell third Mate of the Snow§ §Mercury applying to Us for his discharge from that Vessel§ §representing his Friends has desired he would return to§ §England, that they might do something better for him, We§ §accordingly§	Major Allisieu, Lieutenants Gabb and Bourn, Mr Powney and Mr Scott. 6: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Captain William Harrold for £500 0s 0d, payable to John Kellet or order, dated the 13 of February. And one set to Captain Henry Bazett for £77 1s 11d, payable to Mr Jordan Bigger or order, dated this day, both drawn at 90 days after sight. 7: Mr Thomas Hurrell, third mate of the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, asked the Council for his discharge from that vessel, saying his friends wished him to return to England so that they might do something better for him. The Council accordingly [...] Interpretations The reference to taking up the <i>Lord Clive</i> for a country voyage points to the distinction between the Company's regular runs to England and the shorter trades within the eastern seas. A country voyage was one made between Asian ports rather than home to Britain, so a ship diverted to such service carried goods along the coasts and between the Company's eastern settlements, a use to which vessels were assigned as the pattern of trade required. Captain Skottowe's likely miss of the island shows how easily a ship could pass St Helena unseen in poor weather. A small island in a vast ocean was hard to find, and thick hazy conditions could hide it entirely, so a vessel meaning to call for water and refreshment might sail straight by, a real hazard when the island was the one dependable stopping place on the long homeward passage.
263	253	accordingly Granted it, and have given Capt Pearce a permit§ §to receive him on board his Ship, We have likewise given§ §David Pilbitsky his discharge from that Vessel, and permitted§ §Capt Pearce to receive him, on board the Earl of Ashburnham§ §Thos Dunn, Richd Oliphant two More of the Snow Mercurys§ §Company, we have likewise discharged, and have given Capt§ §Ward a permit to receive them on board the Plafsey, they have§ §all signed an Instrument that they will not demand any§ §Wages for their Passage Home, which goes in the Packet§ §together with their several accounts§ §This Waits on you by the Ship Plafsey, which§ §sails in Company with the Earl of Ashburnham§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §5th March 1764§ §(signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena &§ §Ship Plafsey dated the 5th March 1764 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated 5th March 1764§ §2 Do and Do dated 5 Do Do relating to Law§ §Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do & Do dated 5th Decembr 1763§ §4 Do Do Do 5th Do Do§ §5 Do Do Do 5th Do Do relating to§ §Law Matters§	The Council granted his discharge and gave Captain Pearce leave to receive him aboard his ship. It likewise gave David Pulbitsky his discharge from that vessel and let Captain Pearce receive him aboard the <i>Earl of Ashburnham</i>. Thomas Dunn and Richard Oliphant, two more of the <i>Mercury Snow</i>'s company, the Council also discharged, giving Captain Ward leave to receive them aboard the <i>Plafsey</i>. They all signed an agreement that they would demand no wages for their passage home, which went enclosed together with their several accounts. 8: This letter went by the ship <i>Plafsey</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Earl of Ashburnham</i>. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 5 March 1764 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Plafsey</i>, dated the 5 March 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 5 March 1764 2: The same, relating to law matters, dated 5, the same year 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 5 December 1763 4: The same, dated 5, the same year 5: The same, relating to law matters, dated 5, the same year

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264	254	No 6 Consultations from the 12th December 1763 to the 5 March 1764§ §7 Duplicate Do from the 10th October to the 5th Decembr 1763§ §8 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Grosvenor§ §9 Second Do for Do & Ship Clinton§ §10 List of Officers & Servants taken 5 March 1764§ §11 Do of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §12 Do of Cattle returned, and Killed in the Year 1763§ §13 Duplicate Do of the Packet & Ship Grosvenor§ §14 Effective State of the Garrison§ §15 Muster Rolls of Do§ §16 Cash Account from the 6th to the 31 December 1763§ §17 Do for the Month of January 1764§ §18 Do for the Month of February Do§ §19 Do from the 1 to the 5th March Do§ §20 Duplicate Do from 6th to the 30th September Do§ §21 Do for the Month of October Do§ §22 Do for the Month of November Do§ §22 Do from the 1 to the 5th December Do§ §24 Ship Plafseys Account§ §25 Do Earl of Ashburnham Do§ §26 Duplicate Do Grosvenor Do§ §27 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Plafsey & Earl of Ashburnham§ §28 Proceedings of a General Quarter Sessions held on 11th Jan 1764§ §29 Duplicate Proceedings of Do held on the 5th October 1763§ §30 Coroners Inquest held on the Body of Edd Law Soldier§ §31 Receipt from the Officers & Seamen of the Snow Mercury§ §32 Do from the Officers & Seamen of the Fly Cutter§ §33 Richd Oliphants Account§ §34 Mr Hurrils Do§ §35 Thos Dunns Do§ §36 Davd Pulbitskys Do§ §37 Duplicate Daughlock Lockullums Petition§ §38 Generall Books of Accounts§	The list of enclosures continued, with several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. 6: Consultations from the 12 December 1763 to the 5 March 1764 7: Duplicate of the same, from the 10 October to the 5 December 1763 Item 8 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Grosvenor</i>. Item 9 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Clinton</i>. 10: List of officers and servants, taken 5 March 1764 11: The same, of the Mercury Snow's company 12: The same, of cattle reared and killed in the year 1763 Item 13 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Grosvenor</i>. 14: Effective state of the garrison 15: Muster rolls of the same 16: Cash account from the 6 to the 31 December 1763 17: The same, for the month of January 1764 18: The same, for the month of February, the same year 19: The same, from the 1 to the 5 March, the same year 20: Duplicate of the same, from 6 to the 30 September, the same year 21: The same, for the month of October, the same year 22: The same, for the month of November, the same year 22: The same, from the 1 to the 5 December, the same year Item 24 was the ship <i>Plafsey's</i> account. Item 25 was the <i>Earl of Ashburnham's</i> account. Item 26 was the duplicate of the <i>Grosvenor's</i> account. Item 27 was an abstract of the cargoes of the ships <i>Plafsey</i> and <i>Earl of Ashburnham</i>. 28: Proceedings of a General Quarter Session held on 11 January 1764 29: Duplicate proceedings of the same, held on the 5 October 1763 30: Coroner's inquest held on the body of Edward Law, soldier 31: Receipt from the officers and seamen of the Mercury Snow 32: The same, from the officers and seamen of the Fly Cutter 33: Richard Oliphant's account 34: Mr Hurrel's account 35: Thomas Dunn's account 36: David Pulbitsky's account 37: Duplicate Daughlook Pochullum's petition 38: General books of accounts
265	255	No 39 Instrument in writing from Thomas Dunn & Richd Oliphant§ §40 Do Do from David Pulbitsky§ §To the Honorable &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Addrefs to your Honors went by the Plafsey which§ §sailed from hence the 5th Instant in Company with the Earl of§ §Ashburnham§ §On the 26th of this Month Arrived a Dane from Canton§ §called the Queen of Denmark Captain Holm, burthen eight hundred§ §Tons carry's thirty Guns and one hundred and fifty Men loaden§ §with Tea and China Ware bound to Copenhagen, The Dane§ §Gentlemen inform Us they left China the 7 of January, and that§	39: Instrument in writing from Thomas Dunn and Richard Oliphant 40: The same, from David Pulbitsky To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the <i>Plafsey</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 5 of this month in company with the <i>Earl of Ashburnham</i>. 2: On the 26 of this month arrived a Danish ship from Canton, called the <i>Queen of Denmark</i>, Captain Holm, of eight hundred tons burthen, carrying thirty guns and one hundred and fifty men, loaded with tea and china ware and bound for Copenhagen. The Danish gentlemen told the Council they left China on the 7 of January, and that the Court's ships <i>Egmont</i>, <i>Falmouth</i>, <i>Valentine</i>, <i>Neptune</i>, <i>Havannah</i>, <i>Crittenden</i>, <i>Hector</i>, <i>Britannia</i>, <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Hawke</i> were at Canton the last season. They also told the Council that five of these sailed from there before them, whose names they could not recall except the

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		§your Ships Egmont, Falmouth, Valentine, Neptune, Havanah§ §Cruttenden, Hector, Britannia, Houghton, and Hawke were§ §at Canton the last Season they likewise acquaint Us that five§ §of them sailed from thence before them their Names they§ §cannot recollect except the Britannia which they saw off Java§ §Head the 21 of January last, We are also told that there were two§ §English Country Ships three Dane, 2 Swede three Dutch and three§ §French Ships at Canton the last Season§ §Captain William Harrold applied to Us to pay six hundred§ §pounds into your Cash which we have received and given him§ §Bills for that sum payable to John Hallet Esqr or Order,§ §dated the 26th Instant and drawn at ninety days sight§ §Yesterday in the afternoon Arrived your Ship Duke of§ §Richmond, by her We received a Packet from your Honors which we§ §opened and read in Consultation, and shall Obey the Orders you§ §have been pleased to send Us, Captain Godfrey likewise delivered§ §the Governor, the Secret Committees Letter, As we Hourly expect§ §the Britannia we shall take that opportunity of§ §Answering§	<i>Britannia</i>, which they saw off Java Head on the 21 of January. The Council was also told that there were two English country ships, three Danish, two Swedish, three Dutch and three French ships at Canton the last season. 3: Captain William Harrold asked the Council to pay six hundred pounds into its cash, which it received, giving him bills for that sum payable to John Hallet or order, dated the 26 of this month and drawn at 90 days after sight. 4: Yesterday afternoon arrived the Court's ship <i>Duke of Richmond</i>, by which the Council received a packet from the Court, which it opened and read in council, and would obey the orders the Court had sent. Captain Godfrey also delivered to the Governor the Secret Committee's letter. Since the Council hourly expected the <i>Britannia</i>, it would take that chance of answering [...] Interpretations The count of ships of six nations gathered at Canton the last season sets out the scale and mixed character of the China trade at this date. English, Danish, Swedish, Dutch and French vessels all lay at the one port to buy tea and porcelain, so Canton was the common meeting point of the European trading powers in the East, and the presence of English country ships alongside the Company's own marks the parallel trade carried on within Asian waters by private vessels under Company licence. The naming of ten Company ships at Canton in a single season shows how the tea trade concentrated the homeward fleet at one point. Because the whole year's purchases of tea and China goods were made at Canton, the Company's ships converged there together and sailed for home in loose company, passing waypoints like Java Head and St Helena in succession, which is why the island's Council could track so many vessels through the reports of each passing captain.
<u>266</u>	256	answering your several Letters to Us§ §St Helena§ §We are§ §28th March 1764§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most humble Servants§ §Obedient &§ §signed§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §To the Honorable &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote to your Honors last under date of the 28th March by a§ §Dane Ship called the Queen of Denmark§ §On the 4th Instant arrived your Ship Osterly from Bengal§ §Captain Vincent informs Us he left the Pilot the 1st of January and§ §that the Boscawen was to sail for Europe in February the Pigot§ §if pofsible in March, the Deptford it was said would leave Bengal§ §for Madrafs about the middle of January to fill up there, and§ §to be dispatched from thence for Europe, he likewise tells Us that§ §the Earl of Middlesex arrived at Bengal from Bombay with§ §Troops the day before he sailed, and the morning he parted with§ §the Pilot he saw a Ship standing for Ballisore Road which§ §he supposed to be either the Lord Mansfield, Bute or	The Council would take that chance of answering the Court's several letters to it. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 28 March 1764 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 28 March by a Danish ship called the <i>Queen of Denmark</i>. 2: On the 4 of this month arrived the Court's ship <i>Osterley</i> from Bengal. Captain Vincent told the Council he left the pilot on the 1 of January, and that the <i>Boscawen</i> was to sail for Europe in February, the <i>Pigot</i> if possible in March. The <i>Deptford</i>, it was said, would leave Bengal for Madras about the middle of January to fill up there, and be sent off from there for Europe. He also told the Council that the <i>Earl of Middlesex</i> reached Bengal from Bombay the day before he sailed, and that the morning he parted with the pilot he saw a ship standing for Balasore road, which he supposed to be either the <i>Lord Mansfield</i>, <i>Bute</i> or <i>British King</i>, they being hourly expected there with troops. Captain Vincent further told the Council that he put into the Cape on the 9 of March, where he found Admiral Cornish with His Majesty's ships <i>Norfolk</i>, <i>Elizabeth</i>, <i>Chatham</i> and <i>America</i>. These ships met with a violent gale of wind in latitude 19° south, which did them [...] Interpretations Balasore road was the anchorage off the mouth of the Hughli where ships bound for Calcutta took on or set down their pilots, the river being too treacherous to navigate without local guidance. A vessel standing for Balasore was making the

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		British King§ §they being Hourly expected likewise with Troops, Capt Vincent§ §further tells us, he put into the Cape the 9 March last were§ §he found Admiral Cornish with his Majestys Ships Norfolk§ §Elizabeth, Chatham, and America, these Ships met with a§ §violent Gale of Wind the Latitude 19 South which had done§ §them§	approach to Bengal, so the sightings reported to the Council traced the movements of the homeward and inward fleets at the very threshold of the river, the point at which every Bengal voyage began or ended. The gale that struck Admiral Cornish's squadron in latitude 19° south marks the hazards of the passage between the Cape and the equator. Returning warships and merchantmen alike faced heavy weather in these latitudes, and a violent storm could damage even a fleet of the line, a reminder that the sea itself remained the constant danger to shipping long after the enemy had made peace.
267	257	them great damage especially the Elizabeth, that lost her Rudder, and§ §was in great danger of foundering§ §It is with the greatest pleasure we are informed of the safe§ §Arrival of all your Ships the last Season, and we sincerely hope the§ §same good Success will attend those of this Year§ §His Majestys Proclamation of Peace we has published in§ §the usual Form, and you may be afured of our Strict Observance of§ §the same as far as it concerns Us§ §Your Honors may depend upon our entertaining any of§ §His Majestys Officers that may touch here in the Genteelst manner we§ §are able, and paying them the Honors due to their several Ranks§ §We shall not fail to Shew the Rufsians Officers all proper civility§ §when ever they arrive here, and should they make any complaints of being§ §ill treated we shall redrefs them§ §The Orders received from the Secret Committee or any three of§ §those Gentlemen shall be duly Obeyed, and complied with§ §By the List of Ships transmitted the we Observe you have§ §been pleased to take up nineteen, besides your Ship Admiral Watson, for§ §carrying on your commerce the current Year, all of which, we hope will be§ §returned to you in safety, and meet with the divine success§ §We wish prosperity to your Honors affairs in China, under the§ §management and direction of the Gentlemen you have been pleased§ §to mention§ §We are Glad to find the Sfreight, and Demorage of the Ships§ §taken up this Season are at a much lower rate, than for some Years§ §past we shall carefully attend to the Charterpartys of the Duke of§ §Richmond and Princefs Augusta, as far as relates to Us, and you may be§ §afured of our dispatching them in the limited time§ §It gives Us pleasure to find, our Intelligence hitherto has§ §met with your Honors approbation, and you may depend upon our§ §continuing to communicate every material occurrence that comes to§ §your knowledge with regard to your Affairs in General§ §We shall constantly acquaint you, with any expences§ §incurred by the Seamen and others left here out of the Ships that you§ §may recover the same§ §be able§	The gale did the ships great damage, especially the <i>Elizabeth</i>, which lost her rudder and was in great danger of foundering. 3: The Council was most glad to learn of the safe arrival of all the Court's ships the last season, and sincerely hoped the same good success would attend those of this year. 4: The Council had published His Majesty's proclamation of peace in the usual form, and the Court could rely on its strict observance of it so far as concerned the island. 5: The Court could depend on the Council entertaining any of His Majesty's officers who called here in the most gentlemanly manner it could, and paying them the honours due to their several ranks. 6: The Council would show the Russian officers all proper civility whenever they arrived here, and should they make any complaint of ill treatment it would put matters right. 7: The orders received from the Secret Committee or any of those gentlemen would be duly obeyed and carried out. 8: As appeared from the list of ships sent out, the Court had taken up nineteen, besides its ship <i>Admiral Watson</i>, for carrying on its commerce the present year, all of which the Council hoped would return in safety and meet with success. 9: The Council wished prosperity to the Court's affairs in China, under the management and direction of the gentlemen the Court had named. 10: The Council was glad to find the freight and demurrage of the ships taken up this season were at a much lower rate than for some years past. It would attend carefully to the charter parties of the <i>Duke of Richmond</i> and <i>Princess Augusta</i>, so far as concerned the island, and the Court could rely on its dispatching them within the fixed time. 11: The Council was pleased that its reports had met with the Court's approval, and the Court might depend on its continuing to send word of every material matter that came to its knowledge about the Court's affairs in general. 12: The Council would report anyone left here out of the Court's ships by the seamen and others, so that the Court might recover the cost. [...] Interpretations The mention of Russian officers to be shown civility marks the widening reach of St Helena's role as a port of call. As a stopping place on the route between Europe and the East, the island received officers and travellers of many nations, and the Council's readiness to receive Russians with courtesy and to redress any grievance reflects a policy of keeping good relations with all comers at a waypoint where the vessels of distant powers put in for water and refreshment. The satisfaction that freight and demurrage rates had fallen shows the direct effect of peace on the Company's costs. In wartime the hire of ships ran high because of the added risk, so the return of peace lowered the rates at which the Company took up vessels for its trade, and the Council's note of the fall reflects an awareness that the ending of the war eased

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			the whole burden of shipping on which the Company's commerce depended.
268	258	The fee necessarys given to the Captain of the Dutch Ship§ §that touched here to land Mr Hurrill the third mate of the Snow Mercury§ §we are pleased met with your approbation, as likewise the detention of§ §the Ship Fox a few days to accompany the Godolphin§ §The setting on shore and Launching the Fly Cutter, with§ §the Sheathing of her, proved a very tedious piece of Work, but we hope§ §she will not require that repair again, before she returns to England,§ §As the two Mates of that Vefsel, could not lay or Eat on board, and§ §their pay was not sufficient to support them on shore, these reasons§ §induced Us to make them that allowance§ §As we shall be able to furnish the Ships, with as much fresh§ §Provisions as they may require, We are glad to find your Honors have§ §taken off the Injunctions to the Commanders, for Supplying themselves§ §in India, and only continued that, for fuel, as we are very scarce of§ §Wood for that purpose§ §Agreeable to your directions, we shall enter the Time of the Ships§ §Boats at Banks upon our Consultations, and transmit likewise an§ §account thereof by every conveyance§ §None of the discharged Soldiers that were put on board§ §the Ships however compleating their Companys ever signed the§ §Instrument, not to demand any wages for their Voyage Home,§ §only the Invalides and those that went upon the Ships that had their§ §complement of Men signed that Obligation§ §We shall in future endeavour to enter Seamen on board§ §the Snow Mercury and Fly Cutter, on the terms you direct, if we can§ §possibly procure him at that rate, but are apprehensive shall find great§ §difficulty in it, as those Wages are given them at Home, we shall take§ §care to enter none but Europeans, The Men Entered from the Companys§ §Ships, have always had their respective Captains leave for it, or§ §exchange for others§ §We return your Honors thanks, for complying so amply§ §with our Indent, which we hope will answer our demands, until§ §the next season§ §If we should be able to procure Money sufficient for§ §the§	13: The Council was pleased that the fee it paid the captain of the Dutch ship that called here to land Mr Hurrel, the third mate of the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, met with the Court's approval, as did the detention of the ship <i>Fox</i> a few days to accompany the <i>Godolphin</i>. 14: The setting ashore and launching of the <i>Fly Cutter</i>, with the renewing of her sheathing, proved a very tedious piece of work, but the Council hoped she would not need that repair again before she returned to England. Since the two mates of that vessel could not lodge or eat aboard, and their pay was not enough to keep them ashore, the Council was moved to make them that allowance. 15: The Council would furnish the Court's ships with as much fresh provisions as they might need, and was glad the Court had lifted the order to the commanders to supply themselves in India, keeping it only for fuel, since the island was very short of wood for that purpose. 16: As directed, the Council would enter in its consultations the time of the ships boats arriving at Banks, and send an account of it by every ship. 17: None of the discharged soldiers put aboard the Court's ships to make up their crews had signed the agreement not to demand any wages for their voyage home, only the invalids and those who went aboard ships that already had their full complement of men signed that undertaking. 18: The Council would in future try to enter seamen aboard the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i> on the terms the Court directed, if it could get them at that rate, but it feared it would find great difficulty, since higher wages were paid at home. It would take care to enter none but Europeans. The men entered from the Company's ships had always had their captains' leave for it, or been exchanged for others. 19: The Council thanked the Court for supplying its indent so amply, which it hoped would answer its demands until the next season. 20: Should the Council be able to procure money enough for [...] Interpretations The distinction drawn over the wage waivers shows the careful line the Council held on what it could and could not require. Only men whose passage cost the Company nothing extra, the invalids and those shipped where a full crew already existed, were made to renounce their wages, while discharged soldiers taken on to fill genuine gaps in a ship's company earned their pay like any crewman, so the Council applied the waiver strictly where it was fair and not where the man did real work. The shortage of wood for fuel points to a real limit of the island's resources. St Helena had little timber, so even as the Council could offer passing ships fresh food freely, it could not spare firewood and had to keep the order that commanders supply their own fuel, a reminder that a small volcanic island, however useful as a victualling station, lacked some of the commonest necessities and had to husband them closely.
269	259	the service of the Current Year, by Drawing Bills on your Honors, we shall§ §forward the Chest of Treasure on board the Princefs Augusta, to your Council§ §in China§ §Should it be necessary to alter our Indents to China, we shall§ §take care to advise your Council thereof it§ §We are much pleased our proposal of sending the	The service of the present year by drawing bills on the Court, the Council would forward the chest of treasure aboard the <i>Princess Augusta</i> to the Court's council in China. 21: Should it be necessary to alter its indents to China, the Council would take care to advise the Court's council there of it. 22: The Council was much pleased that its proposal of sending the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i>

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		Snow Mercury§ §and Fly Cutter to Madagascar for Slaves meets with your approbation§ §as we are much in want of them for carrying on your necefsary Works§ §here we shall be guided by your former Directions on this Head, only with§ §respect to their being confin'd to particular Ports, and shall direct the§ §Captains of them to be vigilant and constantly upon their Guard§ §against the Treachery of the Natives, The Trading terms of the Prince Henry§ §& Diligent, we have received, & shall give them to the Commanders & Chief Officers of those§ §Vefsles for their Guidance§ §In future we will Indent to Bombay for what Gun§ §Carriages we may want, and shall agreeable to your directions apprize§ §the President and Council there, with your Orders on this head, likewise§ §inform you in due time, that you may send Us the Iron Work§ §necefsary for them, as we are in no want at present we have not§ §indented for any this season§ §The Sheathing Nails intended for the Fly Cutter we have§ §sent by this Ship to Bencoolen, together with the Mills Stones received§ §some time ago from China, for that Settlement§ §You may be afsured of our constant inspection of the Stores§ §House every Year, and no sum shall be wrote off your Books for Leakage§ §Wastage &c but what appears to Us to be just and reasonable§ §We are glad to find you approved of our reducing the Pistereens§ §to 7 each, as their pafsing here at 9 & might have been attended with§ §great inconvenience to the Island, it being so much above their§ §intrinsick Value, and consequently should have had but very little§ §of any other Specy remaining, We shall particularly caution the§ §Inhabitants to inform us, if any uncommon Coin should be§ §Offerd to them in payment, to bring it to us that the Value may be§ §adjusted before they receive it§	to Madagascar for slaves met with the Court's approval, as it was much in want of them for carrying on the necessary works of the island. It would be guided by the Court's earlier directions on this head, only as to their being confined to particular ports, and would direct the captains of them to be vigilant and constantly on their guard against the treachery of the natives. The trading terms of the <i>Prince Henry</i> of Deligent, which the Council had received, it would give to the commanders and chief officers of these vessels for their guidance. 23: In future the Council would indent to Bombay for what gun carriages it might need, and, as the Court directed, would inform the president and council there in due time, with the Court's orders on this head. It would also send word so that the Court might send out the ironwork needed for them. Since the Council was in no want at present, it had not indented for any this season. 24: The Council had sent the sheathing nails intended for the <i>Fly Cutter</i> by this ship to Bencoolen, together with the mill stones received some time ago from China for that settlement. 25: The Court could rely on the Council's constant inspection of the storehouse every year, and that nothing would be written off its books for leakage, wastage and the like but what appeared just and reasonable. 26: The Council was glad the Court approved its reducing the pistareens to fivepence each, since their passing here at sixpence might have been to the island's great inconvenience, being so much above their real value, and it would consequently have had very little other coin left. The Council would particularly caution the inhabitants to report if any unusual coin were offered to them in payment, so that its value might be adjusted before they received it. Interpretations The care over the pistareen shows the island managing the mixed foreign coinage that circulated in the absence of a settled local currency. The pistareen was a small Spanish silver coin, and passing it here at sixpence when its real worth was less would have driven better money off the island, since people hoard coin that is undervalued and spend coin that is overvalued, so the Council set the rate to its true value to keep sound currency in circulation. The instruction to arm the Madagascar slaving vessels against the treachery of the natives reflects the violence inherent in the trade. Ships sent to barter goods for captives faced the risk of attack from the people they dealt with, so the Council directed their captains to stay on guard, a caution that reveals the trade as one conducted under constant threat of force on both sides, the vessels going armed to seize and carry away human beings.
<u>270</u>	260	We wrote your Honors Word last Year by the Ship Clive that§ §we were apprehensive the disorder among the Cattle was again§ §returning having lost some about that Time, but we have the§ §satisfaction to acquaint you very few have since died, and we hope§ §it will entirely cease, we are obliged to you for ordering the§ §Medecines we wrote for, to be sent for their relief, The last§ §sprov'd a good Season, and we consequently have plenty of§ §Provisions upon the Island, for the use of the Ships and§ §Market§	27: The Council wrote to the Court the previous year by the ship <i>Clive</i> that it feared the sickness among the cattle was returning, having lost some about that time, but it was glad to report that very few had since died, and it hoped the disease would entirely cease. The Council was obliged to the Court for ordering the medicines it wrote for, sent for the cattle's relief. The last season proved a good one, so the island had plenty of provisions for the use of the ships and the market. 28: The lucern seed the Court sent the previous year the Council had sown several times, but with very little success, the failure of the rains about the time it came up being, the Council believed, the cause of the flies and grubs destroying every crop. The Council hoped to be more fortunate in its trials this season.

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		§The Lucerne Seed you were pleased to send Us last Year§ §we have several Times sowed, but hitherto have been very unsuccessful§ §in our Attempt, the Rains failing about the time it came up,§ §we believe was the cause of the Tile, and Grefs, & shed it, which§ §entirely destroyed every Crop, but we flatter ourselves shall§ §be more fortunate in our Tryals this Season§ §We are much obliged, and thank your Honors for§ §Ordering a new Church to be built, as the present one is§ §very old, and not near large enough to contain the§ §Inhabitants, we shall make all the preparation in our§ §power, towards forwarding that Work, and shall be§ §particularly careful that the constructions shall be§ §plain, and convenient§ §We return you thanks for the kind Concern your Honors have§ §been pleased to exprefs upon hearing of the sufferings of many People§ §from the great Floods that happened last year§ §When the Reverend Mr John Thackery arrives, he shall§ §be paid the Usual Salary, Diet Money &ca his predecefsors§ §enjoy'd, & agreeable to your directions shall continue Mr Lee his§ §Salary until he leaves the Island, He begs leave to return your§ §Honors his sincere thanks, for this favour§ §When we receive the Bond for the performance of Mr§ §Wrights Covenants, it shall be duly executed, and returned to your§ §Honors§ §Capt Kirkpatrick is greatly surprised that the two§ §Gentlemen§	29: The Council was much obliged to the Court for ordering a new church to be built, the present one being very old and not near large enough to hold the inhabitants. It would make every preparation in its power towards forwarding that work, and would be particularly careful that the construction should be plain and convenient. 30: The Council thanked the Court for its concern on hearing of the sufferings of many people from the great floods that happened the previous year. 31: When the Reverend Mr John Thackery arrived he would be paid the usual salary, diet money and the like his predecessor enjoyed, and, as the Court directed, the Council would continue Mr Lee his salary until he left the island. Mr Lee begged leave to return the Court his sincere thanks for this favour. 32: When the Council received the bond for the performance of Mr Wright's agreement it would be duly executed and returned to the Court. 33: Captain Kirkpatrick was greatly surprised that the two gentlemen [...] Interpretations The repeated failure of the lucern crop shows the hard limits the island's conditions placed on introducing new plants. Lucern, a fodder crop valued for feeding livestock, needed reliable rain to establish itself, and when the rains failed at the critical moment the young plants fell to flies and grubs, so the Council's efforts at agricultural improvement were repeatedly defeated by a climate and pests it could not control, a recurring frustration in the attempt to make the island more self-sufficient. The provision made for the outgoing and incoming chaplains reflects the ordered way the Company managed its posts. The retiring Mr Lee kept his salary until he left, while his successor would receive the same pay and allowances, so the change of chaplain was handled without leaving either man unprovided, the diet money being a fixed allowance toward the cost of living that formed a regular part of a Company servant's remuneration.
271	261	Gentlemen he wrote to be his Securitys, had not Offerd themselves to§ §Execute the Usual Bond, his not receiving any Letters by this Ship,§ §makes him at a lofs to know the cause of their not attending, but§ §afsures your Honors, he will give the security required for the§ §performance of his Covenants this Year§ §The twenty Recruits sent Us by this Ship We have received,§ §they all appears to be very good Men, James Byrne one of the Soldiers§ §intended for Bencoolen we have stoped here upon a representation§ §made Us by Captain Godfrey, as you will see & Consultation§ §of the 2 Instant, which we beg leave to refer you to, and in his room,§ §have sent James Hill Madrofs who is a good man, and agreed to§ §serve as a Soldier five Years at the West Coast, he is by Trade a§ §Bricklayer, and may be of great service to that settlement§ §We have tryed every Method in our power to prevail with§ §the Men whose contracted Times are expired to Relist again,§ §some of which have been perswaded to take the Bounty Money, but§ §several others will not engage for a longer time, notwithstanding§ §we have offered to advance them part of the ten	The two gentlemen he had named as his security had not come forward to execute the usual bond. Since he received no letters by this ship, Captain Kirkpatrick was at a loss to know why they had not done so, but he assured the Court he would give the security required for the performance of his agreement this year. 34: The Council received the twenty recruits sent by this ship, who all appeared to be very good men. James Byrne, one of the soldiers intended for Bencoolen, the Council had stoped here on a representation made to it by Captain Godfrey, as appeared from its consultation of the 2 of this month, to which it referred the Court. In his place it had sent James Hill, a mattross, who was a good man and agreed to serve five years at the West Coast, being a bricklayer by trade and likely to be of great service to that settlement. 35: The Council had tried every method in its power to prevail with the men whose contracted terms had expired to re-enlist. Some had been persuaded to take the bounty money, but several others would not engage for a longer time, though the Council offered to advance them part of the ten pounds bounty before their terms expired. It would use its utmost endeavours to keep all good men on the island, since being disciplined and inured to the climate they would save the Court the expense and trouble of sending recruits from England. The Council never gave any of the discharged soldiers hope of receiving any relief or gratuity from the Court, but on the contrary told them they could not expect indulgences of that kind.

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		pounds Bounty§ §before their times were expired, we will use our utmost indeavours§ §to keep all we can that are good Men upon the Island, as they are§ §Deseiplend and inured to the Cliemate, it will save your Honors the§ §expence and trouble of sending Recruits from England, We never§ §gave any of the Discharged Soldiers, hopes of receiving any relief§ §or gratuity form your Honors, but on the Contrary told them they§ §could not expect indulgences of that kind§ §The Commifsions you have been pleased to send,§ §impowering Us to hold Courts Martials &c We have received,§ §and shall pay due regard to the Orders and instructions you have§ §given Us, on this Head§ §Agreable to your orders, we have put the Artillery§ §Company upon the Establishment you Ordered, Mr Nathan§ §Sample is appointed first Lieut of it, but Mr J N Welch requesting§ §to go into another Company, he accordingly is made 2 Lieutenant§ §to the 2 Company, and Lieut Thos Leech of the Artillery, We have§ §paid Mefrs Sampell and Welsh, from the 17th May to make up their§	36: The Council had received the commissions the Court sent empowering it to hold courts martial and the like, and would pay due regard to the orders and instructions the Court had given on this head. 37: As the Court ordered, the Council had put the artillery company on the establishment the Court directed. Mr Nathaniel Sampell was appointed first lieutenant of it, but since Mr I. W. Welch asked to go into another company he was made second lieutenant of the second company, and Lieutenant Philip Leech of the artillery. The Council had paid Messrs Sampell and Welch from the 17 of May, to make up their [...] Interpretations A mattross was a soldier of the artillery ranking below a gunner, who assisted in loading, firing and moving the guns, so James Hill served in the artillery arm before being sent as a tradesman to Bencoolen. His value to that settlement lay in his trade rather than his soldiering, the Council choosing a bricklayer over the intended man because a distant settlement needed builders as much as fighters, a sign of how the Company weighed practical skills in placing its men. The whole of the thirty-fifth paragraph reveals the standing difficulty of keeping a garrison manned on a remote island. Seasoned soldiers acclimatised to the island and trained to their duty were far more valuable than raw recruits, and losing them meant the cost and delay of shipping replacements from England, so the Council pressed re-enlistment with bounty money while refusing any hint of gratuities to the discharged, balancing the need to retain good men against the danger of raising expectations it would not meet. Speculations Ordered to send James Byrne to Bencoolen, the Council instead kept him at St Helena and substituted James Hill for the West Coast posting. The obvious course was to forward the man named, but the Council diverted him on Captain Godfrey's representation and chose Hill in his place. The reason it gives is Hill's trade: a bricklayer bound to serve five years was judged of great service to a building settlement, so the Council overrode the specific assignment in favour of matching a man's skill to a settlement's need, treating the posting as a question of usefulness rather than of simply obeying the name on the list.
272	262	their respective pay as Lieut, agreable to your Orders, they beg leave§ §to return your Honors their thanks for the favours conferred on them§ §The Governor presents his Respects to your Honors§ §His Acknowledgements for the favours you have been pleased to§ §to confer on him, wait on you in the Packet§ §Lieut Govr Skottowe begs leave to return you a great many§ §thanks to your Honors, for the favour of appointing him to§ §succeed Governor Hutchinson, He, the other Members of the§ §Council will continue to act in their present Stations, as you§ §have been pleased to direct§ §The Account of several sums of Money, drawn§ §upon you by Capt Harrold at the Cape We have received, and§ §pursuant to your directions have compared them with your§ §Books which we find exactly to answer, Captain Harrold tells us§ §he could not pofsibly avoid making these Bills, pay	The two men were paid to make up their respective pay as lieutenant, as the Court ordered, and they begged leave to return the Court their thanks for the favours conferred on them. 38: The Governor's respects to the Court, and his acknowledgements for the favours it had conferred on him, went enclosed. 39: Lieutenant Governor Skottowe begged leave to return the Court many thanks for the favour of appointing him to succeed Governor Hutchinson, and the other members of the Council would continue to act in their present stations, as the Court directed. 40: The Council received the account of the several sums of money drawn on the Court by Captain Harrold at the Cape, and, as directed, compared them with its books, which it found exactly to answer. Captain Harrold told the Council he could not possibly avoid making the bills payable in Holland, the Dutch refusing to receive the money in London. 41: In the Council's opinion the fortifications needed the inspection of an engineer, and should the Court send one out the Council thought it would be the cheapest and most effective way to have them

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		able in§ §Holland they refusing to receive the money in London§ §As it is our opinion the Fortifications require§ §the Inspection of an Engineer, if you were pleased to send§ §out one we think it would be the cheapest and most§ §effectual method to have them put into a proper condition for§ §the security, and defence of your Island§ §We received a Letter from Mr James your Secretary§ §acquainting Us with your Honors intention of sending some§ §Slaves hither from the Coast of Africa, to be forwarded to your§ §Settlements on the West Coast of Sumatra, when ever any are§ §brought here, they shall be taken proper care of, and imployed§ §until we receive your Orders by the next Years Store Ships§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt One Set to Lieut John Hartland for £70 1 9 payable to§ §himself or Order, one set to Mr Thomas Greenlee for £46 7 4§ §payable to Mr Mary Adamson or Order, and one Set to Mr§ §John White for £70 payable to himself or Order, all drawn§ §at Ninety Days sight, and dated this 9th Instant§ §The Snow Mercury being in want of a third Mate§ §and Captain Godfrey willing to spare Mr William Keighly§ §who§	put into proper condition for the security and defence of the island. 42: The Council received a letter from Mr James, the Court's secretary, telling it of the Court's intention of sending some slaves here from the coast of Africa, to be forwarded to the Court's settlements on the west coast of Sumatra. Whenever any were brought here the Council would take proper care of them and employ them until it received the Court's orders by the next year's ships. 43: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Lieutenant John Hartland for £70 1s 9d, payable to himself or order. One set to Mr Thomas Greentree for £46 7s 4d, payable to Mr Mary Adamson or order. And one set to Mr John White for £50 0s 0d, payable to himself or order, all drawn at 90 days after sight and dated the 9 of this month. 44: Since the <i>Mercury Snow</i> was in want of a third mate, and Captain Godfrey was willing to spare Mr William Keighly, who [...] Interpretations The succession of Skottowe to the governorship in place of Hutchinson marks a routine change at the head of the island's administration, the outgoing governor moving on and his lieutenant stepping up as the Court directed. The smooth handover, with the other councillors keeping their posts, shows the Company's practice of managing such transitions by settled rule, so that the change of the chief officer did not disturb the working of the government below him. The plan to forward African slaves through St Helena to Sumatra marks the island's function as a staging point in the Company's movement of forced labour around its eastern empire. Slaves shipped from the African coast were to be held and worked at St Helena until they could be sent on to the west coast of Sumatra, so the island served as a holding and transit point in a wider traffic in human beings that supplied labour to the Company's scattered settlements. Speculations Faced with fortifications it judged in poor condition, the Council might have set about repairing them by its own hands and local reckoning, as it managed most of the island's works. It chose instead to ask the Court to send out a trained engineer to inspect them first. The reason it gives is telling: an expert survey, though it meant waiting on a man from England, was in the Council's own words the cheapest and most effective way to put the defences right, so the Council judged that spending on skilled inspection would save more than proceeding blindly, preferring proper direction over immediate but possibly wasted effort on works vital to the island's security.
273	263	who he says is properly Qualified for that Sation, and Capt Harrold§ §approving of him, we accordingly entertained him as such at the§ §usual Wages§ §The Pafsengers on board the Osterly are, Mr Rowland§ §Fenwick, and Champion, Col Morris, Captn Tydd & Black, Lieut§ §Bowell, Onge, Chaigneau, Wilfhire, Brown, Crowe, Hartland§ §& Fordyce, Ensign Badman, Mefsr Brown, Dundaf§ §and§ §Moffatt§ §As the last Quarters Accounts will not be laid before Us§ §until the 10th instant, we cannot transmit you a Cash Account to a§	William Keighly was properly qualified for that post, and since Captain Harrold approved of him, the Council took him on as such at the usual wages. 45: The passengers aboard the <i>Osterley</i> were Mr Rowland Fenwick and Mr Champion, Colonel Morris, Captain Tyll and Black, Lieutenants Bowell, Onge, Chaigneau, Wiltshire, Brown, Crowe and Hartland, Ensign Badman, and Messrs Brown, Dundass and Moffatt. 46: Since the last quarter's accounts would not be laid before the Council until the 10 of this month, it could not send the Court a cash account to a later date than the duplicate of its last. 47: The Council gave Captain Vincent leave to receive aboard his ship Christian Hornick, John Hauring, Arnold Herrison, Henry Jenkins and John William Blank, five discharged soldiers. They all

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		§later date than the Duplicate of our last§ §We have given Capt Vincent a permit to receive on board§ §his Ship Christian Hornicke, John Hauring, Arnold Herrison§ §Henry Jenkins, and John William Blank five discharged Soldiers§ §they have all signed the Instrument not to demand any Wages for§ §their pafsage Home, which goes inclosed§ §The President and Council of Bengal gave Capt Vincent§ §Orders, in case he touched at the Cape to bring Sheep &c to this Place§ §We accordingly received one hundred Sheep, and five hundred and§ §twelve pounds fleur, for which we have paid him £61 5 s & his§ §Bill entered in our Consultation of the 9 Instant§ §This Ship sailing so soon, we have not time to answer§ §your Letter to Us, with regard to Law Matters, but shall do it by§ §the next opportunity§ §This Day your Ship Duke of Richmond proceeded on§ §her Voyage§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most Obedient & humble Servants§ §11th Apl 1764§ §(signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	signed an agreement that they would demand no wages for their passage home, which went enclosed. 48: The president and council of Bengal gave Captain Vincent orders, should he call at the Cape, to bring sheep and the like to St Helena. The Council accordingly received one hundred sheep and five hundred and twelve pounds of flour, for which it paid him £61 5s 0d, as appeared from his bill entered in its consultation of the 9 of this month. 49: Since this ship sailed so soon, the Council had no time to answer the Court's letter about law matters, but would do so by the next ship. 50: This day the Court's ship <i>Duke of Richmond</i> proceeded on her voyage. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 11 April 1764 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The purchase of a hundred sheep and a quantity of flour brought from the Cape shows how the island drew on the nearer settlement to supplement its own produce. The Cape of Good Hope, with its farms and flocks, was a source of livestock and grain that St Helena lacked in sufficient quantity, so the Company arranged for its ships calling there to carry supplies onward to the island, the arrangement between the Bengal council and Captain Vincent reflecting the coordinated way the Company moved provisions between its eastern possessions.
274	264	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ & Ship Osterly dated the 11th April 1764 vizt§ No 1 Govr and Councils General Letter dated 11th April 1764§ 2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 5 March Do§ 3 Do Do and Do dated 5 Do Do relatg to§ Law Matters§ 4 Do Govr and Councils General Letter dated 28th Do Do§ 5 Consultations from the 12th March to the 9 April Do§ 6 Duplicate Do from the 12th Decembr 1763 to the 5 March Do§ 7 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Plafsey§ 8 Second Do for Do & Ship Grosvenor§ 9 List of Officers and Servants taken 11th April 1764§ 10 Do of the Snow Mercurys Company§ 11 Do of the Fly Cutters Do§ 12 Do of five Discharged Soldiers§ 13 Duplicate Do of Cattle returned and Killed in the Year 1763§ 14 Do Do of the Packet & Ship Plafsey§ 15 Effective State of the Garrison§ 16 Muster Rolls of Do§ 17 Duplicate Cash Account from the 6th to the 31 March 1763§ 18 Do Do for the Month of January 1764§ 19 Do Do for the Month of February Do§ 20 Do Do from the 1 to the 5 March Do§ 21 Ship Osterly Account§ 22 Do Duke of Richmonds Do§ 23 Duplicate Do Plafseys Do§ 24 Do Do Earl of Ashburnham Do§ 25 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Osterly§ 26 Duplicate proceedings of the Quarterly Sessions held on 11th§ Janvry 1764§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Osterley</i>, dated the 11 April 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 11 April 1764 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 5 March, the same year 3: The same, relating to law matters, dated 5, the same year 4: The same, dated 28, the same year 5: Consultations from the 12 March to the 9 April, the same year 6: Duplicate of the same, from the 12 December 1763 to the 5 March, the same year Item 7 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Plassey</i>. Item 8 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Grosvenor</i>. 9: List of officers and servants, taken 11 April 1764 10: The same, of the Mercury Snow's company 11: The same, of the Fly Cutter's company 12: The same, of five discharged soldiers 13: Duplicate of the same, of cattle reared and killed in the year 1763 Item 14 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Plassey</i>. 15: Effective state of the garrison 16: Muster rolls of the same 17: Duplicate cash account from the 6 to the 31 March 1763 18: The same, for the month of January 1764 19: The same, for the month of February, the same year 20: The same, from the 1 to the 5 March, the same year Item 21 was the ship <i>Osterley</i>'s account. Item 22 was the <i>Duke of Richmond</i>'s account. Item 23 was the duplicate of the <i>Plassey</i>'s account. Item 24 was the

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		§27 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boat at Banks &§ §28 Instrument in Writing from five Discharged Soldiers§ §29 Govr Letter to the Secret Committee of Directors§	<i>Earl of Ashburnham's</i> account. Item 25 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Osterley</i>. 26: Duplicate proceedings of the Quarter Session held on 11 January 1764 27: Time of the arrival of the ships boat at Banks 28: Instrument in writing from five discharged soldiers 29: Governor's letter to the Court of Directors
275	265	To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Addrefs waited on your Honors by the Ship§ §Osterly which sailed from hence the 12th Instant§ §On the 17th of this Month arrived your Ship Britannia§ §from China Capt Rous informs Us he left that place the 29 December§ §last in Company with the Houghton and Havannah, the former§ §was Ordered to touch at Bencoolen to acquaint your President and§ §Council there that your Ships Havannah, Cruttenden, Falmouth§ §and Hawke were to call at Manilla to take on board a thousand§ §Chinise for that Settlement, We are likewise told the Hector and§ §Egmont were to be dispatched for Europe about the Middle of§ §January and the Neptune in February, By a Dutch Boat§ §in the Streights of Sunda, Capt Rous was informed the Boscawen§ §was gone to Batavia, the Glatton it was said was at Malaca§ §and the Valentine within a few Hours of Macoa, when She met§ §with a violent Gale of Wind which obliged her to bore away§ §Capt Rous also tells Us there is a report that your Ship Earl§ §Temple was lost off the Island of Manilla, and that every§ §soul Perished which melancholey account he fears is too true§ §Mr George Wade Surgeon of the Snow Mercury applying§ §to Us to be Discharged from that Vefsel, and return to England, we§ §accordingly Granted it and gave Capt Rous a permit to receive him§ §on board his Ship John Allen who you directed to be discharged, We have§ §put on board the Britannia as likewise George Hilfhien late§ §Sergeant, both towards compleating her Company§ §Upon Adjusting the Accounts of the late Lieut Samuel§ §Price which are entered in our Consultaton of the 16 Instant, the§ §Sum of £7 16 2 due to Either Norton & 1/5 to Banks Mitchell who are§ §both off the Island we have received into our Cash & wrote the same§ §off to Account Current London§ §We§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient and humble Servts§ §25th Apl 1764§ §(sign'd)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §M Curling§ §John Skottowe§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Osterley</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 12 of this month. 2: On the 17 of this month arrived the Court's ship <i>Britannia</i> from China. Captain Rous told the Council he left that place on the 29 of December, in company with the <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Havannah</i>. The former was ordered to call at Bencoolen to tell the Court's president and council there that the Court's ships <i>Havannah</i>, <i>Cruttenden</i>, <i>Falmouth</i> and <i>Hawke</i> were to call at Manila to take aboard a thousand Chinese for that settlement. The Council was also told that the <i>Hector</i> and <i>Egmont</i> were to be sent off for Europe about the middle of January, and the <i>Neptune</i> in February. By a Dutch boat in the Straits of Sunda, Captain Rous learned that the <i>Boscawen</i> had gone to Batavia, the <i>Glatton</i>, it was said, was at Malacca, and the <i>Valentine</i> within a few hours of Macao when she met with a violent gale of wind that forced her to bear away. Captain Rous also told the Council there was a report that the Court's ship <i>Earl Temple</i> was lost off the island of Manila, and that every soul perished, which melancholy account he feared was too true. 3: Mr George Wade, surgeon of the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, asked to be discharged from that vessel and to return to England. The Council granted it and gave Captain Rous leave to receive him aboard his ship. John Allen, whom the Court directed to be discharged, the Council had also put aboard the <i>Britannia</i>, together with George Hitchen, late sergeant, both to make up her crew. 4: On adjusting the accounts of the late Lieutenant Samuel Price, entered in its consultation of the 18 of this month, the sum of £7 16s 0d was due to Either Norton and £15 0s 0d to Banks Mitchell, who were both off the island. The Council received these into its cash and wrote the same off to account current, London. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 25 April 1764 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The plan to carry a thousand Chinese to Bencoolen marks the Company's practice of moving labour across its eastern settlements to make them productive. The west coast of Sumatra was thinly peopled and hard to work, so Chinese labourers were recruited or transported there to cultivate pepper and other crops, the Company treating the movement of large bodies of workers between its possessions as a routine means of supplying the hands its scattered settlements required. The reported loss of the <i>Earl Temple</i> off Manila with all aboard marks the gravest of the sea's dangers to the trade. A ship wrecked with every soul lost was a disaster of the first order, and Captain Rous's fear that the account was true reflects how such news travelled ahead of confirmation, leaving the fate of a vessel and her people uncertain until a later ship brought word, a constant shadow over a trade carried on across such vast distances.

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276	266	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena & Ship§ §Britannia dated the 25th Apl 1764§ §No 1 Governor & Councils General Letter dated 25th April 1764§ §2 Councils Do dated 25th Do Do relatg to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do and Do dated 11 Do Do§ §4 Consultations from the 16th to the 23 April 1764§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 12th March to the 9th April Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Osterly§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship Plafsey§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken the 25 April 1764§ §9 Do of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §10 Do of the Fly Cutters Do§ §11 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Osterly§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Cash Account from the 6th to the 31 March 1764§ §14 Do from the 1 to the 25th April Do§ §15 Ship Britannias Account§ §16 Duplicate Ship Osterlys Do§ §17 Do Do Duke of Richmond Do§ §18 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Britannia§ §19 Time of the Arrival of the Britannias Boat at Banks§ §20 The Accounts of George Wade, Thos Landon and Et al Burefsy§ §21 Receipt from the Seamen of the Snow Mercury§ §22 List of two discharged Men§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to your Honors last, under date of the 25th§ §April by the Ship Britannia§ §On the 28th of last Month, Arrived the Egmont and§ §Hector from China, The 30th Admiral Cornish with his§ §Majestys Ships Norfolk, Elizabeth, America, and Chatham§ §from the Cape, and the same day your Ship & Hawke from§ §Chenfy§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Britannia</i>, dated the 25 April 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 25 April 1764 2: The same, relating to law matters, dated 25, the same year 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 11, the same year 4: Consultations from the 16 to the 25 April 1764 5: Duplicate of the same, from the 12 March to the 9 April, the same year Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Osterley</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Plassey</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken the 25 April 1764 9: The same, of the Mercury Snow's company 10: The same, of the Fly Cutter's company Item 11 was a duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Osterley</i>. 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Cash account from the 6 to the 31 March 1764 14: The same, from the 1 to the 25 April, the same year Item 15 was the ship <i>Britannid's</i> account. Item 16 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Osterley's</i> account. Item 17 was the duplicate of the <i>Duke of Richmond's</i> account. Item 18 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Britannia</i>. Item 19 was the time of the arrival of the <i>Britannid's</i> boat at Banks. 20: The accounts of George Wade, Thomas Landon and Others 21: Receipt from the seamen of the Mercury Snow 22: List of two discharged men To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 25 April by the ship <i>Britannia</i>. 2: On the 28 of the previous month arrived the <i>Egmont</i> and <i>Hector</i> from China. On the 30 Admiral Cornish with His Majesty's ships <i>Norfolk</i>, <i>Elizabeth</i>, <i>America</i> and <i>Chatham</i> arrived from the Cape, and the same day the Court's ship <i>Hawke</i> from China [...]
277	267	China she having lost her pafsage to Manilly§ §Capt Meares informs Us he left Canton the 24th January§ §and your Ship Neptune there she was to be dispatch'd about a Week§ §after, he also acquaints Us, the Glatton arrived at Wampo the day§ §after he left Canton§ §A Dane Ship Arrived here the 28th of last Month§ §from China Called the Kling of Denmark Capt Smit burthen§ §nine hundred Tons carry's twenty six guns and one hundred and forty§ §men, loaden with Tea, China Ware &c &c, bound to Copenhagen§ §Lieut Edwd Howorth applied to Us to pay sixty pounds into§ §your Cash which Sum we have received, and given him Bills§ §Drawn on you, payable to himself, or Order, Ninety days after§ §sight, dated the 4th Instant§ §Mr Lee Applied to Us pay £270 into Cash which sum§ §we have received, and given him Bills drawn on your Honors§ §payable to Mr William Mallor, or Order, Ninety days after sight§	The <i>Hawke</i> came from China, having lost her passage to Manila. 3: Captain Mears told the Council he left Canton on the 24 of January, the Court's ship <i>Neptune</i> being there and due to be sent off about a week after him. He also reported that the <i>Glatton</i> reached Whampoa the day after he left Canton. 4: A Danish ship arrived here on the 28 of the previous month from China, called the <i>King of Denmark</i>, Captain Smit, of nine hundred tons burthen, carrying twenty-six guns and one hundred and forty men, loaded with tea and china ware and silks, bound for Copenhagen. 5: Lieutenant Edward Howorth asked the Council to pay sixty pounds into its cash, which sum it received, giving him bills drawn on the Court payable to himself or order, 90 days after sight, dated the 4 of this month. 6: Mr Lee asked the Council to pay £270 0s 0d into its cash, which sum it received, giving him bills drawn on the Court payable to Mr William Mallor or order, 90 days after sight, dated the 4 of this month. 7: The ship <i>Admiral</i> sent an officer ashore, asking that the Council would let him have all the boats it possibly could to water his squadron. The Council accordingly lent all the Court's and the ships boats to assist him, which were constantly employed on that service until Thursday the 3 of this month.

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		§dated the 4th Instant§ §The Admiral sent an Officer on shore desiring, that we§ §would let him have all the Boats we pofsibly could to Water his§ §Squadron, He accordingly had all your Honors and the Ships§ §Boats to afsist him, which were constantly imployed§ §in that service until Thursday the 3d Instant§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient & humble Servants§ §5th May 1764§ §(signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 5 May 1764 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The watering of Admiral Cornish's squadron shows the island's practical value to the King's ships as well as the Company's. A squadron of warships needed vast quantities of fresh water, and St Helena, with its springs, was one of the few places on the long ocean passage where a fleet could replenish, so the Council lent every available boat to ferry water out to the ships, the whole small resource of the island turned for days to serving the navy's need.
278	268	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Hector dated the 5th May 1764 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 5th May 1764§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated the 25 April Do§ §3 Do Councils General Letter dated the 25 April Do relatg to§ §Law Matters§ §4 Consultations from the 30 April to the 4th May 1764§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 16th to the 23 April Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Britannia§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship Osterly§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken the 5 May 1764§ §9 Do of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §10 Do of the Fly Cutters Do§ §11 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Britannia§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Cash Account from the 26th to the 30 April 1764§ §14 Do from the 1 to the 5th May Do§ §15 Duplicate Do from the 6th to the 31 March Do§ §16 Do Do from the 1 to the 25th April Do§ §17 Ship Hectors Account§ §18 Duplicate Ship Britannia Account§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Hector, Egmont, & Hawke§ §20 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks§ §To the Honorable &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Addrefs to your Honors, waited on you by§ §the Ship Hector, which left this Place the 6th Instant§ §On the same day, Arrived us anether Ship from China,§ §called the Queen Louisa, Capt Krue, burthen Nine Hundred§ §Tons§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Hector</i>, dated the 5 May 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated the 5 May 1764 2: Duplicate of the same, dated the 25 April, the same year 3: The same, relating to law matters, dated the 25 April, the same year 4: Consultations from the 30 April to the 5 May 1764 5: Duplicate of the same, from the 16 to the 23 April, the same year Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Britannia</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Osterley</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken the 5 May 1764 9: The same, of the Mercury Snow's company 10: The same, of the Fly Cutter's company Item 11 was a duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Britannia</i>. 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Cash account from the 26 to the 30 April 1764 14: The same, from the 1 to the 5 May, the same year 15: Duplicate of the same, from the 6 to the 31 March, the same year 16: The same, from the 1 to the 25 April, the same year Item 17 was the ship <i>Hector</i>'s account. Item 18 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Britannia</i>'s account. Item 19 was an abstract of the cargoes of the ships <i>Hector</i>, <i>Egmont</i> and <i>Hawke</i>. Item 20 was the time of the arrival of the ships boats at Banks. To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Hector</i>, which left St Helena on the 6 of this month. 2: On the same day arrived another ship from China, called the <i>Queen Louisa</i>, Captain Krue, of nine hundred [...]
279	269	Tons, carry's twenty two Guns, and one hundred and forty Men loaden§ §with Tea, China Ware, and Silks, bound to Copenhagen§ §The Snow Mercury being in want of a Surgeon, We§ §Applied to Captain Mears to spare Us, Mr Thomas Hamilton§ §Surgeons Mate of his Ship, which he agreed to, & Mr Hamilton being§ §willing to go Surgeon of that Vefsel, we accordingly Entertained§ §him, at the Usual Wages§ §Nicholas Cathleen Seaman, belonging to the Fly	The <i>Queen Louisa</i> was of nine hundred tons burthen, carrying twenty guns and one hundred and forty men, loaded with tea, china ware and silks, bound for Copenhagen. 3: Since the <i>Mercury Snow</i> was in want of a surgeon, the Council asked Captain Mears to spare it Mr Thomas Hamilton, surgeon's mate of his ship, which he agreed to. Since Mr Hamilton was willing to go as surgeon of that vessel, the Council took him on at the usual wages. 4: Nicholas Cutteen, a seaman belonging to the <i>Fly Cutter</i>, died in the hospital. The Council ordered his account made up, and the balance, amounting to £12

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		Cutter§ §dying in the Hospital, we ordered his Account to be made up,§ §and the Balance amounting to £12 4 10 paid into your Cash§ §and wrote the same off to Account Current London§ §We have put on board the Ship Egmont Robert Tushurst§ §a Discharged Soldeir towards Compleating her Company, And§ §likewise on board the Hawke Hans Ulrick Allgaver another§ §Soldeir & Charles Burefsy a Discharged Seaman from the Snow§ §Mercury towards Compleating that Ships Company§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange vitz§ §One set to Mr James Williamson for £75 payable to himself or§ §Order, One Set to Mr John Sauder for £130 payable to himself§ §or Order, One Set to Capt Charles Mews for £880 payable to himself or§ §Order, One Set to Capt John Cotton for £368 on Account of§ §John Carpenter Dec'd And another Set to Capt John Cotton for§ §£202 both payable to himself or Order, One set to Capt§ §Norman Lamont for £26 5 payable to himself, or§ §Order, And one Set to Mr George Cooper for £55 payable to Mr§ §Samuel Mercer or Order, all drawn at Ninety days sight, and§ §dated the 10th Instant§ §This waits on your Honors by the Egmont on which§ §Governor Hutchinson takes his Pafsage, your Ship the Hawke§ §likewise sails this day§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most Obedient and humble Servants§ §12th May 1764§ §(signed)§ §Chas Hutchinson§ §M Curling§ §John Skottowe§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	4s 10d, paid into its cash and written off to account current, London. 5: The Council put aboard the ship <i>Egmont</i> Robert Tuckhurst, a discharged soldier, to make up her crew. It likewise put aboard the <i>Hawke</i> Hans Ulrick Allgaver, another discharged soldier, and Charles Burefoy, a discharged seaman from the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, to make up that ship's crew. 6: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Mr James Williamson for £75 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One set to Mr John Lauder for £130 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One set to Captain Charles Mears for £880 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One set to Captain John Cotton for £363 0s 0d, on account of John Carpenter deceased. And another set to Captain John Cotton for £202 0s 0d, both payable to himself or order. One set to Captain Norman Lamont for £26 5s 0d, payable to himself or order. And one set to Mr George Cooper for £55 0s 0d, payable to Mr Samuel Mercer or order, all drawn at 90 days after sight and dated the 10 of this month. 7: This letter went by the <i>Egmont</i>, aboard which Governor Hutchinson took his passage, and the Court's ship <i>Hawke</i> also sailed this day. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 12 May 1764 by Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The departure of Governor Hutchinson aboard the <i>Egmont</i> completes the change of administration foreshadowed earlier, the outgoing governor taking ship for England while Skottowe remained to take up the government. His passage home marks the ordinary course by which a Company governor's term ended, the man returning to Britain once his successor was in place and the handover settled. The bill drawn on account of John Carpenter deceased shows how the Company settled the affairs of its servants who died in its service. A dead man's wages or estate were reckoned and paid out through the same machinery of bills of exchange, so that money owing to or by him could be balanced and remitted to his heirs or creditors in England, the Council acting to close the accounts of the dead as carefully as those of the living.
280	270	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Egmont dated 12th May 1764 vitz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 12th May 1764§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 5th May Do§ §3 Consultations from the 7th to the 10 May Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 30 April to the 4th May Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Hector§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Britannia§ §7 List of Officers & Servants taken the 12th May 1764§ §8 Do of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §9 Do of the Fly Cutters Company§ §10 Do of two discharged Soldiers§ §11 Duplicate Do of the Packet & Ship Hector§ §12 Effective State of the Garrison§ §13 Cash Account from the 6th to 12th May 1764§ §14 Duplicate Do from the 26th to the 30 April Do§ §15 Do Do from the 1 to the 5th May Do§ §16 Nicholas Pahlens Account§ §17 Ship Egmonts Do§ §18 Do Hawkes Do§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Egmont</i>, dated the 12 May 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 12 May 1764 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 5 May, the same year 3: Consultations from the 7 to the 10 May, the same year 4: Duplicate of the same, from the 30 April to the 5 May, the same year Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Hector</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Britannia</i>. 7: List of officers and servants, taken the 12 May 1764 8: The same, of the Mercury Snow's company 9: The same, of the Fly Cutter's company 10: The same, of two discharged soldiers Item 11 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Hector</i>. 12: Effective state of the garrison 13: Cash account from the 6 to 12 May 1764

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		§19 Duplicate Do Hectors Do§ §To the Honorable &ca vizt§ §Honorable Sirs§ §No 1 We wrote to your Honors last by the Ship Egmont§ §which sailed from hence the 13th instant, in company with the§ §Hawke§ §On the 14th of this Month arrived His Majestys Ship§ §Ballino from Bombay Capt Peekcer informs Us your Ship§ §spea ket§	14: Duplicate of the same, from the 26 to the 30 April, the same year 15: The same, from the 1 to the 5 May, the same year 16: Nicholas Cutteen's account Item 17 was the ship <i>Egmont's</i> account. Item 18 was the <i>Hawke's</i> account. Item 19 was the duplicate of the <i>Hector's</i> account. To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Egmont</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 13 of this month in company with the <i>Hawke</i>. 2: On the 14 of this month arrived His Majesty's ship <i>Ballieno</i> from Bombay. Captain Peaker told the Council that the Court's ship [...]
281	271	Speaker was to be despatched for Europe, about a Month after he§ §left that Place, And that he spoke with the Houghton on the 17th of last§ §month in the Latitude of 30 south, The 15th arrived the Neptune§ §from China, Captain Steward acquaints Us he sailed from thence§ §the 5th of February last, And left the Glatton there, she was to be§ §despatched about the Middle of March§ §The 22 Instant arrived the Princefs Augusta by§ §which opportunity, we received your Honors Commands and§ §are extremely glad to hear the Clinton, and Grofsenor were safe§ §arrived in England§ §Your Honors may depend upon our dispatching§ §the Princefs Augusta, within the time limited§ §We shall not make any provision for the Slaves your§ §Secretary informed Us by the Duke of Richmont, we were to§ §expect from the Coast of Affrica, & left here until the next§ §Season, as we observe you have been pleased to Alter your§ §Intention of sending them to this Place§ §The lofs of your Ship Earl of Holdernefse gives Us great§ §concern, but we are glad to find, the Treasure she had on board was§ §saved, and that there is hopes of recovering part of the Cargo§ §By the Ship Neptune we have sent 7 10 of your§ §Honors old Plate, which had been wrote off your Books at§ §several times, it being entirely wornout & unserviceable, Capt§ §Steward's Receipt for the same goes herewith§ §We have received nineteen of the twenty Recruits sent by§ §the Ship Princefs Augusta, Capt Baddison acquainting Us§ §that John Jones Deserted from the Ship at Plymouth§ §By this conveyance we transmit you the List of Remains§ §&c together with our Indents wanted for the service of the Year§ §1765, And have likewise sent in the Packet, a Paper containing§ §an Estimate of the Materials wanded for Erecting a new Church,§ §the size of the Glafs for the windows, is rather too small in our§ §opinions, & if your Honors approve of it, desire they may be ten by§	The Court's ship <i>Speaker</i> was to be sent off for Europe about a month after Captain Peaker left that place, and he spoke with the <i>Houghton</i> on the 17 of the previous month in latitude 30° south. On the 15 arrived the <i>Neptune</i> from China. Captain Stewart told the Council he sailed from there on the 3 of February, and left the <i>Glatton</i> there, which was to be sent off about the middle of March. 3: On the 22 of this month arrived the <i>Princess Augusta</i>, by which the Council received the Court's commands, and was extremely glad to hear the <i>Clinton</i> and <i>Grosvenor</i> had arrived safe in England. 4: The Court could rely on the Council's dispatching the <i>Princess Augusta</i> within the fixed time. 5: The Council would make no provision for the slaves the Court's secretary told it, by the <i>Duke of Richmond</i>, to expect from the coast of Africa to be left here until the next season, since it saw the Court had altered its intention of sending them here. 6: The loss of the Court's ship <i>Earl of Holderness</i> gave the Council great concern, but it was glad to find the treasure she had aboard was saved, and that there was hope of recovering part of her cargo. 7: By the ship <i>Neptune</i> the Council sent seven pounds ten shillings of the Court's old plate, which had been written off its books at several times, being entirely worn out and unfit for use. Captain Stewart's receipt for the same went enclosed. 8: The Council received nineteen of the twenty recruits sent by the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i>, Captain Baddison telling it that John Jones had deserted from the ship at Plymouth. 9: By this ship the Council sent the Court the list of remains and the like, together with its indents for what was wanted for the service of the year 1765. It also sent in the packet a paper containing an estimate of the materials wanted for erecting a new church. Since the size of the glass for the windows was rather too small in the Council's opinion, and should the Court approve of it, the Council asked that they might be ten by twelve inches, instead of eight by ten. Interpretations The saving of the treasure from the wrecked <i>Earl of Holderness</i> while her cargo was largely lost reflects the priority given to specie in a shipwreck. The silver and coin a ship carried were the most valuable and most recoverable part of her lading, often stowed where they could be got at, so the treasure was salvaged even when the bulk cargo went down, a loss that mattered greatly since that coin was the means by which the eastern trade was conducted. The return of the worn-out plate to England shows the exact accounting the Company applied even to its household silver. Plate that had been written off the books as unserviceable was still Company property with a scrap value, so rather than let it lapse the Council shipped it home against a

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		§twelve, in stead of eight by ten§ §Sintings§	receipt, ensuring that even discarded metal was accounted for and returned to the Company's stock.
282	272	Finding we shall have Cash sufficient for the§ §service of the Current Year, we shall Consign§ §the Chest of Treasure sent by the Princefs Augusta, for this§ §Place, to your Council in China§ §Capt Gabriel Steward applied to Us to pay £330§ §into your Cash, which we have received, and given him Bills§ §drawn on your Honors for that sum payable to himself§ §or order, Ninety days after sight date the 28th instant§ §William Astheline belonging to the Snow Mercury§ §and John Barton of the Fly Cutter, being both Invalids and§ §of no service to those Vefsels, Capt Parker has taken them on§ §board His Majestys Ship Baline, as they requested to have§ §their discharges, their Accounts goe herewith, John Barton§ §we have paid the Balance here, but William Astheline§ §desiring to receive his in England, We have made up his§ §Account, and refer it to be paid there accordingly§ §This waits on you by the Ship Nephune that sails§ §from hence, in company with his Majestys Ship Baline§ §St Helena§ §We are§ §31 May 1764§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble Servts§ §signed§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	10: Since it found it would have cash enough for the service of the present year, the Council would send the chest of treasure by the <i>Princess Augusta</i> to the Court's council in China. 11: Captain Gabriel Steward asked the Council to pay £330 0s 0d into its cash, which it received, giving him bills drawn on the Court for that sum payable to himself or order, 90 days after sight, dated the 28 of this month. 12: William Astheline, belonging to the <i>Mercury Snow</i>, and John Barton of the <i>Fly Cutter</i>, both being invalids and of no service to those vessels, Captain Peaker took aboard His Majesty's ship <i>Ballieno</i>, as they asked, to have their discharges. Their accounts went enclosed. John Barton the Council paid the balance here, but William Astheline, wishing to remain in England, the Council made up his account and referred it to be paid there accordingly. 13: This letter went by the ship <i>Neptune</i>, which sailed from St Helena in company with His Majesty's ship <i>Ballieno</i>. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 31 May 1764 by John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick.
283	273	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Neptune dated 31 May 1764 vizt§ §No 1 Govr and Councils General Letter dated 31 May 1764§ §2 Do Do and Do dated 31 Do Do relatg to Law§ §Matters§ §3 Duplicate Do and Do dated 12th Do Do§ §4 Consultations from the 14 to the 28th May Do§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 9 to the 10th Do Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Egmont§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship Hector§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 31 May 1764§ §9 Do of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §10 Do of the Fly Cutters Do§ §11 Do of Stores remaining in the Honble Companys Ware Houses 31 May§ §1764§ §12 Do of Garrison Stores remaining 31 March 1764§ §13 Do of Artillery Stores from 1 October 1763 to the 31 March 1764§ §14 Indent of Stores wanted for the service of the Year 1765§ §15 Do of Medecines wanted for Do§ §16 Estimate of the Materials wanted for building the new Church§ §17 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Egmont§ §18 Effective State of the Garrison§ §19 Cash Account from the 13th to the 31 May 1764§ §20 Duplicate Do from 6th to the 12th May Do§ §21 Ship Nephunes Account§ §22 Duplicate Egmonts Do§ §23 Do Hawkes Do§ §24 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Neptune§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Neptune</i>, dated the 31 May 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 31 May 1764 2: The same, relating to law matters, dated 31, the same year 3: Duplicate of the same, dated 12, the same year 4: Consultations from the 14 to the 28 May, the same year 5: Duplicate of the same, from the 7 to the 10, the same year Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Egmont</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Hector</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 31 May 1764 9: The same, of the Mercury Snow's company 10: The same, of the Fly Cutter's company 11: The same, of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouses 31 May 1764 12: The same, of garrison stores remaining 31 March 1764 13: The same, of artillery stores from 1 October 1763 to the 31 March 1764 14: Indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1765 15: The same, of medicines wanted for 16: Estimate of the materials wanted for building the new church Item 17 was a duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Egmont</i>. 18: Effective state of the garrison 19: Cash account from the 13 to the 31 May 1764

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		§25 Time of the Arrival of the Neptunes Boat at Banks§ §26 Proceedings of a Genl Quart Sessions held on the 2 Instant§ §27 Capt Steward Receipt for a Box contg old Silver§ §28 Mr Britannees Wrights Bond§ §29 Patern Button & for the Officers Cloths & for the miney Cloth Indents for§ §30 John Barton and Willm Ashelines Accounts§	20: Duplicate of the same, from 6 to the 12 May, the same year Item 21 was the ship <i>Neptune's</i> account. Item 22 was the duplicate of the <i>Egmont's</i> account. Item 23 was the duplicate of the <i>Hawke's</i> account. Item 24 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Neptune</i>. Item 25 was the time of the arrival of the <i>Neptune's</i> boat at Banks. 26: Proceedings of a General Quarter Session held on the 2 of this month 27: Captain Steward's receipt for a box containing old silver 28: Mr Britannicus Wright's bond 29: Pattern buttons for the officers cloaths and for the men's cloth, indents for John Barton and William Astheline's accounts
284	274	To the Honble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last addrefs waited on your Honors by the Ship§ §Neptune, that sailed from hence the 1 Instant§ §On the 2d of this month arrived your Ships Houghton§ §Cruttenden, and Falmouth from China, the two former, last from§ §Fort Marlborough, and the latter from Manilla, Capt Smith§ §acquaint us, he spoke with the Norfolk Capt Vandys the 4th§ §of last Month, off the Cape of Good Hope, all well on board,§ §Capt O Hara likewise informs Us he left Manilla the 5§ §February, and your Ship Admiral Pocock there, We are also§ §told by Captain Rowland that he parted Company with§ §the Havannah 11 February, just entering the Straights of§ §Malacca§ §The Pafsengers on board the Cruttenden are Capt§ §Bishop and Lieutn Popple, and spearing and Mr Miller on§ §board the Falmouth§ §We have put on board the Cruttenden James Shedd,§ §John Smith, John Sickenson, and William Watkins, and on board§ §the Falmouth William Baker, James Brown, Andrew§ §Sullivan, Corby O Brien, and James Hufslly, nine Invalid§ §Soldiers the Surgeons Certificate goes herewith, they all being§ §incable of doing any Duty, and only a constant expence to your§ §Honors, We therefore jude it most advisable to send them off the§ §Island, We have paid Captain Rowland £20 and Capt§ §O Hara £25 for their pafsage the Capts Receipts for the§ §same you will receive in the Packet as likewise the Instrument§ §from the Invalids that they will not demand any Wages for their§ §Voyage Home§	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Neptune</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 1 of this month. 2: On the 2 of this month arrived the Court's ships <i>Houghton</i>, <i>Crittenden</i> and <i>Falmouth</i> from China, the two former last from Fort Marlborough and the latter from Manila. Captain Smith told the Council he spoke with the <i>Norfolk</i>, Captain Vandy, the 7 of the previous month off the Cape of Good Hope, all well aboard. Captain O'Hara also told the Council he left Manila the 5 of February, the Court's ship <i>Admiral Pocock</i> being there. The Council was also told by Captain Bowland that he parted company with the <i>Havannah</i> the 11 of February, just entering the Straits of Malacca. 3: The passengers aboard the <i>Crittenden</i> were Captain Bishop and Lieutenants Popple and Spearing, and Mr Miller aboard the <i>Falmouth</i>. 4: The Council put aboard the <i>Crittenden</i> James Rhodes, John Smith, John Dickenson and William Watkins, and aboard the <i>Falmouth</i> William Baker, James Brown, Andrew Villedan, Corby O'Brien and James Hufsey, nine invalid soldiers, the surgeon's certificate going enclosed, they all being unfit for any duty and only a constant expense to the Court. The Council therefore judged it most advisable to send them off the island. It paid Captain Bowland £20 0s 0d and Captain O'Hara £25 0s 0d for their passage, the captains' receipts for the same going enclosed, together with the agreement from the invalids that they would demand no wages for their voyage home. [...] Interpretations Fort Marlborough was the Company's principal settlement on the west coast of Sumatra at Bencoolen, the base from which it drew pepper and to which it sent labour and supplies. Ships coming last from Fort Marlborough had called there on the homeward run from China, so the settlement lay on the network of routes that fed vessels past St Helena, and its naming marks the reach of the Company's possessions that the island's traffic connected. The dispatch of nine invalid soldiers home at a fixed charge shows the standing method by which the island shed men no longer fit to serve. Soldiers worn out or disabled were a continuing cost to the Company, so the Council seized the passing ships to send them to England at an agreed sum for each group, the surgeon's certificate establishing their unfitness and the signed waiver of wages keeping the passage cheap, a routine clearing of the garrison's useless mouths.
285	275	By this Conveyance We transmit you a List of Officers§ §and Servants as Usual, but as in time of Peace the Ships sail so§	5: By this ship the Council sent the Court a list of officers and servants as usual, but since in time of peace the ships sailed so quick one after another, and that list took much time in copying, the Council

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		§quick one after another, and that the List takes much time in copying§ §We hope your Honors will approve of our sending it by every other§ §Conveyance§ §Yesterday the Ship Princefs Augusta proceeded on her Voyage§ §We find by our Indent transmitted you by the Neptune§ §that we omitted two Drummers Coats and Breeches, which we have§ §inserted at the foot of the Duplicate, and desire you will be pleased§ §to Order them to be sent§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt§ §One set to Captain Thomas Baddison for £300 payable to Mr§ §Susanna Baddison or Order, One Set to Mr Edward Bland§ §Woolstonecraft for £117 payable to Mr Lydia Woolstonecraft§ §or Order, & Two sets to Capt Gofsue O Hara, one for £260 and one§ §for £90 both payable to himself or Order, and one set to Capt§ §John Rowland for £100 payable to to Mrs Elizabeth§ §Rowland or Order, all dated the 5th instant, and drawn at§ §Ninety days sight§ §Capt Baddison informe the several Us that the§ §Princefs Augusta proved leakey soon after he left Plymouth which§ §continued until his arrival here, and caused him to keep the Pumps§ §always going, but after he had deliverd the Stores for this Place, found§ §out a Leake, which he stopped, and reduced it from twelve Inches§ §an Hour, to ten Inches in twelve Hours, the Condition the Ship§ §was in, when She left this Place§ §You will receive this Letter by your Honors Ship§ §Crittenden, which sails with the Falmouth§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient and humble Servts§ §10th June 1764§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	hoped the Court would approve of its sending it by every other ship. 6: Yesterday the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i> proceeded on her voyage. 7: The Council found by its indent sent by the <i>Neptune</i> that it had left out two drummers coats and breeches, which it had entered at the foot of the duplicate, and asked the Court to order them to be sent. 8: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Captain Thomas Baddison for £300 0s 0d, payable to Mr Susanna Baddison or order. One set to Mr Edward Bland Woolstonecraft for £117 0s 0d, payable to Mr Lydia Woolstonecraft or order. Two sets to Captain Geffue O'Hara, one for £260 0s 0d and one for £90 0s 0d, both payable to himself or order. And one set to Captain John Bowland for £100 0s 0d, payable to Mr Elizabeth Bowland or order, all dated the 5 of this month and drawn at 90 days after sight. 9: Captain Baddison told the Council that the <i>Princess Augusta</i> proved leaky soon after he left Plymouth, which continued until his arrival here and forced him to keep the pumps always going, but after he had delivered the stores for St Helena he found out a leak, which he stopped, and reduced it from twelve inches an hour to ten inches in twelve hours, being the condition the ship was in when she left St Helena. 10: This letter went by the Court's ship <i>Crittenden</i>, which sailed with the <i>Falmouth</i>. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 10 June 1764 by John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The dramatic reduction of the <i>Princess Augusta's</i> leak shows the seriousness of a working hull defect and the relief of finding its source. A ship taking twelve inches of water an hour needed her pumps manned without pause, an exhausting drain on the crew and a standing danger, so tracing and stopping the leak, bringing it down to a trickle, transformed her from a vessel in peril to one fit to continue, a reminder of how a single fault below the waterline could threaten a whole voyage. The request to send the list of officers and servants only by every other ship reflects the changed pace of shipping once peace returned. In wartime vessels came seldom and in convoy, but with peace they arrived in quick succession, so the labour of copying a full list for each became a burden out of proportion to its use, and the Council sought to ease the clerical load by reporting less often, a small sign of how the rhythm of the island's work followed the rhythm of the sea traffic.
286	276	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Crittenden dated 10th June 1764 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 10th June 1764§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 31 May Do§ §3 Do Do and Do dated 31 Do Do relatg§ §to Law Matters§ §4 Consultations from the 4th to the 5th June 1764§ §5 Duplicate Do from the 14th to the 28th May Do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Neptune§ §7 Second Do for Do & Ship Egmont§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 10th June 1764§ §9 Duplicate Do of the Packet & Ship Neptune§ §10 Do Do of Stores remaining in the Honorable Companys Ware§ §Houses 31 March 1764§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Crittenden</i>, dated the 10 June 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 10 June 1764 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 31 May, the same year 3: The same, relating to law matters, dated 31, the same year 4: Consultations from the 4 to the 5 June 1764 5: Duplicate of the same, from the 14 to the 28 May, the same year Item 6 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Neptune</i>. Item 7 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Egmont</i>. 8: List of officers and servants, taken 10 June 1764 Item 9 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Neptune</i>.

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		§11 Do Do of Garrison Stores remaining 31 March 1764§ §12 Do Do of Artillery Do from the 1 October 1763 to the 31 Ma Do§ §13 Do Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1765§ §14 Do Do of Medicines wanted for Do§ §15 Do Estimate of the Materials wanted for Building the new Church§ §16 Effective State of the Garrison§ §17 Cash Account from the 1 to the 10th June 1764§ §18 Duplicate Do from the 13th to the 31 May Do§ §19 Ship Cruttendens Account§ §20 Do Falmounths Do§ §21 Do Princefs Augusta Do§ §22 Duplicate Ship Nephunes Do§ §23 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Falmouth, Houghton, and§ §Cruttenden§ §24 Time of the arrival of Ships Boat at Banks§ §25 Capt Stewards Second Receipt for a Box contg old Silver§ §26 Surgeons Certificate of 9 Invalid Soldiers§ §27 Instrument in writting from 9 Do Do§	10: Duplicate of stores remaining in the Honourable Company's warehouses 31 March 1764 11: The same, of garrison stores remaining 31 March 1764 12: The same, of artillery stores from the 1 October 1763 to the 31 March, the same year 13: The same, indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1765 14: The same, of medicines wanted for 15: The same, estimate of the materials wanted for building the new church 16: Effective state of the garrison 17: Cash account from the 1 to the 10 June 1764 18: Duplicate of the same, from the 13 to the 31 May, the same year Item 19 was the ship <i>Crittenden's</i> account. Item 20 was the <i>Falmouth's</i> account. Item 21 was the <i>Princess Augusta's</i> account. Item 22 was the duplicate of the <i>Neptune's</i> account. Item 23 was an abstract of the cargoes of the ships <i>Falmouth</i>, <i>Houghton</i> and <i>Crittenden</i>. Item 24 was the time of the arrival of the ships boats at Bankes. 25: Captain Steward's second receipt for a box containing old silver 26: Surgeon's certificate of nine invalid soldiers 27: Instrument in writing from nine discharged soldiers
287	277	28 Capt Rowland, & O Hara's Receipts§ §29 Duplicate proceedings of a General Quarter Sessions holden§ §the 2d May 1764§ §To the Honorable &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote to you last, by the Cruttenden which sailed from§ §hence the 10th Instant, in company with your Honors Ship Falmoreth§ §We have given Capt Smith an Order to receive on board the§ §Houghton Thomas Ferris a Discharged Sergeant towards compleating§ §her Company and have likewise put on board that Ship Richd Lawrence§ §Wialiam Roebuck, George Wads and Peter Brown four Invalid Soldiers they being§ §incapable of doing any Duty the Surgeons Certificate with respect to the§ §Invalids goes Inclosed as likewise the Instrument that they will not§ §Demand any Wages for their Voyage Home, We have paid Capt Smith§ §£20 for the Invalids Pafsage his Receipt for the same we transmit§ §in the Packet§ §Your Honors will please to observe, by our Consultation of§ §the 5th Instant that we dispatched the Snow Mercury and Fly Cutter§ §to Madagascar for Slaves, they Proceeded on their Voyage the Day§ §following Capt Sea represented to Us that the Cutter in his§ §opinion, would not be fit for any Service, after her return from§ §Madagascar§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange vizt One§ §Set to Capt Thos Kirkpatrick for £299 9 8 ½ payable to Mr John§ §Whiter or Order, And one set Capt John Howard for £130§ §payable to Mr Argent Carr for Order, both Drawn at Ninety Days§ §sight, and dated the 11 Instant§ §We are§	28: Captains Bowland and O'Hara's receipts 29: Duplicate proceedings of a General Quarter Session held on the 2 May 1764 To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the <i>Crittenden</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 10 of this month in company with the Court's ship <i>Falmouth</i>. 2: The Council gave Captain Smith an order to receive aboard the <i>Houghton</i> Thomas Ferris, a discharged sergeant, to make up her crew. It also put aboard that ship Richard Lawrence, William Roebuck, George Wade and Peter Brown, four discharged soldiers, they being unfit for any duty. The surgeon's certificate for the invalids went enclosed, together with the agreement that they would demand no wages for their voyage home. The Council paid Captain Smith £20 0s 0d for the invalids' passage, his receipt for the same going enclosed. 3: As appeared from its consultation of the 5 of this month, the Council dispatched the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i> to Madagascar for slaves, and they proceeded on their voyage the day after. Captain Fea told the Council that in his opinion the cutter would not be fit for any service after her return from Madagascar. 4: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick for £299 9s 8d, payable to Mr John White or order. And one set to Captain John Howard for £150 0s 0d, payable to Mr Argent Garr or order, both drawn at 90 days after sight and dated the 11 of this month. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 17 June 1764 by John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The dispatch of both the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and the <i>Fly Cutter</i> to Madagascar for slaves shows the Company committing its whole small local fleet to renewing the island's forced labour. Both vessels were sent together to barter for captives, so the Council judged the need for slaves pressing enough to spare its only two ships at once, and Captain Fea's warning that the cutter would be worn out by the voyage shows

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		§Honorable Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient and humble Servts§ §17th June 1764§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	the cost even to the ships of a trade the Council pursued as a standing necessity of the settlement.
288	278	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Houghton dated the 17th June 1764 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 17th June 1764§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated the 10th Do Do§ §3 Consultations of the 11 Instant Do Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from No 1 to 5§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Cruttenden§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Neptune§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Cruttenden§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Cash Account from the 11 to the 17th June 1764§ §10 Duplicate Do from the 1 to the 10th Do Do§ §11 Ship Houghtons Account§ §12 Duplicate Ship Cruttendens Do§ §13 Do Do Falmouths Do§ §14 Do Do Princefs Augustas Do§ §15 Do Captains Rowland and O Haras Receipt§ §16 Instrument in writing from four Invalid Soldiers§ §17 Surgeons Certificate of Do Do§ §18 Captain Smiths Receipt for £20§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Addrefs waited on your Honrs by the§ §Ship Houghton, which sailed from hence the 18 of June§ §On the 2 instant arrived the Havannah from§ §Fort Marlborough, which Place Caps Madge acquaints§ §Us, he left the 8th April last, & your Ship Lord Clive§ §there§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Houghton</i>, dated the 17 June 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated the 17 June 1764 2: Duplicate of the same, dated the 10, the same year 3: Consultations of the 11 of this month 4: Duplicate of the same, from 1 to 5 Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Crittenden</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Neptune</i>. Item 7 was a duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Crittenden</i>. 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Cash account from the 11 to the 17 June 1764 10: Duplicate of the same, from the 1 to the 10, the same year Item 11 was the ship <i>Houghton's</i> account. Item 12 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Crittenden's</i> account. Item 13 was the <i>Falmouth's</i> account. Item 14 was the <i>Princess Augusta's</i> account. Item 15 was Captains Bowland and O'Hara's receipts. 16: Instrument in writing from four invalid soldiers 17: Surgeon's certificate of the same 18: Captain Smith's receipt for £20 0s 0d To the Honourable, etc. 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Houghton</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 18 of June. 2: On the 20 of this month arrived the <i>Havannah</i> from Fort Marlborough, which place Captain Madge told the Council he left on the 8 of April, the Court's ship <i>Lord Clive</i> being there [...]
289	279	there, she was to call at Batavia, & proceed from thence§ §to China, He likewise informs Us, he spoke with the§ §Caernarvon, & Cape Falso the 2 of last Month, & that§ §Caps Hutchinson told him he parted with the§ §Devons here three Days before, all well§ §As the last Quarters Accounts will not be§ §laid before Us until the 23 Instant, We cannot by§ §this Conveyance transmit your Honors a Cash§ §Account to a later Date, than the Duplicate of§ §our last§ §The Pafsengers on board this Ship are§ §Mrs Baldwin, & Mr Hunter, Hoyt, Dickenson§ §The new Plantation House being in very bad§ §condition, by its continually leaking in, occasioned from§ §the Roof being in many respects very defective, for the§ §reasons given and our opinions Entered in Consultation§ §of the 23th of last Month, to which we refer you for a more§ §particular Account, We judge it very unadvisable to§ §finish the House on the Plan it now is, and therefore§ §have transmitted you, by this opportunity, another§ §Plan of the proposed Alteration, of cutting off the§ §back Rooms, & raising it another Story, which we§ §conceive is the only method that can be taken, to§	The <i>Lord Clive</i> was to call at Batavia and go on from there to China. Captain Madge also told the Council he spoke with the <i>Caernarvon</i> off Cape False on the 2 of the previous month, and that Captain Hutchinson told him he parted with the <i>Devonshire</i> here three days before, all well. 3: Since the last quarter's accounts would not be laid before the Council until the 20 of this month, it could not send the Court a cash account to a later date by this ship than the duplicate of its last. 4: The passengers aboard this ship were Mrs Baldwin, Mr Hunter and Captain Dickenson. 5: The new Plantation House was in very bad condition, continually leaking from the roof, which was very defective in many places, for the reasons given in its consultation of the 25 of the previous month, to which the Council referred the Court for a fuller account. The Council judged it very unadvisable to finish the house on the plan it was then built to, and so sent the Court another plan of the proposed alteration, of cutting off the back rooms and raising them another storey, which it thought the only way to make the house fit to live in. The roof would then be pitched upon one span, and the gutters and valleys now in it, which had caused those excessive leaks and continual expense, would be avoided. The roof might then, with proper care, be made firm and secure. [...] Interpretations The trouble with Plantation House shows the practical difficulty of maintaining substantial

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		§render it Habitable, the Roof will then be pitched§ §upon one Span, & the Gutters, & Valleys, which are§ §now therein, & have caused those excefsive Leaks§ §and continual Expence will thereby be avoided, & the§ §Roof then with proper care may be made firm and§ §Seasure§	buildings in the island's conditions. The house was the governor's residence, and its roof, broken up by gutters and valleys where different pitches met, let water in wherever those joints failed, so the Council proposed to simplify the whole structure to a single-span roof that shed water cleanly, judging that a sound rebuilding would cost less over time than the endless repair of a badly conceived design. Cape False, the headland east of the Cape of Good Hope often mistaken by mariners for the Cape itself, was a recognised landmark on the passage round southern Africa. Ships spoke with one another off such points, exchanging news of their fellows, so the reference marks how the sea lanes near the Cape served as a place where vessels bound in different directions passed word of the wider fleet before parting on their separate courses.
290	280	Seasure, therefore we hope the Alterations we have proposed§ §will meet with your Honors approbation, especially§ §as the Expence of it will be very little more than§ §finishing it on the present Plan, which for your§ §satisfaction we have also sent in the Packet§ §Upon a Survey made by the Masons, and§ §Carpenter it appears that the Castle from the§ §length of Time it has been built, is in bad condition,§ §and requires an immediate thorough repair, which we§ §have agreed to set forthwith about, & as the whole must§ §be new Roofed, We judge it for your Honors Interest§ §to put the inspection thereof under the charge of John§ §Robinson, young Carpenter, for as all the miscariages of the§ §Building of the Plantation House we are afsured, has happened§ §from the mistakes, & blinders, of Mr Bland, in justice to§ §you, we cannot think of putting this, or any Building§ §or Repairs of consequence, under his direction§ §Mr John Thackeray applied to Us to pay§ §£26 into your Cash, which we have received and§ §given him Bills drawn on your Honors for that Sum§ §payable to Mr Elias Thackeray or Order, 90 Days§ §after sight, dated the 6 instant§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most Obedt & humble Servants§ §8 July 1764§ §(Signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	The Council hoped the alterations it proposed would meet with the Court's approval, especially as the cost would be very little more than finishing the house on the present plan, which it had also sent in the packet for the Court's satisfaction. 6: On a survey made by the masons and carpenter, it appeared that the castle, from the length of time it had stood, was in bad condition and needed an immediate thorough repair, which the Council had agreed to set about at once. Since the whole must be new roofed, the Council judged it in the Court's interest to put the inspection of the work under the charge of John Robinson, carpenter. All the mismanagement of the building of Plantation House, the Council was assured, had happened from the mistakes and blunders of Mr Bland, so in justice to the Court it could not think of putting this or any building or repair of consequence under his direction. 7: Mr John Thackery asked the Council to pay £26 0s 0d into its cash, which it received, giving him bills drawn on the Court for that sum payable to Mr Elias Thackery or order, 90 days after sight, dated the 6 of this month. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 8 July 1764 by John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The removal of Mr Bland from any charge over building work marks the practical consequence of a servant's proven incompetence. The failures of Plantation House were laid to his mistakes, so the Council resolved to keep him from directing any further work of importance and placed the castle repairs under a carpenter it trusted, a plain instance of the administration protecting the Company's money by matching responsibility to demonstrated skill rather than to rank or position. The castle was the island's principal fortification and the seat of its government, so its decay from age was a matter of real concern. That the whole roof needed renewing shows how the demands of upkeep pressed on every substantial structure in the island's climate, and the Council's prompt agreement to set about the work reflects the importance of keeping the one strong place on the island sound, both as a defence and as the centre of its administration. Speculations The straightforward course, with Plantation House already built to Mr Bland's plan and needing only completion, would have been to finish it as it stood. The Council chose instead to send home a fresh plan for cutting off the back rooms and raising them a storey, remaking the whole roof to a single span. The reason it presses is cost over time: the gutters and valleys of the existing design had caused excessive

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			leaks and continual expense, so the Council judged that the greater initial change would end the recurring drain, and it took care to note that the alteration would cost very little more than mere completion, weighing the lasting saving against the settled plan rather than simply finishing what was begun.
291	281	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Havannah, dated the 8th July 1764 vizt§ §No 1 Govr & Councils General Letter dated 8th July 1764§ §2 Duplicate Do Do Do dated 17th June Do§ §3 Consultations from the 18 June to 6th July Do§ §4 Duplicate Do of the 11 June Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Houghton§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Cruttenden§ §7 List of Officers & Servants taken 8 July 1764§ §8 Duplicate Do of the Packet & Ship Houghton§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Muster Rolls of Do§ §11 Duplicate Cash Account from 11 to 17 June 1764§ §12 Ship Havannahs Account§ §13 Duplicate Ship Houghtons Do§ §14 Do Capt Smiths Receipt for £20§ §15 Plans of the new Plantation House§ §16 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Havannah§ §17 Time of the arrival of the Havannahs Boat at Banks§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Havannah</i>, dated the 8 July 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 8 July 1764 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 17 June, the same year 3: Consultations from the 18 June to 6 July, the same year 4: Duplicate of the same, of the 11 June, the same year Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Houghton</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Cruttenden</i>. 7: List of officers and servants, taken 6 July 1764 - Item 8 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Houghton</i>. 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Muster rolls of the same 11: Duplicate cash account from the 11 to 17 June 1764 - Item 12 was the ship <i>Havannah</i>'s account. Item 13 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Houghton</i>'s account. 15: Captain Smith's receipt for £20 0s 0d 15: Plans of the new Plantation House 16: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Havannah 17: Time of the arrival of the Havannah's boat at Bankes
292	282	To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to your Honors last, under date of§ §the 8th of July by the Havannah§ §On the 29th of the same Month, arrived your§ §Ship Pigot from Bengal, Capt Richardson§ §acquaints Us he left the Pilot the 3d April in§ §company with the Lord Mansfield, She was§ §going to Bombay, and was to be despatched from§ §thence for Europe, he also informs Us, the British§ §King was under sailing Orders for China and§ §that His Majestys Ships Panther, and Argo were§ §at Bengal when he left it, We are likewise told, your§ §Ship Winchelsea was unfortunately lost the 20th§ §March, coming down the River of Bengal, but§ §that all the People were saved, Capt Richardson§ §acquaints Us, he put into the Mauritius the 6th June§ §last, where he found your Ships Earl of Middlesex§ §and Lord Holland, the latter proceeded on her§ §Voyage, the 10th of the same Month§ §His Majestys Ship Liverpool, stopped§ §here a few Hours on the 6th Instant to fill a little§ §Water, She left Madrafs the 1 April, but no Ship§ §there, She put into Bay Falso, your two Vefsels the§ §Mercury, and Fly being at the Cape of Good Hope§ §we received Letters from the Captains of them§ §acquainting Us, they were under a neecessity of going§ §there§	To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 8 of July by the <i>Havannah</i>. 2: On the 29 of the same month arrived the Court's ship <i>Pigot</i> from Bengal. Captain Richardson told the Council he left the pilot on the 3 of April, in company with the <i>Lord Mansfield</i>, which was going to Bombay and was to be sent off from there for Europe. He also reported that the <i>British King</i> was under sailing orders for China, and that His Majesty's ships <i>Panther</i> and <i>Argo</i> were at Bengal when he left it. The Council was also told that the Court's ship <i>Winchelsea</i> was unfortunately lost on the 20 of March coming down the river of Bengal, but that all the people were saved. Captain Richardson told the Council he put into Mauritius on the 6 of June, where he found the Court's ships <i>Earl of Middlesex</i> and <i>Lord Holland</i>, the latter proceeding on her voyage the 10 of the same month. 3: His Majesty's ship <i>Liverpool</i> stopped here a few hours on the 6 of this month to take on a little water. She left Madras on the 1 of April, but no ship was there. She put into Bay False, where the Council's two vessels the <i>Mercury</i> and <i>Fly</i>, being at the Cape of Good Hope, received letters from the captains of them, telling the Council they were obliged to go [...] Interpretations The loss of the <i>Winchelsea</i> coming down the river of Bengal, with all her people saved, marks the particular danger of the Hughli passage. The river was studded with shoals and shifting sandbanks, treacherous even under a pilot's guidance, so a homeward-bound ship could be wrecked at the very outset of her voyage, and the safe rescue of the crew, while the ship was lost, reflects how such groundings near shore destroyed the vessel without necessarily costing lives.

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			The stop of the <i>Liverpool</i> for only a few hours to take a little water shows the island's constant function as a watering place for passing ships of every kind. Even a brief call to top up a warship's casks was worth the halt, since fresh water was the one thing every vessel needed and few places on the ocean route could supply, so St Helena served the King's ships in passing as readily as the Company's own.
293	283	there, the Fly Cutter having carried away the §Gammoning of her Bowsprit, they arrived the 11 of last §Month, and were to proceed the 15 on their Voyage §We have given Capt Richardson a permit to §receive on board his Ship John Baptist Mitchland & §John Henry Scryver two discharged Soldiers, they have §signed an instrument that they will not demand any §Wages for their Passage Home, which goes enclosed §Mr David Alcock Writer, acquainted Us he §proposed leaving the Island the next Year, as you will §please to Observe by his Petition Entered in our Consultn §of the 30th of last Month, as his quitting your service §will occasion a vacancy, We beg leave to recommend Richd §Powell Son of Mr James Powell, who writes a good §Hand, and will do very well to fill up that Station §The Passengers on board the Pigot, are Captains §Howe, Marsh, and Dale, and Messrs Williams, Meadows §Barwell, Castairs, Bryar, Paul, and Hall, Mr Dark, §and two Russian Gentlemen §Mr Curling hath paid into your Cash, the Sum §of 252 18 2 for which we have given him Bills drawn §on your Honors payable to Charles Hutchinson Esqr §or Order, Ninety days after sight, dated the 6th Instant §The two Russian Gentlemen, that came here upon §the Ship Pigot we have shewn what civilities in our Power §and have charged their diet Expenses here to your Honors §Account, being informed the same have been done at your §other Settlements §We find upon a computation that we shall want §about	The two vessels were obliged to go to the Cape, the <i>Fly Cutter</i> having carried away the gammoning of her bowsprit. They arrived on the 11 of the previous month and were to proceed on their voyage the 15. 4: The Council gave Captain Richardson leave to receive aboard his ship John Baptist Mitchland and John Henry Scryver, two discharged soldiers. They signed an agreement that they would demand no wages for their passage home, which went enclosed. 5: Mr David Alcock, writer, told the Council he meant to leave the island the next year, as appeared from his petition entered in its consultation of the 30 of the previous month. Since his quitting the Court's service would leave a vacancy, the Council begged leave to recommend Richard Powell, son of Mr James Powell, who wrote a good hand and would do very well to fill that post. 6: The passengers aboard the <i>Pigot</i> were Captains Howe, Marsh and Dale, Messrs Williams, Meadows, Barwell, Castairs, Bryar, Paul and Hall, Mr Dack, and two Russian gentlemen. 7: Mr Curling paid into the Council's cash the sum of £252 18s 2d, for which it gave him bills drawn on the Court payable to Charles Hutchinson or order, 90 days after sight, dated the 6 of this month. 8: The two Russian gentlemen who came here aboard the ship <i>Pigot</i> the Council had shown what civilities lay in its power, and had charged their diet expenses here to the Court's account, being told the same had been done at the Court's other settlements. 9: The Council found on calculation that it would need about [...] Interpretations The gammoning of the bowsprit, the lashing that bound that heavy forward spar down to the ship's stem, was vital to holding the whole rig forward in place, so its failure on the <i>Fly Cutter</i> was a serious matter that forced the vessel to the Cape for repair. A bowsprit working loose threatened the masts and stays that depended on it, which is why the damage could not be left until the ship reached St Helena but had to be made good at the nearer port. The charging of the Russian gentlemen's board to the Court's account, on the ground that the same was done at other settlements, shows the Company extending a settled courtesy to travellers of note. Rather than let visitors of a friendly foreign nation bear their own costs, the Company met them from its accounts as a matter of established practice across its possessions, the Council following the precedent to keep uniform the hospitality shown at each of its stations.
294	284	about fifty Recruits the next Year to complete our §Garrison, which we beg your Honors will be pleased to §send Us §The Garden Seeds we received this Year has §proved extremely bad, especially the Peas, and Beans §which has been a great disappointment to Us §This day Arrived your Ship Glatton from China, §and Speaker last from Angengo, which place Captain §Cudat left the 5 May, Capt Caxton acquaints Us he §sailed from Macow the 27 March, and that your	The Council found it would need about fifty recruits the next year to complete the garrison, and asked the Court to send them. 10: The garden seeds received this year proved extremely bad, especially the peas and beans, which had been a great disappointment to the Council. 11: This day arrived the Court's ship <i>Glatton</i> from China, and the <i>Speaker</i> last from Anjengo, which place Captain Cubat left on the 5 of May. Captain Caxton told the Council he sailed from Macao on the 27 of March, and that the Court's ship <i>Valentine</i> arrived there the same day from the island of Hainan. He also told the Council he heard the <i>Pocock</i>

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		Ship§ §Valentine arrived there, the same day from the Island§ §of Henam, He likewise tells Us, he heard the Pocock§ §sailed from Batavia for China, begining of February§ §he also informs Us, he spoke with the Mercury, & Fly§ §the 18th of last Month, off the Cape of Good Hope§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient and humble§ §8th August 1764§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	sailed from Batavia for China the beginning of February, and that he spoke with the <i>Mercury</i> and <i>Fly</i> on the 18 of the previous month off the Cape of Good Hope. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 8 August 1764 by John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The repeated failure of the imported seed, this year the peas and beans, underlines how far the island depended on supplies from home even for its gardens. Seed shipped over such distances could spoil or lose its power to germinate on the long voyage, so a bad consignment meant a lost season of vegetables, a real setback for a settlement striving to grow its own food and unable to make good the deficiency from any nearer source. Anjengo was the Company's small settlement and factory on the Malabar coast of southern India, a source of pepper and a calling point on the coastal trade. A ship coming last from Anjengo had touched there on her homeward passage, so the naming marks another of the Company's minor stations woven into the network of routes that brought vessels past St Helena, each carrying news of the wider fleet.
295	285	List of the Honble Compys Packet from St Helena§ §& Ship Pigot dated the 8th August 1764 vizt§ §No 1 Govr and Councils General Letter dated 8th August 1764§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 6th July Do§ §3 Consultations from 9th July to the 6 August Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 18th June to the 6 July Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Havannah§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Houghton§ §7 List of two Discharged Soldiers§ §8 Duplicate Do of the Packet & Ship Havannah§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from 18th to 30th June 1764§ §11 Do Do for the Month July Do§ §12 Do Do from 1 to 8th August Do§ §13 Ship Pigot Account§ §14 Duplicate Ship Havannahs Account§ §15 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Pigot§ §16 Time of Ship Pigots Boat arrival at Banks§ §17 Instrument in writing from two Discharged Soldiers§ §18 Proceedings of the last General Quarter Sessions§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last addrefs waited on your Honors by the§ §Ship Pigot that sailed from hence the 9th Instant§ §On the same day arrived a Dutch Ship from§ §Batavia called the Elizabeth Dorothy Capt Martin§ §Pieters Mooy, burthen 260 Tons carrys 22 Guns and 36 Men§ §loaden§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Pigot</i> , dated the 8 August 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 8 August 1764 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 6 July, the same year 3: Consultations from 9 July to the 6 August, the same year 4: Duplicate of the same, from 18 June to the 6 July, the same year Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Havannah</i> . Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Houghton</i> . 7: List of two discharged soldiers Item 8 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Havannah</i> . 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Cash account from 18 to 30 June 1764 11: The same, for the month of July, the same year 12: The same, from 7 to 8 August, the same year Item 13 was the ship <i>Pigot</i> 's account. Item 14 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Havannah</i> 's account. Item 15 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Pigot</i> . Item 16 was the time of the <i>Pigot</i> 's boat arriving at Banks. 17: Instrument in writing from two discharged soldiers 18: Proceedings of the last General Quarter Session To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Pigot</i> , which sailed from St Helena on the 9 of this month. 2: On the same day arrived a Dutch ship from Batavia, called the <i>Elizabeth Dorothy</i> , Captain Martin Pieters Mooy, of seven hundred tons burthen, carrying twenty-two guns and thirty-six men, loaded [...]
296	286	loaden with Pepper, bound to Amsterdam§ §On the 17th instant arrived your Ship Depford from§ §Madrads, Capt Tryon acquaints Us he left that Place the 6th§ §May last, and the Bute there, he also informs Us your Ship§	The <i>Elizabeth Dorothy</i> was loaded with pepper, bound for Amsterdam. 3: On the 17 of this month arrived the Court's ship <i>Depfford</i> from Madras. Captain Tryon told the Council he left that place on the 6 of May, the <i>Bute</i> being there. He also reported that the Court's ship <i>Pitt</i> sailed from Madras for Manila on the 13 of the

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		§Pitt sailed from Madrafs for Manilla the 13th of the same§ §Month to fetch the Troofs to Fort St George, but in cafe of there§ §being none, to put on board her, She is then to preceed on her§ §Voyage to China§ §The Pafsengers on board the Speaker are Captain§ §Todd and his Wife, and Mefrs Blendercleath, Munro, Ogilvy§ §Mc Donald, and Hornbuckle, and on board the Depford§ §Colo Monson, Captns Nedham, Jones, and Tate, and§ §Mefrs Prendergast, Leighton, Archbald, Phillips, Sharp§ §Thomas, Drew, Crabb, Brown, Mahon, Downey, and§ §Mr Tate§ §We have put on board the Ship Glatton towards§ §completing her Company, Thomas Eustovoe, & John Cleary§ §two discharged Soldiers§ §The Reverend Mr William Lee takes his Pafsage§ §upon the Ship Glatton§ §Mr Richard Law Factor having of late§ §Addicted himself much to Liquor for which he has ban§ §several times Admonished, notwithstanding he still§ §continues in that pernicious way, totally lost to all good§ §advice, which makes it incumbent on Us to acquaint§ §your Honors with the difficultys we are thereby under, to§ §keep up your Businefs, and as Mr Law hath broke all his§ §fair promifses of amendment, we do not expect any§ §reformation in his future Behaviour, and therefore§ §beg leave to recommend Mr Jonathan Doveton as a§ §fit§	same month to fetch the troops to Fort St George, but that should there be none to put aboard her she was then to proceed on her voyage to China. 4: The passengers aboard the <i>Speaker</i> were Captain Todd and his wife, and Messrs Blenderleath, Munro, Ogilvy, McDonald and Hornbuckle. Aboard the <i>Deptford</i> were Colonel Monson, Captains Needham, Jones and Tate, and Messrs Prendergast, Leighton, Archbald, Phillips, Shaw, Thomas, Drew, Crabb, Brown, Mahon, Downey and Mr Tate. 5: The Council put aboard the ship <i>Glatton</i>, to make up her crew, Thomas Eustave and John Cleary, two discharged soldiers. 6: The Reverend Mr William Lee took his passage aboard the ship <i>Glatton</i>. 7: Mr Richard Law, factor, had of late addicted himself much to liquor, for which he had been several times admonished, but he still continued in that pernicious way, totally lost to all good advice. This made it incumbent on the Council to tell the Court of the difficulties it was under to keep up the Court's business, and since Mr Law had broken all his fair promises of amendment, the Council did not expect any reform in his future behaviour, and so begged leave to recommend Mr Jonathan Doveton as a fit [...] Interpretations The case of Richard Law shows the administration confronting the failure of one of its own servants and the practical harm it did. A factor lost to drink could not keep up the Company's business, and repeated warnings having failed, the Council moved to replace him, setting out the difficulty his conduct caused so that the Court would understand and approve the change, a plain instance of the machinery by which the Company removed a man whose personal ruin had made him useless to it. The order to the <i>Pitt</i> to fetch troops from Manila to Fort St George, or else proceed to China, reflects the movement of soldiers between the Company's eastern stations after the conquest of Manila. The garrison placed there during the war was being drawn down, its men shipped back to the Company's Indian settlements, and the conditional instruction shows how a vessel's employment was arranged to serve whichever need proved pressing when she arrived. Speculations The plain course with Richard Law, a factor who had broken repeated promises to give up drink, might have been to admonish him once more and keep him in his post for want of a ready replacement. The Council instead resolved to set his conduct before the Court and recommend Jonathan Doveton in his place. Its stated reason was hard experience: Law was totally lost to all good advice, and the Council did not expect any reform in his future behaviour, so rather than persist with warnings it judged useless it moved to replace him, weighing the certainty of continued failure against the disruption of a change and choosing the change.
297	287	fit person to Supply his Place, he is a Sober Man, writes a§ §good hand, and very well Qualified for that Employ§ §We have paid on Account of the four Rufsian§ §Gentlemen that were on board the Pigot, and Speaker the§ §Sum of £14 2 for their Expences here§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Glatton§ §which sails from hence in Company with the Speaker§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & humble§ §Servants§	Mr Jonathan Doveton was a fit person to fill Mr Law's place, being a sober man who wrote a good hand and was very well qualified for that post. 8: The Council paid on account of the four Russian gentlemen who were aboard the <i>Pigot</i> and <i>Speaker</i> the sum of £14 0s 2d for their expenses here. 9: This letter went by the ship <i>Glatton</i>, which sailed from St Helena in company with the <i>Speaker</i>. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 23 August 1764 by John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick.

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		§St Helena§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §23d Augt 1764§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honble Compys Packet form St Helena &§ §Ship Glatton dated 23 August 1764 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 23 Augt 1764§ §2 Duplicate Do & Do dated 8th Do Do§ §3 Consultations from 13th to the 20th Do Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from 9th July to 6th Do Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Pigot§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Havannah§ §7 List of Officers & Servants taken the 23 August 1764§ §8 Duplicate Do of the Packet & Ship Pigot§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from the 9th to 23 August 1764§ §11 Duplicate Do from the 18th to 30 June Do§	List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Glatton</i>, dated the 23 August 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 20 August 1764 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 8, the same year 3: Consultations from 13 to the 20, the same year 4: Duplicate of the same, from 9 July to 6, the same year Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Pigot</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Havannah</i>. 7: List of officers and servants, taken the 23 August 1764 Item 8 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Pigot</i>. 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Cash account from the 9 to 23 August 1764 11: Duplicate of the same, from the 18 to 30 June, the same year
298	288	No 12 Duplicate Cash Account for the Month of July 1764§ §13 Do Do from the 1 to the 8th Augt Do§ §14 Ship Glattons Account§ §15 Do Speakers Do§ §16 Duplicate Ship Pigots Do§ §17 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships, Speaker, Glatton and§ §Deptford§ §18 Time of Ships Boats Arrival at Banks§ §19 Duplicate Proceedings of the last General Quart Sessions§ §20 List of two Discharged Soldiers§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to you last under date of the 23d§ §August by the Glatton which sailed in Company with§ §Your Honors Ship Speaker§ §We have given Capt Tryon an Order to receive§ §on board his Ship John Mc Donald and Thos Simkins§ §two Invalid Soldiers the Surgeons Certificate with respect§ §to their disorders goe herewith, and have also given him an§ §Order to receive on board the Deptford Wm Vincent one of§ §His Majestys Soldiers left here Sick out of the Pigot§ §We have paid Capt Tryon £15 for their Pafsage his§ §Receipt for the same is Enclosed in the Packet, The five§ §pounds for Vincents Pafsage will be repaid your Honors by§ §the Owners of the Ship Pigot§ §John Cleavy a Discharged Man who we§ §gave Capt Doveton an Order to receive on board the§ §Glatton, hair id Secreted himself at the time of that Ships§ §Sailing§	The list of enclosures continued, with several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. 12: Duplicate cash account for the month of July 1764 13: The same, from the 1 to the 8 August, the same year Item 14 was the ship <i>Glatton</i>'s account. Item 15 was the <i>Speaker</i>'s account. Item 16 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Pigot</i>'s account. Item 17 was an abstract of the cargoes of the ships <i>Speaker</i>, <i>Glatton</i> and <i>Deptford</i>. Item 18 was the time of the ships boats arriving at Banks. 19: Duplicate proceedings of the last General Quarter Session 20: List of two discharged soldiers To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 23 August by the <i>Glatton</i>, which sailed in company with the Court's ship <i>Speaker</i>. 2: The Council gave Captain Tryon an order to receive aboard his ship John McDonald and Thomas Simkins, two invalid soldiers, the surgeon's certificate for their disorders going enclosed. It also gave him an order to receive aboard the <i>Deptford</i> William Vincent, one of His Majesty's soldiers left here sick out of the <i>Pigot</i>. The Council paid Captain Tryon £15 0s 0d for their passage, his receipt for the same going enclosed. The five pounds for Vincent's passage would be repaid to the Court by the owners of the ship <i>Pigot</i>. 3: John Cleary, a discharged man whom the Council gave Captain Doveton an order to receive aboard the <i>Glatton</i>, hid himself at the time of that ship's sailing. [...]
299	289	Sailing, We have put on board the Deptford Wm§ §Minure, tofsethe with Alexander Groombridge another§ §discharged Soldier, towards compleating her Company§ §We have the pleasure to acquaint your Honors§ §that we have had a good Summer season, and by the present§ §appearance of the Weather, a prospect of a good Winter, All the§ §Ships of this Year have been fully supplied with	The Council put aboard the <i>Deptford</i>, in his room, together with Alexander Groombridge, another discharged soldier, to make up her crew. 4: The Council was glad to report that it had a good summer season, and by the present appearance of the weather a prospect of a good winter. All the ships of this year had been fully supplied with whatever provisions they wanted. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on

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		whatever§ §provision they wanted§ §We are§ §Sir§ §St Helena§ §Your most Obedient and humble§ §6th Septembr 1764§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Skottowe§ §M Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honble Compys Packet from St Helena &§ §Ship Deptford dated the 6th September 1764 vizt§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 6th Sept 1764§ §2 Duplicate Do and Do dated 23 Augt Do§ §3 Consultations from 27th Augt to the 3d September Do§ §4 Duplicate Do from the 13th to the 20 Augt Do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Glatton§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Pigot§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Glatton§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§	6 September 1764 by John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Deptford</i>, dated the 6 September 1764, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 6 September 1764 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 23 August, the same year 3: Consultations from 27 August to the 3 September, the same year 4: Duplicate of the same, from the 13 to the 20 August, the same year Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Glatton</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Pigot</i>. Item 7 was a duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Glatton</i>. 8: Effective state of the garrison
300	290	No 9 Cash Account from the 24th to the 31 Augt 1764§ §10 Do Do from the 1 to the 6th Sept Do§ §11 Duplicate from the 9 to the 20 August Do§ §12 Ship Deptfords Account§ §13 Duplicate Glattons Do§ §14 Do Speakers Do§ §15 Instrument in Writing from two Invalid Soldiers§ §16 Surgeons Certificate of Do§ §17 Capt Tryons Receipt for £15§ §18 Courts Martial from the 8th Augt 1763 to the 27th Augt 1764§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Addrefs waited on your Honors under§ §date of the 6th September 1764 by your Ship Deptford§ §On the 4th Instant arrived the Duke of Albany§ §from Madrafs, which place Capt Haldane left the 27th Oct§ §last, He informs Us that all your outward bound Ships to§ §that place were arrived, and sailed for their respective Ports,§ & that the three Bengal Ships were likewise arrived at§ §Calcutta, He also acquaints Us he heard the Talbot was arrived§ §at Bombay from Mocha, & was to sail soon for England and§ §that the York and Calcutta were likewise arrived there from§ §Europe, and the success at Anjongo about the begining§ §of October and that she was to proceed to Bengal in a few§ §days after, He also informs Us the Princefs Augusta was§ §gone to Bencoolen and from thence was to be sent with§ §the§	The list of enclosures continued, with several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. 9: Cash account from the 24 to the 31 August 1764 10: The same, from the 1 to the 6 September, the same year 11: Duplicate of the same, from the 9 to the 20 August, the same year Item 12 was the ship <i>Deptford's</i> account. Item 13 was the duplicate of the <i>Glatton's</i> account. Item 14 was the <i>Speaker's</i> account. 15: Instrument in writing from two invalid soldiers 16: Surgeon's certificate of the same 17: Captain Tryon's receipt for £15 0s 0d 18: Court martial from the 8 August 1763 to the 27 August 1764 To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court on the 6 September 1764 by the Court's ship <i>Deptford</i>. 2: On the 4 of this month arrived the <i>Duke of Albany</i> from Madras, which place Captain Haldane left on the 27 of October. He told the Council that all the Court's outward-bound ships to that place had arrived and sailed for their respective ports, and that the three Bengal ships were also arrived at Calcutta. He also reported that he heard the <i>Talbot</i> had reached Bombay from Mocha and was to sail soon for England, and that the <i>Yorke</i> and <i>Calcutta</i> were likewise arrived there from Europe. The success at Anjengo was about the beginning of October, and she was to proceed to Bengal a few days after. He also told the Council that the <i>Princess Augusta</i> was gone to Bencoolen, and from there was to be sent with [...]
301	291	the Admiral Watson to Batavia to carry part of Colonel§ §Drapers Regiment from that place to Fort St George, he§ §likewise heard the Bute was at Batavia, and that she§ §was also to take as many of that Regiment as she could§ §and carry them to Bengal, Capt Haldane further	The <i>Princess Augusta</i> was to be sent with the <i>Admiral Watson</i> to Batavia to carry part of Colonel Draper's regiment from that place to Fort St George. Captain Haldane also heard the <i>Bute</i> was at Batavia, and that she was to take as many of that regiment as she could and carry them to Bengal. He further reported that the Court's ship <i>Revenge</i> parted company with the <i>Admiral Pocock</i> between Borneo

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		acquaints§ §Us that your Ship Revenge parted Company with the§ §Admiral Pocock between Borno and the Celebes, and it§ §was imagined as she was not arrived and had a great§ §number of People on board, and very little Water that§ §she must have bore away either for Zolo or China, He also§ §informs Us that Mr Palk had received a Letter from the§ §Capt of your Ship Boscawen who acquainted him that he§ §was at the Mauritius and should be Obligated to take out§ §part if not all her Cargo to stop her Leaks and at the§ §same time Advices came that no French Ships had§ §arrived at the Islands the latter end of July last, We are§ §also informed that His Majestys Ships were to sail for§ §England some time in this Month, And that Madura§ §was taken, and Cawn Saibe Hanged upon the Surrender§ §of that Place, We are likewise told the disturbances at§ §Bengal were settled§ §The Pafsengers on board this Ship are Major§ §Winter, Captns Saunders, Blake and Cotsford, Lieutenants§ §Pitts, Wood, Sherwan, Alair and Hebert, and Mr Smith§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §vizt One set to Mr Robert Barclay for £120 payable to§ §Capt Charles Mears or Order, One set to Lieut Joseph§ §Sherwan for £140 payable to himself or Order, One§ §set to Major Joseph Winter for £83 payable to himself§ §or Order, One set to Lieut Francis Wood for £129 17 9§ §payable to himself or Order, One set to Mefsr Matthew§ §Curling, and Matthew Bazett for £101 13 4 payable§ §to§	and the Celebes, and it was thought, since she had not arrived and had a great number of people aboard and very little water, that she must have borne away either for Zoloo or China. He also told the Council that Mr Palk had received a letter from the captain of the Court's ship <i>Boscawen</i>, telling him she was at Mauritius and should be obliged to take out part if not all her cargo to stop her leaks, and that at the same time word came that no French ships had arrived at the islands the latter end of July. The Council was also told that His Majesty's ships were to sail for England some time this month, and that Madura was taken, and Cawn Saibe hanged on the surrender of that place. It was likewise told that the disturbances at Bengal were settled. 3: The passengers aboard this ship were Major Winter, Captains Saunders, Blake and Cotsford, Lieutenants Pitts, Wood, Sherman, Alair and Hebert, and Mr Smith. 4: The Council granted the following bills of exchange. One set to Mr Robert Barclay for £120 0s 0d, payable to Captain Charles Mears or order. One set to Lieutenant Joseph Sherman for £140 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One set to Major Joseph Winter for £83 0s 0d, payable to himself or order. One set to Lieutenant Francis Wood for £129 17s 9d, payable to himself or order. And one set to Messrs Matthew Curling and Matthew Bazett for £101 13s 0d, payable [...] Interpretations The plight of the <i>Revenge</i>, feared driven to Zoloo or China with many aboard and little water, shows how a ship's failure to make her passage bred anxious speculation about her fate. With a crowded complement and her water running short, she could not simply wait, but had to run before the wind to whatever land she could reach, so those tracking her could only guess where she might have been forced, a reminder of how the shortage of water governed the movements of ships as surely as wind or enemy. The taking of Madura and the hanging of its chief on surrender reflect the Company's expansion of its power in southern India through force. The reference marks the military subjugation of a local ruler and the summary execution that followed his defeat, part of the broader assertion of Company control across the region in these years, the news of which reached St Helena through the reports of passing captains.
302	292	to Mr Mary Durrall or Order, and one Set to Mr George§ §Chalmers for £30 payable to himself or Order all§ §dated the 14th Instant and drawn at ninety days sight§ §By this opportunity we transmit your Honors§ §General Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30 Sept last§ §We cannot send you a Cash Account to a later§ §date than the 30 of November as the last Quarters§ §Accounts will not be laid before Us until, to morrow§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Skottowe§ §20th Janry 1765§ §Matthew Curling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honble Compys Packet from St Helena &§ §Ship Duke of Albany dated the 20th Janry 1765 vizt§ §No 1 Govr and Councils Genl Letter dated 20th	The bill was payable to Mr Mary Durvall or order. And one set to Mr George Chalmers for £30 0s 0d, payable to himself or order, all dated the 14 of this month and drawn at 90 days after sight. 5: By this ship the Council sent the Court its general books of accounts, balanced to the 30 September. 6: The Council could not send the Court a cash account to a later date than the 30 of November, since the last quarter's accounts would not be laid before it until the next day. The letter closed as from the Council, subscribing itself to the honourable Court as its most obedient and humble servants, and was signed at St Helena on 20 January 1765 by John Skottowe, Mr Curling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. List of the Honourable Company's packet from St Helena by the ship <i>Duke of Albany</i>, dated the 20 January 1765, as follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, dated 20 January 1765 2: Duplicate of the same, dated 6 September 1764 3: Consultations from 10 September 1764 to the 14 January 1765 4: Duplicate of the same, from 27 August to 3 September 1764

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		Janry 1765§ §2 Dupl Do and Do dated 6th Sept 1764§ §3 Consultations from 10th Sept 1764 to the 14th Janry 1765§ §4 Duplicate Do from 27th Augt to 3 Sept 1764§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet & Ship Deptford§ §6 Second Do for Do & Ship Glatton§ §7 List of Officers and Servt taken the 20th Janry 1765§	Item 5 was the first receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Deptford</i>. Item 6 was the second receipt for the same by the ship <i>Glatton</i>. 7: List of officers and servants, taken the 20 January 1765
303	293	No 8 List of Familys taken 30th September 1764§ §9 Do of Rents taken Do Do§ §10 Do of the Honble Companys Slaves Do Do§ §11 Do of Cattle returned for Slaughter & killed in the Year Do§ §12 Duplicate List of the Packet & Ship Deptford§ §13 Effective State of the Garrison§ §14 Muster Rolls of Do§ §15 Cash Account from 7th to the 30th September 1764§ §16 Do for the Month of October Do§ §17 Do for the Month of November Do§ §18 Duplicate Do from the 24 to the 31 Augt Do§ §19 Do Do from the 1 to the 6th Septembr Do§ §20 Ship Duke of Albanys Account§ §21 Duplicate Ship Deptfords Ditto§ §22 Time of Ship Duke of Albanys Boats Arrival at Banks§ §23 Duplicate Capt Tryons Receipt for £15§ §24 General Books of Accounts Dukejt§ §25 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Albany§ §26 Govr & Councils General Letter relating to Law matters dated§ §20th Janry 1765§ §27 Proceedings of a Genl Quarterly Sefsions held 3d Octor 1764§ §To the Honble &ca§ §Honble Sirs§ §We wrote to you last by your Ship Duke of Albany§ §which sailed from hence the 21 of January 1765§ §On the 4th January arrived the Snow Mercury and§ §Fly Cutter from Madagascar and brought only sixtan Slaves§ §and§	The list of enclosures continued, with several items naming ships that must be lifted out of the run into prose. 8: List of families, taken 30 September 1764 9: The same, of rents, taken the same date 10: The same, of the Honourable Company's slaves, taken the same date 11: The same, of cattle reared for slaughter and killed in the year, the same year Item 12 was a duplicate of the packet by the ship <i>Deptford</i>. 13: Effective state of the garrison 14: Muster rolls of the same 15: Cash account from the 7 to the 30 September 1764 16: The same, for the month of October, the same year 17: The same, for the month of November, the same year 18: Duplicate of the same, from the 24 to the 31 August, the same year 19: The same, from the 1 to the 6 September, the same year Item 20 was the ship <i>Duke of Albany's</i> account. Item 21 was the duplicate of the ship <i>Deptford's</i> account. Item 22 was the time of the ship <i>Duke of Albany's</i> boat arriving at Bankes. 23: Duplicate Captain Tryon's receipt for £15 0s 0d 24: General books of accounts Item 25 was an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Duke of Albany</i>. 26: Governor and Council's general letter relating to law matters, dated 20 January 1765 27: Proceedings of a General Quarter Session held 3 October 1764 To the Honourable, etc. Honourable Sirs, 1: The Council last wrote to the Court by the ship <i>Duke of Albany</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 21 of January 1765. 2: On the 4 of January arrived the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i> from Madagascar, and brought only sixty slaves. [...]
304	294	and two Boys, The melancholy Account of Captain Hurrole§ §being Murdered by an Insurrection among the Slaves on§ §board the said Vessel the 29 November 1764, the particulars§ §of which, are Enter'd in our Consultation of the 23 January§ §to which we beg leave to refer you, Agreeable to your Honors§ §Orders, we have Confirmed Mr Merryweather Commander of the§ §Snow Mercury§ §Capt Thos Hall dieing the 2d of last Month, we shall§ §keep his Commission vacant until your Honors further§ §Orders, because as it is a distinct Branch of Discipline§ §from the rest of the Garrison and so much would depend§	2: On the 4 of January arrived the <i>Mercury Snow</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i> from Madagascar, and brought only sixty slaves and two boys. The council reported the distressing news that Captain Hurdle had been murdered in a rising among the slaves aboard his vessel on 29 November 1764. The full details had been recorded in the consultation of 23 January, to which the council referred the Court. Following the Court's orders, the council had confirmed Mr Merryweather as commander of the snow <i>Mercury</i>. 3: Since Captain Thomas Hall had died on the 26th of last month, the council would keep his commission vacant until the Court sent further orders. Gunnery formed a separate branch of discipline from the rest of the garrison, and much would depend on having the artillery well managed and properly supplied should an enemy attack the island. The council held that an officer trained in gunnery and fortification should be appointed to succeed the late Captain Hall.

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		§on having the Artillery well managed, and supplied, if an§ §Enemy should Attack the Island, it is our Opinion an Officer§ §who has been regularly bred to Gunnery and Fortification§ §should be appointed to succeed the late Captain Hall§ §On the 27 of last Month arrived your Ship Anson§ §from Bombay Capt Chick acquaints Us he left that Place§ §the 17 of December last, and your Ships Asia and Lord§ §Mansfield there, the former he heard was to be sent on a Country§ §Voyage, and the latter to sail about a Month after for Europe§ §the Calcutta he tells Us was gone to Bengal and the London to§ §Persia, he likewise informs Us, the York and Talbot, sailed from§ §Bombay the 17 December for China, On the 22 February arriv'd§ §the Boscawen last from the Cape, We are also told the Kent and§ §Prince of Wales left that Place the 15 January last§ §The Passengers on board the Anson are Capt§ §Barrett and Messrs Mardman and King, and on board the§ §Boscawen Major Sherlock, Capt Long, Abercrombie and§ §Freak, Lieut Mackarel and Pembroke, and Ensign Jefferys§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §viz One set to Richard Collins Esqr for £1150 payable§	4: The ship <i>Anson</i> had arrived from Bombay on the 27th of last month. Captain Chick reported that he left Bombay on 7 December, with the ships <i>Asia</i> and <i>Lord Mansfield</i> still there. He had heard that the <i>Asia</i> was to be sent on a country voyage, and the <i>Lord Mansfield</i> was to sail for Europe about a month later. He told the council that the <i>Calcutta</i> had gone to Bengal and the <i>London</i> to Persia. He also reported that the <i>York</i> and <i>Talbot</i> had sailed from Bombay for China on 17 December. On 22 February he sighted the <i>Boscawen</i>, last from the Cape. The council had also learned that the <i>Kent</i> and <i>Prince of Wales</i> left the Cape on 15 January. 5: The passengers aboard the <i>Anson</i> were Captain Barrett and Messrs Meadman and King. Aboard the <i>Boscawen</i> were Major Shirlock, Captains Long, Abercrombie and Freak, Lieutenants Mackarel and Pembroke, and Ensign Jeffery. 6: The council had granted the following bills of exchange. One set went to Richard Collins Esquire for £1,150, payable Interpretations A country voyage meant a trading run between ports within Asia rather than the long haul back to Europe. East India Company ships were often diverted to these regional routes, carrying goods between Indian, Persian and Chinese ports, because the intra-Asian trade was highly profitable and kept vessels earning while they waited for the next homeward season. The distinction mattered to St Helena because it determined which ships would call at the island for refreshment on their way home and which would not. A snow was a small two-masted merchant vessel, square-rigged and commonly used for coastal and shorter ocean trade. The confirmation of a new commander for the <i>Mercury</i> after the murder of her captain shows the council exercising its authority over Company shipping that touched the island, filling a command vacancy to keep the vessel and its trade in order. Bills of exchange were written orders directing a named party to pay a stated sum, and they functioned as the Company's principal means of moving money across great distances without shipping coin. By granting them at St Helena, the council allowed individuals to deposit funds on the island against payment in London or elsewhere, which secured cash for local needs while transferring the obligation to the Company's account at home. The council's decision to keep Captain Hall's artillery command vacant rather than fill it locally reveals how it valued specialist military skill. Gunnery and fortification demanded formal training that the ordinary garrison could not supply, and the exposed position of the island made competent artillery defence a genuine strategic concern.
305	295	to himself or Order, dated the 2 instant, and one set to Messrs§ §Matthew Purling and Thomas Greentree for £75 18 6§ §payable to John Misener, and John Purling Esqr dated the 4§ §instant, both drawn at ninety Days sight§ §Capt Collins of his Majesty's Ship Weymouth, and§ §his Purser, applied to Us for £465 6 9, which Sum We have§ §advanced them, and taken Bills of Exchange, drawn as§ §follows Vizt One set for £79 18 4 on the Honble the§ §principal Officers, and Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy§ §And the other for three hundred and eighty five	To himself or order, dated the 2nd of this month. One further set went to Messrs Matthew Purling and Thomas Greentree for £75 13s 6d, payable to John Misener, and to John Purling Esquire, dated the 4th of this month, both drawn at ninety days sight. 7: Captain Collins of His Majesty's ship <i>Weymouth</i> and his purser had applied to the council for £465 6s 9d, which the council advanced them, taking bills of exchange drawn as follows. One set was for £79 18s 4d on the principal officers and commissioners of His Majesty's Navy. The other was for £385 8s 5d on the commissioners for victualling His Majesty's Navy. Both sets were drawn at thirty days sight, payable to the Court and dated the 4th of this month. The council enclosed the first bills and letters of advice.

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		Pounds, eight§ §Shillings and five Pence, on the Commissioners for Victuall§ §His Majesty's Navy, both sets drawn at thirty days sight§ §payable to your Honors, and dated the 4 instant, the first§ §Bill and Letter Advice we Enclosed§ §One of your Honors Long Boats employed in§ §Watering His Majesty's Ships was staved by accident,§ §Capt Collins promised he would give Us a Certificate, that§ §She was lost in his Majesty's Service, but went away§ §without doing it§ §This Waits on your Honors by the Anson which§ §sails in Company with your Ship Boscawen§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §John Shottowe§ §St Helena§ §Matthw Purling§ §5 March 1765§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §P S Since closing this Letter, We received this§ §Certificate from Capt Collins, which we transmit§ §you herewith§	8: One of the Court's longboats employed in watering His Majesty's ships was wrecked by accident. Captain Collins promised to give the council a certificate that she was lost in His Majesty's service, but sailed away without doing it. 9: This letter came to the Court by the <i>Anson</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Boscawen</i>. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 5 March 1765 by John Shottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. After closing the letter, the council received the certificate from Captain Collins and transmitted it to the Court. Interpretations The two bills drawn on separate naval boards reflect how the Royal Navy split its accounting. The Navy Board handled ships, stores and shipbuilding, while the Victualling Board dealt solely with food and drink for the fleet. A ship's captain drawing money abroad had to direct each portion to the correct board according to what it covered, so the £79 for general expenses and the £385 for provisions went to different offices in London. Captain Collins departing without providing the promised certificate left the council exposed on the loss of the longboat. Without written confirmation that the boat had been lost while serving the Navy, the council could not readily charge the loss to the Crown and might have had to bear the cost of the wrecked vessel itself, which explains why the omission was worth recording and why the later arrival of the certificate was noted with evident relief.
306	296	List of the Honble Compy Packet from St Helena p Ship Anson§ §dated the 5 March 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 5 March 1765§ §2 Do and Do relating to Law Matters dated Do§ §3 Duplicate Do Do dated 20 January Do§ §4 Do Do relating to Law Matters dated Do Do§ §5 Consultations from the 21 January to the 4 March Do§ §6 Duplicate Do from the 10 September 1764 to the 11 Jany Do§ §7 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Duke of Albany§ §8 Second Do for Do p Ship Deptford§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Duke of Albany§ §10 Do Do of Family's taken 30 September 1764§ §11 Do Do of Rents taken Do Do§ §12 Do Do of the Honbles Compy Slaves taken Do Do§ §13 Do Do of Cattle returned for Slaughter and Kill'd in§ §the year 1764§ §14 Effective State of the Garrison§ §15 Cash Account for the Month of December 1764§ §16 Do for the Month of January 1765§ §17 Do for the Month of February Do§ §18 Do from the 1 to the 5 March Do§ §19 Duplicate Cash Account from the 7 to the 30 Sept 1764§ §20 Do Do for the Month of October Do§ §21 Do Do for the Month of November Do§ §22 Ship Anson's Account§ §23 Do Boscawen's Do§ §24 Duplicate Ship Duke of Albany's Account§ §25 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §26 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Anson and Boscawen§ §27 Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held 16 Jany 1765§	This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Anson</i>, dated 5 March 1765. - Governor and Council's general letter dated 5 March 1765 - Governor and Council's letter relating to law matters dated 5 March 1765 - Duplicate general letter dated 20 January 1765 - Duplicate letter relating to law matters dated 20 January 1765 - Consultations from 21 January to 4 March 1765 - Duplicate consultations from 10 September 1764 to 14 January 1765 - First receipt for the packet by the ship Duke of Albany - Second receipt for the packet by the ship Deptford - Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Duke of Albany - Duplicate list of families taken 30 September 1764 - Duplicate list of rents taken 30 September 1764 - Duplicate list of the Company's slaves taken 30 September 1764 - Duplicate list of cattle returned for slaughter and killed in the year 1764 - Effective state of the garrison - Cash account for the month of December 1764 - Cash account for the month of January 1765 - Cash account for the month of February 1765 - Cash account from 1 to 5 March 1765 - Duplicate cash account from 7 to 30 September 1764 - Duplicate cash account for the month of October 1764 - Duplicate cash account for the month of November 1764 - Ship Anson's account - Ship Boscawen's account - Duplicate ship Duke of Albany's account

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			25: Time of ships boats arrival at Bank's 26: Abstract of the charges of ships Anson and Boscawen 27: Proceedings of a general quarterly session held 16 January 1765 Items 7, 8 and 9 concern named vessels and read as follows: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Duke of Albany</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Deptford</i> and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Duke of Albany</i>. Items 22, 23 and 24 record the ship <i>Anson's</i> account, the ship <i>Boscawen's</i> account and a duplicate of the ship <i>Duke of Albany's</i> account. Item 26 gives an abstract of the charges of the ships <i>Anson</i> and <i>Boscawen</i>. Interpretations A packet was the sealed bundle of official correspondence, accounts and returns that each ship carried between St Helena and the Company's headquarters in London. Sending duplicates by separate vessels, as several items here show, was standard practice to guard against loss at sea, so that a copy would still reach London if one ship were taken or wrecked. The returns listed here reveal the scope of the island's routine reporting to London. Families, rents, Company slaves, cattle killed, the state of the garrison and monthly cash accounts were all recorded and sent home, which gave the directors a detailed picture of the island's population, finances, military strength and provisioning without their ever setting foot there.
307	297	No 28 Duplicate Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions§ §held 3 October 1764§ §29 Copy of an Inquisition taken the 27 December 1764§ §30 List of the Snow Mercurys Company§ §31 Do of the Fly Cutters Do§ §32 First Bill of Exchange and Letter of Advice drawn by§ §Capt Collins and his Purser for £79 18 4§ §33 Do Do of Exchange and Letter of Advice drawn by§ §Capt Collins and his Purser for £385 2 5§ §34 Capt Collins Certificate concerning the loss of the Long Boat§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Our last Address waited on your Honors by your§ §Ship Anson, which sailed from hence the 6 instant in§ §company with the Boscawen§ §On the 10 of this Month arrived your Ship Devonshire§ §from Bengal which Place Captn Duicke acquaints Us he§ §left the 10 December last, and your Ships Carnarven and§ §Vansittart there, the former was to sail soon after for Madrass§ §and to proceed from thence for Europe, the latter to be dispatched§ §from Bengal for Europe about a Month after the Devonshire§ §Captn Duicke likewise informs Us, that Major Munro had§ §gained a compleat Victory over Suja Doula the 25 of October§ §1764, on the Plains of Buxa, that the last news received at§ §Calcutta which was on the 8 November, informed them that§ §the Army was then laying before the City of Banaras§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 28: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly session held 3 October 1764 29: Copy of an inquisition taken 27 December 1764 30: List of the snow Mercury's company 31: List of the Fly Cutter's company 32: First bill of exchange and letter of advice drawn by Captain Collins and his purser for £79 18s 4d 33: Duplicate bill of exchange and letter of advice drawn by Captain Collins and his purser for £385 2s 5d 34: Captain Collins's certificate concerning the loss of the longboat Items 30 and 31 concern named vessels: item 30 is the muster list of the snow <i>Mercury's</i> company, and item 31 is the muster list of the <i>Fly Cutter's</i> company. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council's last letter had gone to the Court by the ship <i>Anson</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 6th of this month in company with the <i>Boscawen</i>. 2: The ship <i>Devonshire</i> had arrived from Bengal on the 10th of this month. Captain Duicke reported that he left Bengal on 10 December, with the ships <i>Caernarvon</i> and <i>Vansittart</i> still there. The <i>Caernarvon</i> was to sail soon afterwards for Madras and proceed from there to Europe, and the <i>Vansittart</i> was to be despatched from Bengal for Europe about a month after the <i>Devonshire</i>. Captain Duicke also reported that Major Munro had won a complete victory over Suja Doula on 23 October 1764 on the plains of Buxar. The last news received at Calcutta, dated 8 November, told that the army was then laid before the city of Banaras. Interpretations An inquisition in this period was a formal inquiry held before an official, often to establish the cause of a death or the facts surrounding a loss, with sworn testimony recorded for the authorities. Its inclusion in the packet, taken on 27 December 1764, points to a matter requiring legal investigation on the island that the council was obliged to report home.

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			The victory reported here was a decisive moment in the Company's rise to power in India. Major Hector Munro's defeat of Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Awadh, at Buxar on 23 October 1764 broke the combined forces ranged against the Company in Bengal and secured its dominance over the region. News of it reached St Helena through the ordinary traffic of homeward ships, which shows how the island served as a clearing-house for intelligence passing between Asia and Europe.
308	298	The 21 instant arrived your Ship Salisbury and the §25 the Dutton, by these Ships we had the pleasure of receiving §your Honor's Orders to Us, which we opened and read in §Consultation; As the Devonshire sails so soon after the arrival §of the aforesaid Ships, we therefore cannot possibly have time to §answer your Letters by this conveyance, but shall be sure to do §it by the next; your Honors may depend upon our strict §Observance of all your Orders and Instructions received by §these Ships §The Passengers upon the Devonshire are Messrs Bateson §Green, Oliphant, Case, Vansriel and Mrs Ray and his Wife §We have put on board the Devonshire John Carr §William Taylor, John Thomason William Slater Peter Nielson §and Thomas Abbey six Invalid Soldiers, the Surgeons Certificate §together with the instruments that they will not Demand any §Wages for their Voyage Home, go Enclosed We have paid Capt §Duicke £30 for their Passage, his Receipt for the same we §transmit herewith §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange §viz One set to Mr Matthew Purling for £200 payable to §John Purling Esq for Order, one set to Mr John Thackeray §for 100 payable to the Reverend Elian Thackeray for order §one set to Captain Andrew Duicke for £150 payable to §himself for order, One set to Mr James Ratteray for §£235 payable to himself for order, one set to Mr Wm Shern §for 250 payable to himself for order, and one set to Mr §John Shorne for £50 payable to himself for order, all §drawn at 90 Days sight, and dated the 21 instant §Captain Mitchell having applied to Us by Letter §in Consultation of this day offering to take the Command §of the Artillery Company, and further requesting Us to	3: The ship <i>Salisbury</i> had arrived on the 21st of this month, and the <i>Dutton</i> on the 23rd. By these ships the council received the Court's orders, which it opened and read in consultation. Since the <i>Devonshire</i> was to sail so soon after the arrival of these ships, the council could not possibly have time to answer the Court's letters by this conveyance, but would be sure to do it by the next. The Court could depend upon the council's strict observance of all the orders and instructions received by these ships. 4: The passengers aboard the <i>Devonshire</i> were Messrs Bateson, Green, Oliphant, Case and Vansittart, together with Mr Vay and his wife. 5: The council had put aboard the <i>Devonshire</i> six invalid soldiers, namely John Carr, William Taylor, John Thomason, William Slater, Peter Neilson and Thomas Abbey. The council enclosed the surgeon's certificate along with the instruments confirming that these men would not demand any wages for their voyage home. The council had paid Captain Duicke £30 for their passage and transmitted his receipt for the same. 6: The council had granted the following bills of exchange. One set went to Mr Matthew Purling for £200, payable to John Purling Esquire or order. One set went to Mr John Thackeray for £100, payable to the Reverend Eliás Thackeray or order. One set went to Captain Andrew Duicke for £150, payable to himself or order. One set went to Mr James Rattery for £235, payable to himself or order. One set went to Mr James Shearn for £250, payable to himself or order. One set went to Mr John Stone for £50, payable to himself or order. All were drawn at 90 days sight and dated the 21st of this month. 7: Captain Mitchell had applied to the council by letter in the consultation of this day, offering to take command of the artillery company and further requesting the council to Interpretations The invalid soldiers waiving their wages for the homeward voyage was a condition set for their free passage. The Company would carry men no longer fit for service back to England, but only on terms that spared it the additional cost of paying them while they made a journey during which they performed no duty, and the surgeon's certificate and written instruments were the formal proof that this bargain had been struck. Captain Mitchell's offer to take command of the artillery answered the vacancy the council had earlier been anxious to fill. The council had held after Captain Hall's death on 26 January 1765 that a trained gunnery officer should be appointed, so a captain now volunteering for that specialist post addressed a defensive weakness the council had already identified as pressing.
309	299	recommend his succeeding to that Company, in consequence of §which and the strong recommendation from your Honors §together with his good Character, We think him very Capable §of putting your Artillery Company upon a proper Military	Recommend his succeeding to that command. Given the strong recommendation from the Court, together with his good character, the council thought Captain Mitchell very capable of putting the artillery company upon a proper military footing. The council therefore hoped his appointment would meet with the Court's approval during his stay on the island.

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		§Establishment, therefore hope this appointment will meet§ §with your Honors approbation during his stay on the§ §Island§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and Humble servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §25 March 1765§ §Danl Corneille§ §M Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §pr Ship Devonshire dated the 25 March 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 25 March 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated the 5 do do§ §3 do do and do dated the do do do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §4 Consultations from 11 to the 25 March 1765§ §5 Duplicate do from 21 January to the 4 do do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet pr Ship Anson§ §7 Second do for the do pr Ship Duke of Albany§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken the 25 March 1765§	The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 25 March 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Devonshire</i>, dated 25 March 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 25 March 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 5 March 1765 3: Duplicate letter dated 5 March 1765 relating to law matters 4: Consultations from 11 to 25 March 1765 5: Duplicate consultations from 21 January to 4 March 1765 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Anson 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Duke of Albany 8: List of officers and servants taken 25 March 1765 Items 6 and 7 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Anson</i>, and the second receipt by the ship <i>Duke of Albany</i>. Interpretations The council's endorsement of Captain Mitchell rested as much on the Court's own recommendation as on his character, which shows how appointments to specialist commands flowed from London's prior approval rather than local choice alone. The council was in effect confirming a man the directors had already favoured, while framing the decision as its own judgement of his fitness to reform the artillery.
310	300	9 Duplicate List of the Packet pr Ship Anson§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Cash Account from 6 to the 25 March 1765§ §12 Duplicate do for the Month of December 1764§ §13 do do for the Month of January 1765§ §14 do do for the Month of February do§ §15 do do from the 1 to the 5 March do§ §16 Ship Devonshires Account§ §17 Duplicate Ansons do§ §18 do Boscawens do§ §19 Time of the Devonshires Boats arrival at Banks's§ §20 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Devonshire§ §21 Duplicate proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held§ §16 January 1765§ §22 do Copy of an Inquisition taken 27 December 1764§ §23 Second Bill of Exchange and Letter of Advice drawn by§ §Captain Collins and his Purser for £79 18 4§ §24 Second Bill of Exchange and Letter of Advice drawn by§ §Captain Collins and his Purser for £385 2 5§ §25 Surgeons Certificate of 6 Invalid Soldiers§ §26 Instrument in Writing from 6 Invalid Soldiers§ §27 Captain Duickes Receipt for £30§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote to you last under date of the 25 March§ §by the Ship Devonshire§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 9: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Anson 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Cash account from 6 to 25 March 1765 12: Duplicate cash account for the month of December 1764 13: Duplicate cash account for the month of January 1765 14: Duplicate cash account for the month of February 1765 15: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 5 March 1765 16: Ship Devonshire's account 17: Duplicate ship Anson's account 18: Duplicate ship Boscawen's account 19: Time of the Devonshire's boats arrival at Bank's 20: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Devonshire 21: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly session held 16 January 1765 22: Duplicate copy of an inquisition taken 27 December 1764 23: Second bill of exchange and letter of advice drawn by Captain Collins and his purser for £79 18s 4d 24: Second bill of exchange and letter of advice drawn by Captain Collins and his purser for £385 2s 5d 25: Surgeon's certificate of six invalid soldiers 26: Instrument in writing from six invalid soldiers 27: Captain Duicke's receipt for £30 Item 9 is the duplicate list of the packet sent by the ship <i>Anson</i>. Item 16 is the ship <i>Devonshire's</i> account, item 17 the duplicate ship <i>Anson's</i> account and item 18 the duplicate ship <i>Boscawen's</i> account. Item 19 records the time of the <i>Devonshire's</i> boats arrival at Bank's, and item 20 an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Devonshire</i>. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on 25 March by the ship <i>Devonshire</i>.
311	301	On the 27 of last Month Arrived a Dane Ship from§ §China, called the Prince Fredrick Captain Osphewton burthen§ §1000 Tons, carrys 32 Guns and 150 Men, The 31 of the same§	2: A Danish ship from China called the <i>Prince Frederick</i> had arrived on the 27th of last month. Captain Ehipherowton commanded her, and she was of about 1,000 tons burthen, carried 32 guns and 150 men. On the 31st of the same month another

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		§Month arrived another Dane ship from hence, called the Crown§ §Prince Captain Suane Burthen 600 Tons, carries 26 Guns§ §and 150 Men, both Loaded with Tea China Ware and Silkes,§ §and bound to Copenhagen§ §The 2 of March Arrived your Honors Ship Lord Clive§ §from China Captain Webber Acquaints us he left Canton the§ §24 December last, and your Ships Royal George Worcester Lord§ §Holland, Earl of Lincoln Latham Northumberland, British§ §King and Pitt there, He likewise informs Us the Valentine§ §sailed from China for England in July last, your Ships§ §Duke of Gloucester, Duke of Richmond Princess Augusta§ §and Earl of Elgin, were not Arrived at Canton, we are also told§ §there were 2 Dane, 1 Swede, 4 Dutch and 4 French Ships§ §at China the last Season§ §The Pocock is just arrived, Captain Hooke acquaints§ §Us, he has had a very long passage from China, but that all§ §his People were in good health§ §This waits on your Honors by the Dane Ship§ §Prince Frederick§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §Honble Sirs§ §2 April 1765§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §Signed§ §John Shottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §M Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	Danish ship from China arrived, called the <i>Crown Prince</i>, commanded by Captain Suane and of about 600 tons burthen, carrying 26 guns and 150 men. Both were loaded with tea, china ware and silks, and bound for Copenhagen. 3: The ship <i>Lord Clive</i> had arrived on the 2nd of March. Captain Webber reported that he left Canton on 24 December, with the ships <i>Worcester</i>, <i>Lord Holland</i>, <i>Earl of Lincoln</i>, <i>Latham</i>, <i>Northumberland</i>, <i>British King</i> and <i>Pitt</i> all still there. He also reported that the <i>Valentine</i> had sailed from China for England in July, and that the ships <i>Duke of Gloucester</i>, <i>Duke of Richmond</i>, <i>Princess Augusta</i> and <i>Earl of Elgin</i> had not yet arrived at Canton. The council had also learned that 2 Danish, 1 Swedish, 4 Dutch and 1 French ships had all been in China the last season. 4: The <i>Pocock</i> had just arrived. Captain Hooke reported that he had a very long passage from China, but that all his people were in good health. This letter came to the Court by the Danish ship <i>Prince Frederick</i>. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 2 April 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The Danish ships bound for Copenhagen laden with tea, china ware and silk show that the East India Company's British rivals were carrying the same lucrative China trade home to their own ports. The Danish Asiatic Company ran regular voyages to Canton, and their vessels calling at St Helena reveal how the island lay on the common sea road that served every European nation's eastern commerce, not the Company's alone. The council's careful tally of how many Danish, Swedish, Dutch and French ships had traded in China that season reflects the intelligence value St Helena held for London. By questioning the masters of every calling vessel, the council could report the strength and movements of foreign competitors in the eastern trade, giving the directors a running account of rivals they could not otherwise observe.
312	302	To the Honble &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We had the pleasure of Addressing your Honors the§ §2 instant by the Dane Ship Prince Fredrick§ §It gives us very great satisfaction to hear all your§ §Ships of last season arrived safe, We sincerely hope the like§ §Success will attend those of this Year§ §All Orders received from the secret Committee or any§ §three of those Gentlemen, shall be punctually Obeyed and§ §Complied with§ §We sincerely wish Success to the Ships your Honors§ §have been pleased to employ this Season, for carrying on your Trade§ §and Commerce the ensuing Year§ §We are very glad to find your Honors purpose sending§ §us some Slaves by your Ship Royal George as we are much in want§ §of them, whatever Beans Rease, and Cloathing we do not want§ §for the Slaves, we may secure, shall be put on board the Royal George§ §as you have been pleased to order§ §As Ships Salisbury and Dutton were Dispatched,§ §upon the expiration of the ten Working Days, and will proceed§ §on their Voyage in a Day or two§	To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on the 2nd of this month by the Danish ship <i>Prince Frederick</i>. 2: The council was very glad to hear that all the Court's ships of last season had arrived safe. The council sincerely hoped the like success would attend those of this year. 3: All orders received from the secret committee or any of those gentlemen would be punctually obeyed and complied with. 4: The council sincerely wished success to the ships the Court had been pleased to employ this season for carrying on its trade and commerce in the coming year. 5: The council was very glad to find that the Court intended to send some slaves by the ship <i>Royal George</i>, as the island was much in want of them. Whatever beans, rice and clothing the council did not want for the slaves would be put aboard the <i>Royal George</i> as the Court had ordered. 6: The ships <i>Salisbury</i> and <i>Dutton</i> had been despatched on the expiry of the ten working days and would continue their voyage in a day or two. 7: Following the Court's orders, the council would break up the <i>Fly Cutter</i> and despatch the snow <i>Mercury</i> for England as soon as she could be made ready for the voyage, which the council hoped would be shortly. Captain Merryweather had lately met with the misfortune of breaking one of his legs, and the council feared this might occasion a little delay. Whatever stores aboard the <i>Fly Cutter</i> that could be Interpretations

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		§Agreeable to your Orders, We shall break up the Fly§ §Cutter, and dispatch the Snow Mercury for England as soon as she§ §can be got ready to proceed on the Voyage which we hope will be in§ §in a short time, Captain Merryweather having lately met with§ §the misfortune to break one of his Legs, may we apprehend occasion§ §a little delay, Whatever Stores are on board the Fly that can be§	The council's eagerness to receive slaves by the <i>Royal George</i> set against its readiness to return surplus beans, rice and clothing shows how tightly the island's labour supply and its provisioning were managed from London. The Company sent out both workers and their maintenance, and the council was expected to hold only what the slaves actually needed and ship the balance onward, so that nothing lay idle on the island that another station might use. The secret committee named here was the small inner body of Company directors entrusted with confidential business, particularly matters touching war, diplomacy and dealings with foreign powers. Orders issuing from it carried special weight, which is why the council singled out its instructions for a distinct promise of punctual obedience apart from the general run of the Court's directions. The decision to break up the <i>Fly Cutter</i> while fitting out the snow <i>Mercury</i> for England shows the council disposing of one small vessel and pressing another into a long homeward voyage on London's instruction. Captain Merryweather's broken leg threatened to delay the sailing, yet the council held to the plan rather than seeking another commander, treating the Court's order as fixed even against an obvious practical obstacle.
313	303	of any Service to the Snow Mercury shall be taken from thence to supply§ §her therewith§ §We shall be particularly careful in Collecting all the News§ §we can, relative to your Affairs in General we Got what information we§ §could from Captain Fryon with regard to your Shipping which was§ §communicated to your Honors by the Hatton we did not mention the§ §Affairs on the Coast of Choromandel, as we imagined Coll Palmer§ §and the other Gentlemen would have given you a more particular§ §detail of them, than we possibly could, but we flatter ourselves the§ §Intelligence we shall give you in future will prove more satisfactory§ §We thank your Honors for the ample supply of Stores sent§ §Us, which we hope will be sufficient to answer the demands of the§ §current Year§ §The Chest of Treasure consigned to us by the Dutton, we have§ §forwarded to your Council in China, as you will please to observe, by§ §our Letter to the Gentlemen there entered in Consultation of the 5 instant§ §No alteration has been made in our China Indent, as the§ §Articles wrote for last Year will be quite sufficient for the use of the§ §Island§ §The amount of each Number of Canvas shall be inserted in§ §the List of Remains for the future§ §We shall be sure to inform you of the Quality of the Flour§ §received this Season, when we begin to use it§ §The Garden Seeds sent this Year by the Supert of the Gardener§ §appears to be in good Condition§ §We have made Several tryals of the Lucerne Seed, but hitherto§ §without Success, which makes Us apprehend it will not thrive on this§ §Island, however we shall do our Endeavours to	Of any service to the snow <i>Mercury</i> would be taken from the <i>Fly Cutter</i> to supply her. 8: The council would be particularly careful in collecting all the news it could about the Court's affairs in general. What information the council could gather from Captain Tryon concerning the Court's shipping had been passed to the Court by the <i>Dutton</i>. The council had not mentioned affairs on the Coast of Coromandel, since it supposed Colonel Bowen and the other gentlemen would give a more detailed account of them than the council possibly could. The council trusted that the intelligence it gave in future would prove more satisfactory. 9: The council thanked the Court for the ample supply of stores sent out, which it hoped would be sufficient to answer the demands of the current year. 10: The chest of treasure consigned to the council by the <i>Dutton</i> had been forwarded to the Court's council in China, as the Court would see from the council's letter to the gentlemen there in the consultation of the 5th of this month. 11: No alteration had been made in the China indent, as the articles written for last year would be quite sufficient for the use of the island. 12: The amount of each number of canvas would be inserted in the list of stores in future. 13: The council would be sure to inform the Court of the quality of the flour received this season when it began to use it. 14: The garden seeds sent this year by the superintendent of the gardener's affairs were in good condition. 15: The council had made several trials of the lucerne seed, but so far without success, which made it fear the crop would not thrive on the island. The council would nevertheless do its utmost to cultivate it if possible. The hay and wire grass were not adapted to the island's climate, though several parts of the island had already been greatly improved Interpretations Lucerne, now more often called alfalfa, was a deep-rooted fodder crop valued in Europe for feeding livestock, and the council's repeated failures to establish it point to the difficulty of transplanting temperate agriculture to St Helena's thin volcanic soils and exposed terrain. The effort mattered because a reliable fodder crop would have eased the island's chronic struggle to keep cattle and sheep for passing ships.

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		Cultivate it if possible,§ §but we find the Hay and Win Grass, not Adapted to this Climate§ §as several parts of the Island have already been greatly improved§	The chest of treasure forwarded from the <i>Dutton</i> to the council in China shows St Helena serving as a relay point in the Company's movement of bullion eastward. Silver was the currency that bought Chinese tea and silk, and the island's position on the route let London route specie through it to Canton, with the council acting as a trusted intermediary in the chain. The Coast of Coromandel was the southeastern seaboard of India around Madras, the centre of the Company's military and commercial operations in the south. The council's deference to Colonel Bowen and the other gentlemen there reflects a clear division of reporting duties, whereby those on the spot in India furnished the detailed accounts of eastern affairs and the island confined itself to what its own passing traffic could reliably supply.
314	304	by these Grasses, we therefore purpose, taking all opportunitys of§ §Cultivating them§ §As we flatter ourselves this Island will in time of§ §of Peace, produce fresh Provisions sufficient for the Refreshment of§ §the Shipping that may touch here, we therefore think it§ §unnecessary to desire any Cattle to be brought Us from the Cape§ §We are glad your Honors have sent out an Engineer§ §as your Works require a proper Person to put them in good repair,§ §All your Orders relative to the Fortifications &c shall be duly§ §observed and complied with, Captain Mitchell will make a Survey§ §and take Plans &c of your Works as soon as possible, his§ §observations on the same, together with our opinions, which will§ §be the most necessary to begin upon, the time they will take, with an§ §Estimate as near as possible of what they may amount to, shall be§ §duly transmitted your Honors together with a Survey of all Stores§ §and Ammunition, which we apprehend in Quality will prove§ §very deficient§ §Nothing can yt have been done towards building the§ §Church, agreeable to that Plan sent you by Mr Hutchinson which§ §you approved of, but as soon as convenient, will begin, and expect the§ §Timbers you have been so good to promise to send out, and shall Indent§ §for what further materials, expressing the exact dimensions for the§ §accomplishment of this work, as will be given into Us by our§ §Engineer§ §We have received the Lime Stone sent Us by these§ §Ships, and apprehend it will be necessary to continue sending§ §it Yearly, for the further repairs to the Fortifications: and§ §Request, that a proportionable Quantity of Coals may be§ §likewise sent to burn it, as our Engineer informs Us, it is the§ §best method, as the Island cannot afford a sufficient Quantity§ §of Wood, for that purpose§	By these grasses. The council therefore intended to take every opportunity of cultivating them. 16: The council trusted that the island would in time of peace produce fresh provisions sufficient for the refreshment of the shipping that might call there. It therefore thought it unnecessary for any cattle to be brought from the Cape. 17: The council was glad the Court had sent out an engineer as its works required a proper person to keep them in good repair. All the Court's orders relating to the fortifications would be duly observed and complied with. Captain Mitchell would make a survey and take plans of the works as soon as possible. His observations, together with the council's opinions on what was most necessary to begin upon, the time the work would take and an estimate as near as possible of what it might amount to, would be transmitted to the Court, along with a survey of all stores and ammunition, which the council feared would prove very deficient in quality. 18: Nothing had yet been done towards building the church according to the plan sent out by Mr Hutchinson, which the Court had approved. The council would begin as soon as convenient and expected the timbers the Court had promised to send out. It would indent for whatever further materials were needed, specifying the exact dimensions for the work as its engineer directed. 19: The council had received the lime stone sent out by these ships and feared it would be necessary to continue sending it yearly for the further repairs to the fortifications. It requested that a proportionate quantity of coals be sent out to burn it, since the engineer advised this was the best method, as the island could not supply enough wood for the purpose. Interpretations The council's confidence that the island could feed passing ships in peacetime, without cattle from the Cape, marks a shift in St Helena's provisioning strategy. Reliance on Cape supply left the island vulnerable in wartime when shipping was disrupted, so building up its own fresh provisions was as much a matter of security as of economy, and the qualification about peacetime shows the council understood the limits of that self-sufficiency. Burning lime required intense sustained heat to convert limestone into the quicklime used for mortar, and the engineer's preference for coal over wood exposes a basic constraint of the island. Stripped of much of its native timber, St Helena could not spare fuel for lime-burning, so the Company had to ship in both the limestone and the coal to fire it, a double import that shows how dependent even routine construction was on supply from home. Captain Mitchell's brief to survey the works, cost the repairs and report the state of stores before any

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			building began shows a deliberate ordering of the fortification effort. Rather than starting piecemeal repairs, the council required a full assessment first, so that London could weigh the expense and priorities before committing to the work, which reflects the Company's insistence on controlling major outlay from the centre.
315	305	Mr John Boland Master Mason was immediately§ §dismissed from your Service, upon the Receipt of your Letter by the§ §Salisbury, he is to proceed to England upon the Ship Pocock,§ §William Hoolbrook, and Thomas Frewin Masons, shall be§ §paid the Salary's you have been pleased to Order§ §We received the Commission Constituting, and appointing§ §John Shottowe Esq Governor, Daniel Corneille Esq Lieut Governor§ §Mr Matthew Purling, and Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of§ §Council, which we had Established in the usual manner, And§ §have accommodated Daniel Corneille Esq agreeable to your§ §Instructions§ §Mr Purling returns your Honors his most humble§ §thanks, for the Gratuity you have been pleased to confer on him, and§ §assures you he shall endeavour to merit this mark of your favour, by§ §rendering his Services in future, equally acceptable with the past§ §Mr Richard Law Factor, died on the 17 of February last,§ §as you will please to observe, by our Consultation of the 18 of the same§ §Month§ §Mr Jonathan Dowton commenced Factor, and Mr John§ §Goodwin Writer, upon the Receipt of your Letter by the Ship Salisbury,§ §they have both Executed the Covenants as such, and wrote to their§ §Friends in England, to be Security's for the due performance thereof,§ §their Covenants are transmitted you in the Packet, They beg leave§ §to return your Honors their Sincere thanks for these favours§ §We received all the Recruits you were pleased to send§ §Us, except Jonathan Brown by the Salisbury, they appear to§ §be good Men§ §William Hebert Corporal, was acquainted with your§ §Orders, relative to his Discharge, and desires leave to remain in§ §the Garrison some time longer, which we have complied with§ §Captain§	20: Mr John Boland, master mason, had been dismissed from the Court's service at once on receipt of the Court's letter by the <i>Salisbury</i>. He was to proceed to England on the ship <i>Pocock</i>. William Hoolbrooks and Thomas Sweeney, masons, would be paid the salary the Court had ordered. 21: The council had received the commission constituting and appointing John Shottowe Esquire as Governor, Daniel Corneille Esquire as Lieutenant-Governor, and Mr Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick to the council. It had established the commission in the usual manner and had accommodated Daniel Corneille Esquire according to the Court's instructions. 22: Mr Purling returned his most humble thanks to the Court for the gratuity it had been pleased to confer on him. He would endeavour to merit this mark of favour by making his future service equally acceptable with the past. 23: Mr Richard Law, factor, had died on 17 February, as the Court would see from the consultation of the 18th of the same month. 24: Mr Jonathan Dowton had been made a factor, and Mr John Goodwin a writer, on receipt of the Court's letter by the ship <i>Salisbury</i>. Both had executed the covenants as such and had written to their friends in England to be security for the due performance of them. Their covenants were transmitted to the Court in the packet. Both returned their sincere thanks for these favours. 25: The council had received all the recruits the Court sent out, except Jonathan Brown, by the <i>Salisbury</i>. They appeared to be good men. 26: William Hebert, corporal, had been informed of the Court's orders relating to his discharge, and desired leave to remain in the garrison some time longer, which the council had allowed. Interpretations The requirement that new factors and writers have friends in England stand security for their covenants reveals how the Company bound its overseas servants. A covenant was a formal bond promising honest and faithful service, and by demanding sureties at home the Company gave itself recourse against a servant's family or backers if he defaulted, embezzled or absconded far from the reach of ordinary enforcement. A factor ranked above a writer in the Company's civil service, the writer being the junior clerical grade and the factor a trading officer with greater responsibility and pay. The promotions recorded here, following the death of Richard Law on 17 February 1765, show the fixed ladder of advancement by which the Company filled vacancies and moved its young men up through the ranks. Corporal Hebert being allowed to stay on past his discharge, rather than sailing home as ordered, shows the council bending a clear instruction from London to hold on to a serving man. On a small garrison chronically short of soldiers, keeping a trained corporal willing to remain was worth more than strict compliance, and the council exercised its local discretion accordingly.
316	306	Captain Mitchell shall be paid the Salary,§ §Diet Money &c you have Ordered, and we shall not fail to§ §give you timely notice, when the Business he was	27: Captain Mitchell would be paid the salary, diet money and other allowances the Court had ordered. The council would give timely notice when the business he was set upon was completed. His bond

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		sent upon,§ §is compleated, his Bond for one hundred and fifty Pounds, shall be§ §delivered up, when ever it is convenient for him to Discharge the§ §Same, The instruments sent out for his use, shall be brought upon§ §your Honors Books§ §We are glad to find your Honors approved of our§ §proceedings, with regard to Robert Ballard, and Jhn Baptist§ §Mitchland, All such Soldiers, whose times are Expired, and do§ §not incline to Inlist, shall be sent off the Island, as you§ §are pleased to Order§ §As the last Quarters Accounts will not in the§ §usual way, be laid before Us, until the 10 instant We therefore§ §cannot transmit you a Cash Account by this Conveyance§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most obedient, and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §7 of April 1765§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthew Purling§ §Thomas Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship§ §Lord Clive dated the 7 of April 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 7 April 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated the 25 March do§ §3 do do and do dated the 2 April do§	for £150 would be delivered up whenever it was convenient for him to discharge it. The instruments sent out for his use would be brought upon the Court's books. 28: The council was glad the Court approved of its proceedings regarding Robert Ballard and Jean Baptiste Mitchland. All soldiers whose terms had expired, and who did not wish to enlist again, would be sent off the island as the Court had ordered. 29: Since the last quarter's accounts would not, in the usual way, be laid before the council until the 10th of this month, it could not transmit a cash account to the Court by this conveyance. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 7 April 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Lord Clive</i>, dated 7 April 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 7 April 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 25 March 1765 3: Duplicate general letter dated 2 April 1765 Interpretations Captain Mitchell's bond of £150 held against him until he chose to discharge it shows the Company securing performance from even a trusted specialist officer. The bond was a financial guarantee that he would carry out the artillery duties for which he had been engaged, and holding it gave the Company a lever should he fail to complete the fortification work he had undertaken. Diet money was a cash allowance paid in place of, or in addition to, provided food, reflecting a servant's rank and the cost of maintaining himself. Its separate mention alongside Captain Mitchell's salary shows how the Company itemised the several components of a senior officer's remuneration, treating subsistence as a distinct entitlement rather than folding it into a single wage.
317	307	4 Consultations from the 1 to the 5 April 1765§ §5 Duplicate do from the 11 to the 25 March do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Devonshire§ §7 Second do for do p Ship Anson§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Devonshire§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Duplicate Cash Account from the 6 to the 25 March 1765§ §11 Ship Lord Clives Account§ §12 Duplicate Devonshires do§ §13 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §14 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Lord Clive and Pocock§ §15 Captain Duickes Second Receipt for £30§ §16 Mr Jonathan Downtons Covenants§ §17 Mr John Goodwins do§ §18 Ship Salisbury's Account§ §19 do Duttons do§ §20 Muster Rolls of the Garrison§ §To the Honble &c§ §Honorable Sirs§ §We wrote to you last under date of the 7 instant, by your§ §Honors Ship Lord Clive§ §On the 15 of this Month, arrived a French Ship last from§ §Mauritius, called the Penthieve Capt Doreton, burthen about 700 Tons§ §carrys 22 Guns and 160 Men loaden with Tea, and China Ware bound§ §to France§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 4: Consultations from 1 to 6 April 1765 5: Duplicate consultations from 11 to 25 March 1765 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Devonshire 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Anson 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Devonshire 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Duplicate cash account from 6 to 25 March 1765 11: Ship Lord Clive's account 12: Duplicate ship Devonshire's account 13: Time of ships boats arrival at Bank's 14: Abstract of the charges of ships Lord Clive and Pocock 15: Captain Duicke's second receipt for £30 16: Mr Jonathan Downton's covenants 17: Mr John Goodwin's covenants 18: Ship Salisbury's account 19: Duplicate ship Dutton's account 20: Muster rolls of the garrison Items 6, 7 and 8 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Devonshire</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Anson</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Devonshire</i>. Item 11 is the ship <i>Lord Clive</i>'s account and item 12 the duplicate ship <i>Devonshire</i>'s account. Item 14 gives an abstract of the charges of the ships <i>Lord Clive</i> and <i>Pocock</i>. Item 18 is the ship <i>Salisbury</i>'s account and item 19 the duplicate ship <i>Dutton</i>'s account. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs.

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			1: The council had last written to the Court on the 7th of this month by the ship <i>Lord Clive</i>. 2: A French ship last from Mauritius called the <i>Penthièvre</i> had arrived on the 15th of this month. Captain Downton commanded her, and she was of about 700 tons burthen, carried 22 guns and 160 men. She was loaded with tea and china ware and bound for France.
318	308	Mr David Alcock who takes his passage for England§ §on board the Pocock Capt Hooke, has served your Honor his Contracted§ §Time as a Writer on this Island, with that diligence and§ §application which merited our approbation of his Conduct, during§ §his continuance in that Station, Mr John Bland likewise, proceeds§ §to England upon this Ship§ §We have given Capt Hooke an Order to receive on board§ §the Pocock, Richard Wright, Joseph Golder, Anthony Rice, and§ §William Cawston four Discharged Soldiers, to Compleat Her§ §Company, and have permitted Capt Hooke to receive on board his§ §Ship Richard Whaley, and John Frewin, two other discharged Men,§ §they having signed the instrument not to demand any Wages for§ §their passage home, which goes Enclosed§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange viz§ §One set to Captain David Rice for £300 payable to Peter Gore§ §Esqr, One set to Mr Wm Barton for £10 payable to Thomas Clift§ §Esqr dated the 8 instant One set to Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick for§ §£360 Payable to Mr Allen Auld, and one set to Mr David Alcock for§ §£100 payable to himself Or order, dated the 15 Instant, all drawn§ §at 90 Day sight§ §Yesterday arrived your Honors Ship Latham, and a§ §Swede ship from China called the Stockholm Slot Capt Ollers§ §burthen 900 Tons, carries 30 Guns, and 160 men loaden with Tea§ §and China Ware, bound to Gottenburg Capt Moffatt acquaints§ §Us he left Canton the 20 January, and had your Ship Princess§ §Augusta arrived there about a Week before§ §The Passengers on board the Latham are Messrs Dalrimple§ §and Bricklington, and Mr Capper on the Pocock§ §Sarah Douglass a Woman left here out of the Ship§ §Salisbury, who her second Mate Mr Compton promised Us he would send§ §Home, without any further trouble, but we find her neaced no§ §inversion for doing it, We therefore are under the necessity to give Capt§ §Hooke§	3: Mr David Alcock, who was taking his passage for England aboard the <i>Pocock</i>, had served his contracted time as a writer on the island. His diligence and application merited the council's approval of his conduct during his time in that post. Mr John Boland was likewise proceeding to England on this ship. 4: The council had given Captain Hooke an order to receive aboard the <i>Pocock</i> four discharged soldiers, namely Richard Wright, Joseph Golder, Anthony Rice and William Pawson, to complete her company. It had also permitted Captain Hooke to receive aboard his ship two other discharged men, Richard Wheeler and John Green, they having signed the instrument not to demand any wages for their passage home, which went enclosed. 5: The council had granted the following bills of exchange. One set went to Captain David Rice for £300, payable to Peter Gore Esquire. One set went to Mr William Barton for £10, payable to Thomas Cliff Esquire, dated the 5th of this month. One set went to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick for £360, payable to Mr Allen Auld. One set went to Mr David Alcock for £100, payable to himself or order, dated the 15th of this month. All were drawn at 90 days sight. 6: The ship <i>Latham</i> had arrived yesterday, together with a Swedish ship from China called the <i>Stockholm</i>. Captain Ollers commanded her, and she was of about 900 tons burthen, carried 30 guns and 160 men, loaded with tea and china ware and bound for Gothenburg. Captain Moffatt reported that he left Canton on 20 January, and that the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i> had arrived there about a week before. 7: The passengers aboard the <i>Latham</i> were Messrs Dalrymple and Bricklingdon, and Mr Capper aboard the <i>Pocock</i>. 8: Sarah Douglass, a woman left on the island out of the ship <i>Salisbury</i>, had been recommended to the council by Mr Compton, who promised she would be sent home without any further trouble. The council found her means insufficient for the passage and was therefore under the necessity of giving Interpretations The discharged soldiers signing an instrument to demand no wages for their passage home repeats a bargain the council struck elsewhere, whereby free carriage to England was granted only against a written waiver of pay for the voyage. Filling out a ship's company with such men served the Company twice over, moving unwanted soldiers off the island while giving the vessel extra hands at no cost in wages. Sarah Douglass being left on the island without the means to pay her way home exposed the council to an obligation it had not sought. A person stranded on St Helena became a charge on the Company, and Mr Compton's promise that she would be sent home shifted the practical burden onto the council, which found itself forced to arrange and perhaps fund a passage it could not easily refuse.
319	309	Hooke an Order to receive her on board the Pocock, I paid him§ §£5 for her Passage his receipt for the same goes Enclosed the§ §£5 We apprehend will be repaid your Honors by the	Captain Hooke an order to receive Sarah Douglass aboard the <i>Pocock</i>. The council paid him £5 for her passage and enclosed his receipt for the same. The council trusted it would be repaid by the owners of the ship <i>Salisbury</i>.

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		Owners of the§ §Ship Salisbury§ §We are§ §Honbler Sirs§ §Your most Obedient & humbly Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §21 April 1765§ §Danl Corneille§ §M Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p§ §Ship Pocock dated the 21 April 1765 viz§ §No 1 Gov and Councils General Letter dated the 21 April 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated the 7 do do§ §3 Consultations from 8 to the 15 do do§ §4 Duplicate do from 1 to the 5 do do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Lord Clive§ §6 Second do do p Ship Devonshire§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken the 21 April 1765§ §8 do of 6 discharged Soldiers§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Lord Clive§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Cash Account from the 26 to 31 March 1765§ §12 do do from the 1 to the 21 do do§	The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 21 April 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Pocock</i>, dated 21 April 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 21 April 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 7 April 1765 3: Consultations from 8 to 15 April 1765 4: Duplicate consultations from 1 to 6 April 1765 5: First receipt for the packet by the ship Lord Clive 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Devonshire 7: List of officers and servants taken 21 April 1765 8: List of six discharged soldiers 9: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Lord Clive 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Cash account from 26 to 31 March 1765 12: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 21 March 1765 Items 5, 6 and 9 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Lord Clive</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Devonshire</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Lord Clive</i>.
320	310	13 Ship Pococks Account§ §14 Duplicate Lord Clives Do§ §15 Do Salisburys Do§ §16 Do Duttons Do§ §17 Instrument in Writing from 2 Dischd Soldiers§ §18 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Latham§ §19 Captn Hooke's Receipt for £5§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We did ourselves the pleasure to address your Honors under§ §date of the 21 of last Month by the Pocock§ §On the 24 of that Month arrived the Lord Mansfield§ §from Bombay, the 23 the British, the 29, the Norfolk, and§ §Yesterday the Northumberland, from China Captain Macket§ §acquaints us he left Bombay the 7 January & your Honors§ §Ship Asia there, Capt Pigou informs us, he met with the§ §Florendon the 17 April last in the Latitude of 34 South, about§ §20 Leagues to the Westward of the Cape of Good Hope, all well§ §on board Capt Sandys also informs Us he met with the Kent, &§ §Prince of Wales the 10 March in the Latitude of 20 42 South§ §& 74 27 East of London, Lord Clive Mr Sonner & the other§ §Gentlemen were all well, we are likewise Told by Capt Mitford§ §that he spoke with your Ship Pitt the 23 February in the§ §Straights of Sunda bound to Bencoolen§ §Thomas Riley Mason having met with the§ §Misfortune to hurt himself on board the Salisbury which§ §has brought on a Rupture and as it appears by the Surgeons§ §certificate§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 13: Ship Pocock's account 14: Duplicate ship Lord Clive's account 15: Duplicate ship Salisbury's account 16: Duplicate ship Dutton's account 17: Instrument in writing from two discharged soldiers 18: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Latham 19: Captain Hooke's receipt for £5 Item 13 is the ship <i>Pocock</i>'s account, item 14 the duplicate ship <i>Lord Clive</i>'s account, item 15 the duplicate ship <i>Salisbury</i>'s account and item 16 the duplicate ship <i>Dutton</i>'s account. Item 18 gives an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Latham</i>. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on the 21st of last month by the <i>Pocock</i>. 2: The <i>Lord Mansfield</i> had arrived from Bombay on the 24th of that month, the <i>British</i> on the 23rd, the <i>Norfolk</i> on the 29th and the <i>Northumberland</i> from China yesterday. Captain Mackett reported that he left Bombay on 7 January, with the ship <i>Asia</i> still there. Captain Pigou reported that he met the <i>Clarendon</i> on 14 April in latitude 34 south, about 20 leagues to the westward of the Cape of Good Hope, all well on board. Captain Sandys reported that he met the <i>Kent</i> and <i>Prince of Wales</i> on 10 March in latitude 20 degrees 42 minutes south and longitude 4 degrees 27 minutes east of London, and that Mr Sumner and the other gentlemen aboard the <i>Lord Clive</i> were all well. Captain Mitford reported that he spoke with the ship <i>Pitt</i> on 23 February in the Straits of Sunda, bound for Bencoolen. 3: Thomas Riley, mason, had met with the misfortune of hurting himself aboard the <i>Salisbury</i>, which had brought on a rupture. As it appeared by the surgeon's Interpretations The dense record of ship meetings at precise latitudes and longitudes shows how St Helena functioned as a collection point for maritime intelligence gathered across the whole southern passage. Each arriving captain reported where and when he had spoken other vessels, and the council pieced these sightings together into a running

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			account of the Company's scattered fleet, giving London a picture of ship movements no single observer could assemble. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper-trading settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, an isolated and unhealthy outpost that marked the eastern edge of its commercial reach. The mention of a ship bound there confirms St Helena's place on the sea road linking the far eastern factories to Europe, since even vessels serving the remotest stations passed within report of the island.
321	311	Certificate which we transmit in the Packet, that he cannot be of§ §any Service to your Honors, We have put him on board the Snow§ §Mercury, and request you well be pleased to send Us another§ §Mason in his Stead the next Season, We likewise put on board the§ §the Mercury, James Miller Seamen left here out of the Ship§ §Salisbury, also five Discharged Soldiers, a List of them goes§ §herewith§ §Your Honors will please to send us Next year a Person§ §that understands Gardening, because the want of such a Man at§ §the Plantation House renders the Garden there, but of small Utility§ §The Captains and Officers of the Snow Mercury and Fly§ §Cutter, have during the time, they have been under our Command§ §complied punctually with all Our Orders and done their duty in§ §every respect; We in justice to those Gentlemen, think it proper to§ §mention it to your Honors: as likewise Mr Thomas Hamilton§ §Surgeon, who at our Request staid out of the Egmont, when the§ §Snow was in much want of a Surgeon in which Station he§ §behaved himself with great diligence, and care§ §We transmit you by this conveyance a Box containing§ §the Log Book of the Snow Mercury, made up to the 1 October 1763§ §together with the Journals of Capt Harrold, and Fea,§ §and all the other papers delivered to Us relating to the Snow§ §Mercury, and Fly Cutter§ §It appearing to Us upon Examining the Accounts of the§ §Fly Cutters Company, that those who came from England in§ §that Vessel, have been charged four Months Absence Pay, when§ §their Agents there, have received only one Month, this mistake§ §arose from a doubt we had, whether the Agents of the Fly§ §Cutters Company, might not have received one Month in Six§ §Absence Pay, as well as the Snow Mercurys Company§ §In this Packet we have sent your Honors a Book§ §containing§	Certificate, which the council transmitted in the packet, Thomas Riley could be of no service to the Court. The council had put him aboard the snow <i>Mercury</i> and requested another mason be sent out in his place the next season. James Miller, seaman, left out of the ship <i>Salisbury</i>, together with five discharged soldiers, had also been put aboard the <i>Mercury</i>. A list of them went enclosed. 4: The council asked the Court to send out next year a person who understood gardening, since the want of such a man at the Plantation House rendered the garden there of small use. 5: The captains and officers of the snow <i>Mercury</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i> had, during their time under the council's command, complied punctually with all its orders and done their duty in every respect. The council thought it fair to mention this to the Court, and likewise Mr Thomas Hamilton, surgeon, who at the council's request stayed out of the <i>Egmont</i> when the snow was in much want of a surgeon, in which post he behaved himself with great diligence and care. 6: The council transmitted by this conveyance a box containing the log book of the snow <i>Mercury</i>, made up to 1 October 1763, together with the journals of Captains Hurdle and Freak, and all the other papers delivered to the council relating to the snow <i>Mercury</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i>. 7: On examining the accounts of the <i>Fly Cutter</i>'s company, it appeared to the council that those who came from England in that vessel had been charged four months absence pay, when their agents at home had received only one month. This mistake arose from a doubt the council had whether the agents of the <i>Fly Cutter</i>'s company might not have received one month in six absence pay, as well as the snow <i>Mercury</i>'s company. 8: In this packet the council had sent the Court a book containing Interpretations Absence pay was a portion of a seaman's or soldier's wages paid to an agent at home, often a wife or nominated person, while the man served abroad, and the confusion recorded here turned on how many months of such pay had been drawn against each man. The council's care to correct the discrepancy shows how the Company reconciled wages disbursed in two places at once, since an error in the ratio charged at St Helena against what agents collected in England could quietly cost either the men or the Company. A surgeon persuaded to leave the <i>Egmont</i> and remain with the small vessel in his own place, rather than sailing on as he might have done, filled a gap the council could not otherwise cover. The choice to keep him back reflects how scarce trained medical men were on the island's minor craft, so that retaining a willing surgeon outweighed letting him continue his intended voyage. The log book and captains journals sent home in a sealed box formed the documentary record by which the Company audited a vessel's service and accounted for the murder of Captain Hurdle. Preserving and forwarding these papers let the

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			directors reconstruct the snow's voyages and losses in detail, which mattered where a command had passed through violent death and the vessel was now being broken up.
322	312	containing the Accounts of the Snow Mercury and Fly Cutters§ §Company§ §The Passengers on board these Ships are as follow viz§ §Mr Whitehill and Genl & Messrs Clinckart Dean and Ringrose§ §on the Lord Mansfield Mr Pigou and Davis and Mr Risley§ §on the British King Capt Conmar, and Mr Brown on the§ §Northumberland§ §By this Conveyance we return your Honors the§ §remaining Arms &c intended for the Madagascar Trade§ §being now useless, as likewise Some Old Musket and Carbine§ §Barrels and Bayonets that have been here for many§ §years which we desire may be repaired and returned to Us the§ §next Year the Particulars of which are Specified by the§ §return of the Master of Arms in a separate Paper in the§ §Packet§ §The Fly Cutter we think may be of some Service§ §to the Island, therefore purpose cutting her down for a Long§ §Boat§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §1 May 1765§ §Danl Corneille§ §Matthew Pullett§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	Containing the accounts of the snow <i>Mercury</i> and <i>Fly Cutter's</i> companies. 9: The passengers aboard these ships were as follows. Mr Whitehill and Ensign Griffiths, Messrs Clinckart, Dean and Ringrose aboard the <i>Lord Mansfield</i>. Messrs Pigou and Davis and Mr Ridley aboard the <i>British King</i>. Captain Conway aboard the <i>British King</i>, and Mr Brown aboard the <i>Northumberland</i>. 10: By this conveyance the council returned to the Court the remaining arms intended for the Madagascar trade, now useless, together with some old musket and carbine barrels and bayonets that had lain on the island for many years. The council asked that these be repaired and returned the next season. The particulars were specified in the return of the master of arms as a separate paper in the packet. 11: The council thought the <i>Fly Cutter</i> might be of some service to the island and therefore intended to cut her down for a longboat. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 1 May 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The arms returned as useless had been intended for the Madagascar trade, which was chiefly the purchase of slaves and provisions from the island's rulers, often paid for in muskets, powder and other manufactured goods. The council sending these weapons back rather than holding them shows that the traffic they were meant to supply had lapsed or moved elsewhere, leaving the guns idle on St Helena with no market to absorb them. The decision to cut down the <i>Fly Cutter</i> into a longboat rather than simply break her up marks a shift from the earlier plan. The council had first meant to dismantle the vessel entirely, yet on reflection judged her hull worth converting to a working boat the island needed, salvaging value from a craft it had been ordered to retire instead of scrapping her outright.
323	313	List of the Honble Compy Packet from St Helena p Snow§ §Mercury dated the 2 May 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated the 2 May 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated the 21 April do§ §3 Consultations from the 22 to the 29 do do§ §4 Duplicate do from the 8 to the 15 do do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Pocock§ §6 Second do for do p Ship Lord Clive§ §7 List of five Discharged Soldiers§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Pocock§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from the 22 to the 30 April 1765§ §11 Duplicate do from the 26 to the 31 March do§ §12 do do from the 1 to the 21 April do§ §13 Ship Pococks Account§ §14 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships British King and Norfolk§ §15 Time of the Arrival of Ships Boats at Banks's§ §16 Surgeon Certificate of Thomas Ryby Mason§ §17 Box Containing Books Papers &c relating to the Snow§ §Mercury and Fly Cutter§ §18 Book Containing the Accounts of the Snow Mercury and§ §Fly Cutters Companys§	This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the snow <i>Mercury</i>, dated 2 May 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 May 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 21 April 1765 3: Consultations from 22 to 29 April 1765 4: Duplicate consultations from 8 to 15 April 1765 5: First receipt for the packet by the ship Pocock 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Lord Clive 7: List of five discharged soldiers 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Pocock 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Cash account from 22 to 30 April 1765 11: Duplicate cash account from 26 to 31 March 1765 12: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 21 April 1765 13: Ship Pocock's account 14: Abstract of the charges of ships British King and Norfolk 15: Time of the arrival of ships boats at Bank's 16: Surgeon's certificate of Thomas Riley, mason 17: Box containing books, papers and other items relating to the snow Mercury and Fly Cutter 18: Book containing the accounts of the snow Mercury and Fly Cutter's companies

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		§19 Account of Old Arms &c§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Address waited on your Honors the§ §2 instant by your Snow Mercury§	19: Account of old anna and other items Items 5, 6 and 8 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Pocock</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Lord Clive</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Pocock</i>. Item 13 is the ship <i>Pocock</i>'s account. Item 14 gives an abstract of the charges of the ships <i>British King</i> and <i>Norfolk</i>. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on the 2nd of this month by the snow <i>Mercury</i>.
324	314	Captain Peter Sea applied to Us to pay £298 into§ §your Cash which we have received and given him Bills§ §drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to himself or§ §Order 60 Days after sight dated this day§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Lord§ §Mansfield which sails in Company with the Latham§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §6 May 1765§ §Matthew Purling§ §Thomas Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Lord Mansfield date the 6 May 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Council General Letter dated the 6 May 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated the 2 do do§ §3 Consultation of the 6 do do§ §4 Duplicate do from the 22 to the 29 April do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Snow Mercury§ §6 Second do for the do p Ship Pocock§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken 6 May 1765§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet p Snow Mercury§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from 1 to the 6 May 1765§	This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the snow <i>Mercury</i>, dated 2 May 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 May 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 21 April 1765 3: Consultations from 22 to 29 April 1765 4: Duplicate consultations from 8 to 15 April 1765 5: First receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Pocock</i> 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Lord Clive</i> 7: List of five discharged soldiers 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Pocock</i> 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Cash account from 22 to 30 April 1765 11: Duplicate cash account from 26 to 31 March 1765 12: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 21 April 1765 13: Ship <i>Pocock</i>'s account 14: Abstract of the charges of ships <i>British King</i> and <i>Norfolk</i> 15: Time of the arrival of ships boats at Bank's 16: Surgeon's certificate of Thomas Riley, mason 17: Box containing books, papers and other items relating to the snow <i>Mercury</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i> 18: Book containing the accounts of the snow <i>Mercury</i> and <i>Fly Cutter</i>'s companies 19: Account of old anna and other items Items 5, 6 and 8 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Pocock</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Lord Clive</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Pocock</i>. Item 13 is the ship <i>Pocock</i>'s account. Item 14 gives an abstract of the charges of the ships <i>British King</i> and <i>Norfolk</i>. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on the 2nd of this month by the snow <i>Mercury</i>.
325	315	11 Duplicate Cash Account from 22 to the 30 April 1765§ §12 Ship Lord Mansfields Account§ §13 do Lathams do§ §14 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Northumberland§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We wrote to you last by the Lord Mansfield, which§ §sailed from hence the 7 instant in company with your§ §Honors Ship Latham§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange§ §viz One set to Captain Peter Pigou for £605 1 6§ §payable to himself or order, and one set to Mr John James§ §for £70 Payable to himself or order, both drawn at 90§ §days Sight and dated 11 instant§ §Your Honors will receive this Letter by your Ship§ §British King, which sails in Company with the Norfolk§ §and Northumberland§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humbly§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 11: Duplicate cash account from 22 to 30 April 1765 12: Ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i>'s account 13: Duplicate ship <i>Latham</i>'s account 14: Abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Northumberland</i> Item 12 is the ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i>'s account and item 13 the duplicate ship <i>Latham</i>'s account. Item 14 gives an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Northumberland</i>. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court by the <i>Lord Mansfield</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 7th of this month in company with the ship <i>Latham</i>. 2: The council had granted the following bills of exchange. One set went to Captain Peter Pigou for £605 1s 6d, payable to himself or order. One set went to Mr John James for £70, payable to himself or order. Both were drawn at 90 days sight and dated the 11th of this month. 3: This letter came to the Court by the ship <i>British King</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Norfolk</i> and <i>Northumberland</i>.

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		§Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §13 May 1765§ §Matthew Purling§ §Thomas Kirkpatrick§	The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 12 May 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick.
326	316	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship British King dated the 13 May 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter, dated 13 May 1765§ §2 Do and Do dated 12 do do§ §relating to Law matters§ §3 Duplicate Governor and Councils General Letter dated 6 May do§ §4 Consultations of the 11 May 1765§ §5 Duplicate do of the 6 do do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Lord Mansfield§ §7 Second do for the do p Snow Mercury§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Lord Mansfield§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from the 7 to the 13 May 1765§ §11 Duplicate do from the 1 to the 6 do do§ §12 Ship British Kings Account§ §13 Do Norfolks do§ §14 Do Northumberlands do§ §15 Duplicate Ship Lord Mansfield Account§ §16 Do do Lathams do§ §17 Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held§ §on the 17 April 1765§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Address waited on your Honors by the Ship§ §British§	This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>British King</i>, dated 12 May 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 12 May 1765 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 12 May 1765 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 6 May 1765 4: Consultations of 11 May 1765 5: Duplicate consultations of 6 May 1765 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Lord Mansfield 7: Second receipt for the packet by the snow Mercury 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Lord Mansfield 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Cash account from 7 to 12 May 1765 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 6 May 1765 12: Ship British King's account 13: Duplicate ship Norfolk's account 14: Duplicate ship Northumberland's account 15: Duplicate ship Lord Mansfield's account 16: Duplicate ship Latham's account 17: Proceedings of a general quarterly session held 17 April 1765 Items 6, 7 and 8 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i>, the second receipt by the snow <i>Mercury</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i>. Item 12 is the ship <i>British King</i>'s account, item 13 the duplicate ship <i>Norfolk</i>'s account and item 14 the duplicate ship <i>Northumberland</i>'s account. Item 15 is the duplicate ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i>'s account and item 16 the duplicate ship <i>Latham</i>'s account. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council's last letter had gone to the Court by the ship <i>British</i>
327	317	British King which sailed from hence the 16 instant in company§ §with your Ships Norfolk and Northumberland§ §On the 18 of this Month arrived His Majestys Ships§ §Medway and York, We are informed the Caernarvon was to leave§ §Madras for Europe in March We are likewise told your Ships§ §Duke of Richmond Duke of Gloucester, and Earl of Middlesex were at§ §Batavia in January last having lost their passages, and that the§ §Earl of Elgin was expected there daily, we also hear that the Bute had§ §reached Bengal and will be dispatched Home this Season§ §The 26 instant arrived your Honors Ship Royal George§ §from the Coast of Angola, who brought 156 Slaves to the Island,§ §Agreeable to your Honors directions, we shall forward 130 of them to§ §the West Coast of Sumatra, and keep the remainder for the use of§ §this Place§ §The Captain, Chief Mate, and Surgeon, shall be paid the§	<i>British King</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 16th of this month in company with the ships <i>Norfolk</i> and <i>Northumberland</i>. 2: His Majesty's ships <i>Medway</i> and <i>York</i> had arrived on the 18th of this month. The council was informed that the <i>Caernarvon</i> was to leave Madras for Europe in March. It was also told that the ships <i>Duke of Richmond</i>, <i>Duke of Gloucester</i> and <i>Earl of Middlesex</i> had been at Batavia in January, having lost their passage, and that the <i>Earl of Elgin</i> was expected there daily. The council also heard that the <i>Pitt</i> had reached Bengal and would be despatched home this season. 3: The ship <i>Royal George</i> had arrived from the Coast of Angola on the 26th of this month. She brought 156 slaves to the island. Following the Court's directions, the council would forward 130 of them to the West Coast of Sumatra and keep the remainder for the use of the island. 4: The captain, chief mate and surgeon would be paid the sums the Court had ordered. The council would transmit by two conveyances the original diary, account and other papers, which it would demand of Captain Shottowe, and would likewise forward the papers to the president and council of Fort Marlborough as the Court directed.

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		§Sums you have ordered, and we shall not fail to transmit you by two§ §conveyances the Original Diary Accounts &c which we shall demand§ §of Capt Shottowe, and will likewise forward the Papers &c to§ §the President & Council of Fort Marlborough, as you are pleased§ §to direct§ §The Passengers on the Ships of War are Henry Van Sittart§ §Esqr and Messrs Hastings Bowman West Aldrew Nd & Wm§ §Hancock & several Officers belonging to his Majestys service§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange Viz One§ §set to Mr Edward Young for £445 payable to himself, One set to§ §Capt Francis Dehont for £52 payable to himself, both dated the 20§ §instant, one set to Capt Henry Wrassell for £79 payable to Mr James§ §Bonwick§	5: The passengers aboard the ships of war were Henry Vansittart Esquire and Messrs Hastings, Bowman, Hurst, Aldercron and Mrs Hancock, together with several officers belonging to His Majesty's service. 6: The council had granted the following bills of exchange. One set went to Mr Edward Young for £465, payable to himself. One set went to Captain Francis Dupont for £52, payable to himself, both dated the 20th of this month. One set went to Captain Henry Wrassell for £73, payable to Mr James Bonwick. Interpretations The 156 slaves brought from Angola aboard the <i>Royal George</i>, split between 130 forwarded to Sumatra and the rest kept on the island, show St Helena serving as a transit point in the Company's own trade in human beings. The Company shipped slaves from West Africa to labour on its distant eastern settlements, and the island both took its own allotment and passed the larger share onward to Bencoolen and the West Coast factories, which relied on imported labour they could not raise locally. Henry Vansittart travelling home aboard a warship marks the passage of a major Company figure, since he had lately been governor of Bengal during the turbulent years of the Company's rise to territorial power there. His presence among the passengers, alongside Warren Hastings whose own name appears in the list, shows how St Helena lay on the route by which the Company's most senior servants returned from India to answer for their conduct at home. The West Coast of Sumatra centred on Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen, the Company's pepper settlement, which depended on imported slaves and provisions because it could neither feed nor labour itself adequately. The council's forwarding of both slaves and papers there confirms St Helena's role as the waystation through which the isolated Sumatran factories were supplied and governed from a distance.
328	318	Bonwick, One set to Mr Roger Elos for £109 4 payable to himself,§ §One set to John Bladen Tenber Esq for £151 payable to himself§ §dated the 27 instant, all drawn at 90 Days sight§ §We are§ §St Helena§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humbly Servants§ §27 May 1765§ §(signed)§ §P S just now arrived the Ship§ §John Shottowe§ §Worcesters Boat the Officer that§ §Daniel Corneille§ §came on shore acquaints Us they§ §Matt Purling§ §parted Company with the Lord§ §Thomas Kirkpatrick§ §Holland the 17 March last§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p His§ §Majestys Ship Medway dated the 27 May 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 27 May 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated 13 do do§ §3 do do and do dated 12 do do§ §relating to Law matters§ §4 Consultations from the 13 to the 27 May 1765§ §5 Duplicate do of the 11 do do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship British King§ §7 Second do for do p Ship Lord Mansfield§	Bonwick. One set went to Mr Roger Elee for £109 4s 0d, payable to himself. One set went to John Bladen Taylor Esquire for £50 1s 0d, payable to himself, dated the 27th of this month. All were drawn at 90 days sight. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 31 May 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. After closing the letter, the <i>Worcester's</i> boat had just arrived. The officer who came ashore reported that she parted company with the <i>Lord Holland</i> on 17 March. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by His Majesty's ship <i>Medway</i>, dated 31 May 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 31 May 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 12 May 1765 3: Duplicate general letter dated 12 May 1765 relating to law matters 4: Consultations from 13 to 27 May 1765 5: Duplicate consultations of 11 May 1765 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship <i>British King</i> 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i> 8: List of officers and servants taken 18 May 1765 9: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>British King</i> Items 6, 7 and 9 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>British King</i>.

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		§8 List of Officers and Servants taken 27 May 1765§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship British King§	the second receipt by the ship <i>Lord Mansfield</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>British King</i>.
329	319	10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Cash Account from 13 to the 31 May 1765§ §12 Duplicate do from 7 to the 13 do do§ §13 do Ship British Kings Account§ §14 do do Norfolks do§ §15 do do Northumberlands do§ §16 do Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held on the 17 April§ §1765§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Under date of the 31 of last Month by His Majestys Ship§ §Midway we did ourselves the pleasure of writing to you and by a Post§ §script in that Letter, advised you of the arrival of your Ship Worcesters§ §Boat and that the Officer acquainted Us they parted Company with§ §the Lord Holland, she arrived here the 1 instant§ §By this Conveyance we transmit your Honors the List of§ §Remains &c together with our Indents wanted for the service of the§ §Year 1766, As the Church is not yet begun, we have deferred sending§ §Home the Dimensions of the other Articles which will be wanting, as we§ §look upon the Fortifications to be our first Object, will therefore upon our§ §receiving the Proof &c carefully Lodge them so that they receive no§ §damage until we have an opportunity of setting about it§ §We have this Year Indented for a greater Number of Shirts§ §Stockings and Shoes than usual, as your Honors will find by the§ §Indent, as we think, it absolutely necessary for the appearance of§ §your§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Cash account from 13 to 31 May 1765 12: Duplicate cash account from 7 to 12 May 1765 13: Duplicate ship British King's account 14: Duplicate ship Norfolk's account 15: Duplicate ship Northumberland's account 16: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly session held 17 April 1765 Item 13 is the duplicate ship <i>British King's</i> account, item 14 the duplicate ship <i>Norfolk's</i> account and item 15 the duplicate ship <i>Northumberland's</i> account. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on the 31st of last month by His Majesty's ship <i>Medway</i>. In a postscript to that letter it advised the Court of the arrival of the <i>Worcester's</i> boat, and that the officer reported she parted company with the <i>Lord Holland</i> on the 17th of this month. 2: By this conveyance the council transmitted its list of stores, together with the indents needed for the service of the year 1766. Since the church was not yet begun, the council had deferred sending home the dimensions of the other articles that would be wanting. It looked upon the fortifications as its first object, and on receiving the plan would carefully lodge it so that it received no damage until there was an opportunity of setting about it. 3: The council had this year indented for a greater number of shirts, stockings and shoes than usual, as the Court would find by the indent, since it thought this absolutely necessary for the appearance of Interpretations An indent was a formal requisition listing the goods and supplies the island needed from England for the coming year, sent home so the Company could load them aboard the next season's ships. The system meant St Helena had to anticipate its wants many months ahead, since anything omitted from the indent could not be had until a further year had passed, which explains the council's care to justify each increase over the usual quantities. The council's decision to defer ordering the church materials until the fortifications were settled shows a clear ordering of priorities under limited means. Both projects needed imported timber and materials, yet the council judged the island's defences the more pressing claim on the Company's shipping and money, and held back the church requisition rather than pressing both at once.
330	320	your Military, and the difficulty that must attend the want of§ §such things as they cannot be so good and reasonable for the Men§ §by any other means, at the same time we beg leave to represent to§ §your Honors an unconformity in the Cloathing of the Artillery§ §Company, having sent out this Year the Gunners Coats Laced on§ §the Sleeve, and the Bombadiers Plain, tho' the latter is the§ §inferior Warrant officer, we therefore request, if you think proper§ §in the next Years Cloathing to put an edging of Silver round the§ §Bombardiers Coats with Laced Hatts, and leave the Gunners as§ §before§ §We beg leave to represent to your Honors that as§ §your Ordnance and Military Stores are very	The council's military, and the difficulty attending the want of such things, since they could not be had so good and reasonable for the men by any other means. The council also drew the Court's attention to an inconsistency in the clothing of the artillery company. The gunners coats had been sent out this year laced on the sleeve, and the bombardiers plain, though the bombardier was the inferior warrant officer. The council therefore requested that, if the Court thought proper, the next year's clothing should put an edging of silver round the bombardiers coats with laced hats, and leave the gunners as before. 4: The council drew the Court's attention to the fact that its ordnance and military stores were very considerable and dispersed at the different fortifications of the island. Since no proper officer had so far been appointed to superintend that department, the council submitted to the Court the necessity of such an officer with whatever appointments the Court thought proper.

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		considerable, and§ §dispersed at the different Fortifications of this Island, and§ §that hitherto no proper Officer have been appointed to§ §Superintend in that department, we therefore submit to your§ §Honors consideration the necessity of such an Officer with§ §such appointments as you think proper§ §As the proper Inclosures of Land contribute much§ §to the Advantage and conveniency of all Pasture Grounds, the§ §Lieut Governor begs that the Honble Court of Directors, may§ §send out by the next Store Ships the Black Thorn, as he§ §thinks it will suit both this Climate and Soil, that he may§ §make such Division in the Companys Grounds, as seems§ §necessary to him, and will also serve for proper Fuel if it§ §takes as expected§ §Inclosed is a Letter of Hanckes Sent who staid§ §behind out of a French Ship called the Penthieve, and§ §sent§	5: Since the proper enclosure of land contributed much to the advantage and convenience of all pasture grounds, the Lieutenant-Governor asked that the Court send out by the next store ships the black thorn, as he thought it would suit both the island's climate and soil. This would let him make such division in the Company's grounds as seemed necessary to him, and would also serve for fuel if it took as expected. 6: Enclosed in a letter of Blanche's, sent who stayed behind out of a French ship called the <i>Penthievre</i>, and Interpretations The dispute over lace on the gunners and bombardiers coats reveals how carefully military rank was marked by dress in this period. A bombardier ranked below a gunner, yet the coats had reversed the distinction by lacing the senior man's sleeve and leaving the junior's plain, and the council's request to correct it shows that uniform ornament was understood as a visible statement of precedence that ought to match the actual hierarchy. The Lieutenant-Governor's request for blackthorn to enclose the Company's pasture grounds points to a practical scheme for improving the island's husbandry. Blackthorn grows into a dense thorny hedge that keeps stock within bounds without costly fencing, and his hope that it would also yield fuel reflects the island's chronic shortage of wood, so a single planting might serve both to divide the land and to ease the want of firewood. The absence of any officer to superintend the scattered ordnance and military stores exposed a gap in the island's defensive organisation. Stores dispersed across several fortifications with no one accountable for them invited waste, decay and loss, and the council's request for a dedicated officer shows it pressing London to fund a post that ordinary garrison duty had left uncovered.
331	321	sent being along with Capt Hooke Commander of the Pocock, he§ §offered himself to Inlist upon this Island, but his story being§ §rather suspicious, thought not proper to accept of him, and since§ §found out from one of the Kings Officers returning here, who§ §had been at Manilla, that said Hanckes Sent was a Deserter§ §from his Majestys Artillery at Manilla, and a very dangerous§ §fellow, by the Inclosed Letter which he wrote to his Brother§ §Soldiers, to induce them to be Traitors to their King and Country,§ §of which the Secretary Governor has took an exact Copy and prevented§ §it to Us, to send Home to prevent his returning to any of the§ §Honorable Companys Settlements§ §7 The Governor requested Capt Shottowe to visit the§ §Fly Cutter and give him his opinion of the properest method of§ §altering her, to make her useful to the Island, who reported that§ §cutting her down for a Long Boat, would be attended with great§ §expence, and her construction being so sharp below, she would§ §not have answered the purpose of a long Boat, therefore recommended§ §her being altered into a Scooner, by which the dimensions of her§ §Sails are so much reduced that She will not require	Sent along with Captain Hooke, commander of the <i>Pocock</i>, the man Blanche offered himself to enlist on the island. His story being rather suspicious, the council thought it not proper to accept of him. It afterwards found out from one of the King's officers returning home, who had been at Manila, that Blanche was a deserter from His Majesty's artillery at Manila and a very dangerous fellow. This appeared from the enclosed letter he wrote to his brother soldiers, urging them to be traitors to their king and country. The Lieutenant-Governor had taken an exact copy of it and prevented it reaching the men, and now sent it home to prevent Blanche returning to any of the Company's settlements. 7: The Governor asked Captain Shottowe to view the <i>Fly Cutter</i> and give his opinion of the best method of altering her to make her useful to the island. Captain Shottowe held that cutting her down for a longboat would be very costly, and her construction being so sharp below, she would not answer the purpose of a longboat. He therefore recommended altering her into a schooner, by which the dimensions of her sails would be so much reduced that she would need no more than six hands to work her anywhere about the island or for the use of the shipping. Should she be wanted to go further, she would be equally fit and safe as when rigged as a cutter. If the Court approved, she might at any time be sent to Cabinda for forty or fifty slaves, provided the island had a proper person capable of navigating her. Captain Shottowe would explain the ease of the navigation between the island and Cabinda, and offered to leave all necessary accounts or information relating Interpretations

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		more than six§ §hands to conduct her any way about the Island or for the use of§ §the Shipping, and should she be wanted to go further, is equally as§ §fit and safe as when rigg'd in a Cutter, and should your Honors§ §approve of it, might at any time be sent to Cabinda for forty or§ §fifty Slaves, provided we had a proper Person capable to navigate§ §her, the facility of the navigation between this Island, and§ §Cabinda, Capt Shottowe will explain to your Honors, Who§ §likewise proposes leaving all necessary accounts, or information§ §relating§	Blanche's letter urging the garrison soldiers to turn against their king reveals the anxiety that desertion and sedition could spread among the men of an isolated station. A single agitator passing through could unsettle a small garrison far from home, and the Lieutenant-Governor's interception of the letter and his forwarding of a copy to London show the seriousness with which the authorities treated any attempt to subvert the loyalty of the troops. Captain Shottowe's advice to convert the <i>Fly Cutter</i> into a schooner rather than a longboat overturned the council's earlier plan twice revised. The vessel was first to be broken up, then cut down for a longboat, and now a knowledgeable seaman judged her hull too sharp below for that use, so the council shifted again to a rig that fewer hands could work, showing how technical opinion reshaped a decision the council had already thought settled. The suggestion that the converted schooner could fetch forty or fifty slaves from Cabinda points to the island's continuing reliance on imported labour and its wish for a vessel of its own to obtain it. Cabinda, on the Angolan coast, was a slaving port, and having a schooner able to make the run would free the island from waiting on the Company's larger ships to supply the hands its works and plantations needed.
332	322	relating to the Cabinda trade for Slaves, along with the§ §Governor and Council here§ §We are sorry to acquaint your honors that all this§ §Years Flour proves very bad, being what is commonly called§ §Grown Corn, of which we send you a Sample in eloves in the§ §Packet§ §We have put on board the Ship Lord Holland§ §James Hall and Simeon Delop two discharged Soldiers§ §towards compleating her Company§ §We have the pleasure to inform your Honors that§ §the Engineer acquaints Us, he has found plenty of Lime Stone§ §in the Island, for carrying on your works, which is with very§ §little Labour & Expence, and is the reason of his Indenting for§ §so large a Quantity of Coals, as the Island cannot afford so§ §great a consumption of Wood, for that purpose§ §We beg leave to observe that the Surgeon has§ §Indented for Oatmeal, and Nux Vomicy, which are part of the§ §ingredients agreably to a Receipt we have, for destroying of§ §Rats, and request you will be pleased to order them to be sent§ §according to the Indent§ §We beg leave to acquaint you from a representation of the§ §Engineer that the Breed of Powder Ash is unfavourig for your§ §Honors Ships to leave upon the Island is of so bad a Nature§ §as Obliges Us constantly to Sujeit it, and as the Consequence§ §of filling your Magazeenes with such Powder as must render§ §it useless, in Case of Service, we therefore beg you will give§ §such Orders to your Captains, that they may pay here§ §according§	To the Cabinda trade for slaves, along with the Governor and council on the island. 8: The council reported that all the flour lately received had proved very bad, being what was commonly called grown corn. It sent a sample of it enclosed in the packet. 9: The council had put aboard the ship <i>Lord Holland</i> two discharged soldiers, James Hall and Simon Delor, towards completing her company. 10: The council was glad to inform the Court that the engineer had found plenty of lime stone on the island for carrying on the works, which could be had with very little labour or expense. This was the reason for its indenting for so large a quantity of coals, since the island could not afford so great a consumption of wood for that purpose. 11: The council noted that the surgeon had indented for oatmeal and nux vomica, part of the ingredients in a receipt for destroying rats. It asked the Court to order these to be sent according to the indent. 12: The council reported, from a representation of the engineer, that the barrels of powder the Court sent out for its ships to leave on the island were of so bad a nature as to oblige it constantly to subject them to inspection. Since the consequence of filling the magazines with such powder must render it useless in case of service, the council asked the Court to give such orders to its captains that they might pay here according Interpretations Grown corn was grain that had begun to sprout or germinate before milling, usually from being stored damp, which spoiled the flour and made it unfit for baking good bread. The council's care to send home a physical sample shows it building an evidential case against the supplier, since a complaint about provisions carried more weight when the directors could see and judge the spoiled article for themselves. Nux vomica is the seed of an Asian tree containing strychnine, a violent poison, and its use here mixed with oatmeal to destroy rats shows how the island fought the vermin that plagued its stores and grain. Rats aboard ships and in warehouses consumed and fouled provisions on a scale that threatened the island's supplies, so obtaining the poison through the annual indent was a practical necessity of storekeeping.

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			The engineer's finding of ample limestone on the island, set against the earlier belief that it must be shipped in yearly, marks a real change in the island's building prospects. Where the council had previously feared a continuing dependence on imported lime, it now needed only the coal to burn what could be quarried locally, which reduced the island's reliance on home supply for one major material even as it deepened it for another.
333	323	according to Custom £5 15s or settle it at Home with your§ §Honors, that hereafter it may be put upon such a footing to avoid§ §all disputes, you will please to observe by these Ships Accounts§ §that we have not received the Money for the Barrel of Powder§ §as the Captains Hall and Naine, refused paying, as was§ §customary§ §This waits on your Honors by your Ship Worcester,§ §which sails in company with the Lord Holland§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §St Helena§ §Your most obedient and hum Servts§ §10 June 1765§ §(signed)§ §John Shottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Worcester dated the 10 June 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 10 June 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do 31 May do§ §3 Consultations from the 13 to the 10 June do§ §4 Duplicate do from the 13 to the 27 May do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p His Majestys Ship Medway§ §6 Second do for do p Ship British King§ §7 List of Stores remg in the Honoble Compas Ware Houses 31 March 1765§	To custom at £5 15s 0d, or settle it at home with the Court, so that the matter might hereafter be put upon such a footing as to avoid all disputes. The Court would see by these ships accounts that the council had not received the money for the barrels of powder, since Captains Hall and Nairn refused paying as was customary. 13: This letter came to the Court by the ship <i>Worcester</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Lord Holland</i>. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 10 June 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Worcester</i>, dated 10 June 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 10 June 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 31 May 1765 3: Consultations from 13 to 10 June 1765 4: Duplicate consultations from 13 to 27 May 1765 5: First receipt for the packet by His Majesty's ship Medway 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship British King 7: List of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses 31 March 1765 Items 5 and 6 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by His Majesty's ship <i>Medway</i>, and the second receipt by the ship <i>British King</i>. Interpretations The captains refusing to pay the customary charge for the powder their ships left on the island exposed a breakdown in an established practice. Ships homeward bound would deposit surplus powder at St Helena against a set payment, and when masters declined to pay, the council was left holding stores it had not been reimbursed for, which is why it pressed the Court to fix the arrangement clearly enough to end the dispute.
334	324	8 List of Garrison Stores remg 31 March 1765§ §9 Do of Artillery Stores from 1 October 1764 to 31 March 1765§ §10 Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the Year 1766§ §11 Do of Medicines wanted for Do§ §12 Duplicate List of the Packet p His Majestys Ship Medway§ §13 Effective State of the Garrison§ §14 Cash Account from the 1 to 10 June 1765§ §15 Duplicate do from the 10 to 31 May do§ §16 Ship Worcesters Account§ §17 Do Lord Hollands Do§ §18 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ships Worcester, and Lord Holland§ §20 Copy of a Letter from Hanckes Sent to the English Arugat Popsey§ §21 Sample of Flour§ §22 Do of Grain Sugathy§ §23 List of two discharged Soldiers§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honorable Sirs§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 8: List of garrison stores remaining 31 March 1765 9: List of artillery stores from 1 October 1764 to 31 March 1765 10: Indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1766 11: List of medicines wanted for the service of the year 1766 12: Duplicate list of the packet by His Majesty's ship Medway 13: Effective state of the garrison 14: Cash account from 1 to 10 June 1765 15: Duplicate cash account from 10 to 31 May 1765 16: Ship Worcester's account 17: Duplicate ship Lord Holland's account 18: Time of ships boats arrival at Bank's 19: Abstract of the charges of ships Worcester and Lord Holland 20: Copy of a letter from Blanche sent to the English army at Manila 21: Sample of flour

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		§By your Ship Worcester that sailed from hence in§ §company with the Lord Holland the 10 instant, we had the satisfaction§ §of Addressing your Honors§ §On the 14 of this Month, arrived your Ship Vansittart§ §from Bengal Capt Irwin acquaints Us he left that Place the 18§ §February last, and your Honors Ship Bute there, who was to be§ §dispatched for Europe early in March he likewise informs Us that§ §Sir§	22: Sample of grown corn 23: List of two discharged soldiers Item 16 is the ship <i>Worcester's</i> account and item 17 the duplicate ship <i>Lord Holland's</i> account. Item 19 gives an abstract of the charges of the ships <i>Worcester</i> and <i>Lord Holland</i>. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court by the ship <i>Worcester</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 10th of this month in company with the <i>Lord Holland</i>. 2: The ship <i>Vansittart</i> had arrived from Bengal on the 14th of this month. Captain Irwin reported that he left Bengal on 18 February, with the ship <i>Duke</i> still there. She was to be despatched for Europe early in March. Captain Irwin also reported that
335	325	Sir Robert Fletcher who commanded the Army divided it, into two§ §Bodys the one with the heavy Artillery, under the command of Major§ §Stibbard, was to lay Siege to Chien capore a Fort which our Troops§ §were some time before repulsed from, and with the other part, being§ §a flying party selected for that purpose, he attempted to beat up§ §Sujah Doulaghs Quarters, and very nearly Succeed however the§ §Enemy retired with so much precipitation that they abandoned§ §a Place of great consequence where there was a great Number of§ §Cannon and an excellent Stone Bridge, this pass is very§ §defencable and secures all the Country to the North West of Bengal,§ §We are likewise told the Nabob Mier Jaffier is dead, and that§ §Nefru Ma Doulagh his Son is appointed Nabob in his stead§ §We have not transmitted you an Abstract of the Vansittart§ §Cargo, as Capt Irwin informs Us he has no Copy of it§ §The Passengers on board this Ship are Capt Johnston§ §Crofton Fowster and Wolmer, Lieuts Wilkey Nevill Humphries and§ §Grant, and Messrs Matthews and Gee§ §In our Consultation of the 24 instant, we received a Petition§ §from Mr Richard Braly, and beg leave to Observe, the Petitioner is§ §a faithful good Servant, and has been of infinite use towards the§ §Education of the Youths of this Island, and as judge Advocate,§ §has always executed his Duty with care and diligence, for both§ §which employments he has hitherto received but a small salary,§ §therefore hope from his long Services that your Honors will take§ §his case into consideration as a Servant worthy of your Attention§ §We have the pleasure to inform your Honors, that§ §the Valentine is just now arrived, several of her Men are dead§	Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded the army, divided it into two bodies. With the heavy artillery under the command of Major Stibbert, he was to lay siege to Chunar, a fort the troops had earlier been repulsed from. With the other part, a flying party selected for the purpose, he attempted to beat up Shuja-ud-Daula's quarters and very nearly succeeded. The enemy retired with such haste that they abandoned a place of great consequence, where there were a great number of cannon and an excellent stone bridge. The pass was very defensible and commanded all the country to the north-west of Bengal. The council was also told that the Nabob Mir Jaffer had died, and that Nujum-ud-Daula, his son, had been appointed Nabob in his place. 3: The council had not transmitted an abstract of the <i>Vansittart's</i> cargo, since Captain Irwin reported that he had no copy of it. 4: The passengers aboard this ship were Captains Johnston, Crofton and Sowerby, together with Wolmer, Lieutenants Whalley and Nevill, Humphries, Grant, and Messrs Matthews and Gee. 5: In the consultation of the 24th of this month the council received a petition from Mr Richard Braby. The council observed that Braby was a faithful good servant who had been of infinite use towards the education of the youths of the island. As judge-advocate he had always executed his duty with care and diligence. For both these employments he had so far received only a small salary. The council therefore hoped that, from his long service, the Court would take his case into consideration as a servant worthy of its attention. 6: The council was glad to inform the Court that the <i>Valentine</i> had just arrived. Several of her men had died Interpretations The military news relayed here traced the Company's continuing campaign in northern India after the victory at Buxar. Sir Robert Fletcher's manoeuvre against Shuja-ud-Daula, the siege of Chunar and the death of Mir Jaffar with the succession of his son all marked the shifting balance of power in Bengal and Awadh, and the council's careful transmission of these reports shows how St Helena passed the unfolding story of the Company's territorial rise back to the directors in London. Richard Braby's petition set out the double burden he carried as both schoolmaster and judge-advocate on a small island, rewarded with only a modest salary for the two posts combined. The council's warm endorsement reveals how much a settlement like St Helena depended on a handful of educated men to fill several offices at once, and how it fell to the local authority to press London to reward such service properly. The office of judge-advocate combined the roles of prosecutor and legal adviser in the island's courts, particularly its courts martial, requiring a man of

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			some learning to conduct trials and advise on the law. That the same man also taught the island's children shows how thinly spread capable officials were, so that education and the administration of justice rested together on a single overburdened servant.
336	326	and the remainder are now in a very weak, and sickly condition§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humbly§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §25 June 1765§ §Daniel Corneille§ §Matthw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Vansittart dated the 25 June 1765§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 25 June 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated 10 do do§ §3 Consultations from 15 to 24 June 1765§ §4 Duplicate do from 5 to 10 do do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Worcester§ §6 Second do p His Majestys Ship Medway§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken 25 June 1765§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Worcester§ §9 Do Do of Stores remaining in the Honoble Companys§ §Ware Houses 31 March 1765§ §10 Do Do of Garrison Stores remaining 31 March 1765§ §11 Do Do of Artillery Stores Do Do Do§ §12 Do Indent of Stores wanted for the Service of the§ §Year 1766§	And the remainder were now in a very weak and sickly condition. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 25 June 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Vansittart</i>, dated 25 June 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 25 June 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 10 June 1765 3: Consultations from 11 to 24 June 1765 4: Duplicate consultations from 1 to 10 June 1765 5: First receipt for the packet by the ship Worcester 6: Second receipt for the packet by His Majesty's ship Medway 7: List of officers and servants taken 25 June 1765 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Worcester 9: Duplicate list of stores remaining in the Company's warehouses 31 March 1765 10: Duplicate list of garrison stores remaining 31 March 1765 11: Duplicate list of artillery stores remaining 31 March 1765 12: Indent of stores wanted for the service of the year 1766 Items 5, 6 and 8 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Worcester</i>, the second receipt by His Majesty's ship <i>Medway</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Worcester</i>.
337	327	13 Duplicate List of medicines wanted for the Year 1766§ §14 Effective State of the Garrison§ §15 Cash Account from 11 to 25 June 1765§ §16 Duplicate do from 1 to 10 do do§ §17 Ship Vansittarts Account§ §18 Duplicate of Ship Worcester's do§ §19 Do Ship Lord Hollands do§ §20 Time of the Vansittarts Boat arrival at Banks's§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Address waited on your Honors the 25§ §June by the Ship Vansittart§ §On the 1 instant your Ship Royal George proceeded§ §on her Voyage§ §We cannot transmit you any other Cash Account by§ §this opportunity than the Duplicate of the last as the Quarters§ §Accounts will not be laid before Us until tomorrow§ §We have given Captn Fernell an order to receive on§ §board his Ship towards compleating her Company George Street§ §late Armourer and John Ward a discharged Soldier as likewise§ §William Douglass and Robert Hodges two Seamen left here out§ §of the Ship Lord Holland, we have paid for their Subsistence§ §£1 4 which Sum we suppose will be repaid your Honors§ §by the owners of that Ship We have also put on board the Valentine§ §James§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 13: Duplicate list of medicines wanted for the year 1766 14: Effective state of the garrison 15: Cash account from 11 to 25 June 1765 16: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 10 June 1765 17: Ship Vansittart's account 18: Duplicate ship Worcester's account 19: Duplicate ship Lord Holland's account 20: Time of the Vansittart's boat arrival at Bank's Item 17 is the ship <i>Vansittart's</i> account, item 18 the duplicate ship <i>Worcester's</i> account and item 19 the duplicate ship <i>Lord Holland's</i> account. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on 25 June by the ship <i>Vansittart</i>. 2: The ship <i>Royal George</i> had continued on her voyage on the 1st of this month. 3: The council could not transmit any cash account by this opportunity other than the duplicate of the last, since the quarter's accounts would not be laid before it until tomorrow. 4: The council had given Captain Fernell an order to receive aboard his ship, towards completing her company, George Street, late armourer, and John Ward, a discharged soldier, together with William Douglass and Robert Hodges, two seamen left on the island out of the ship <i>Lord Holland</i>. The council had paid for their subsistence £1 4s 0d, which sum it supposed would be repaid by the owners of that ship. It had also put aboard the <i>Valentine</i> James Interpretations

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			The seamen left behind from the <i>Lord Holland</i> and maintained at the council's expense repeat a recurring burden on the island, whereby men set ashore from one ship became a charge until another could carry them on. The council's expectation that the ship's owners would repay the subsistence shows the settled understanding that the cost of stranded crew fell ultimately on the vessel that had left them, not on the Company's establishment at St Helena.
338	328	James Murray left sick here out of your Ship Royal George towards§ §compleating her Company§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange viz§ §One set to John Shottowe Esq for £250 payable to§ §Robert Wood Esq dated the 8 instant, and One set to Mr§ §Quintin Thomson for £50 payable to Mr Ninnian Ballentine§ §dated the 8 instant both drawn at 90 Days sight§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and hum Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §14 July 1765§ §Danl Corneille§ §Matt Purling§ §Captn Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Valentine 14 July 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 14 July 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated 25 June 1765§ §3 Consultations from 1 to 11 July§ §4 Duplicate do from 17 to 24 June§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Vansittart§ §6 Second do for do p Ship Worcester§ §7 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Vansittart§	Murray, left sick out of the ship <i>Royal George</i>, towards completing her company. 5: The council had granted the following bills of exchange. One set went to John Shottowe Esquire for £250, payable to Robert Wood Esquire, dated the 1st of this month. One set went to Mr Quintin Thomson for £50, payable to Mr Ninnian Vallentine, dated the 11th of this month. Both were drawn at 90 days sight. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 14 July 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Valentine</i>, dated 14 July 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 July 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 25 June 1765 3: Consultations from 1 to 11 July 1765 4: Duplicate consultations from 17 to 24 June 1765 5: First receipt for the packet by the ship Vansittart 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Worcester 7: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Vansittart Items 5, 6 and 7 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Vansittart</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Worcester</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Vansittart</i>.
339	329	8 Muster Rolls of the Garrison§ §9 Effective State of do§ §10 Duplicate Cash Account from 11 to 25 June 1765§ §11 Ship Royal Georges Account§ §12 Do Valentines Do§ §13 Duplicate Vansittarts Do§ §14 Time of the arrival of the Valentines Boat at Banks's§ §15 Account of Provision supplied the Slaves Consigned to Fort§ §Marlborough p Ship Royal George§ §16 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Valentine§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We Addressed your Honors last by the Ship Valentine§ §which sailed from hence the 15 of July§ §On the 16 of last Month arrived your Ship Caernarvon§ §from Madrass, the 18 the Pitt from Bencoolen, and the 21 the Earl§ §of Lincoln from China Capt Hardwicke acquaints Us, he left§ §your Ship Princess Augusta there, who was to sail for Europe in§ §about ten or twelve days after them§ §We have given Capt Hardwicke an Order to receive on§ §board his Ship Robert Rowly, Henry Davis, and Willm Snniison§ §three Invalid Soldiers we have paid the Capt £15 for their§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 8: Muster rolls of the garrison 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Duplicate cash account from 11 to 25 June 1765 11: Ship Royal George's account 12: Duplicate ship Valentine's account 13: Duplicate ship Vansittart's account 15: Account of provisions supplied the slaves consigned to Fort Marlborough by the ship Royal George 16: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Valentine Item 11 is the ship <i>Royal George</i>'s account, item 12 the duplicate ship <i>Valentine</i>'s account and item 13 the duplicate ship <i>Vansittart</i>'s account. Item 14 records the time of the arrival of the <i>Valentine</i>'s boat at Bank's. Item 16 gives an abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Valentine</i>. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court by the ship <i>Valentine</i>, which sailed from St Helena on 15 July. 2: The ship <i>Caernarvon</i> had arrived from Madras on the 1st of last month, the <i>Pitt</i> from Bencoolen on the 12th, and the <i>Earl of Lincoln</i> from China on the 21st. Captain Hardwicke reported that he left the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i> at China, and that she was to sail for Europe about ten or twelve days after him. 3: The council had given Captain Hardwicke an order to receive aboard his ship three invalid soldiers, namely Robert Bewly, Henry Davis and William Jamieson. The council had paid the captain

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		§passage, they have Signed the Usual instrument that they§ §will not demand any Wages for their Voyage home which goes§ §Enclosed§	£15 0s 0d for their passage. They had signed the usual instrument that they would not demand any wages for their voyage home, which went enclosed. Interpretations The provisions account for the slaves shipped to Fort Marlborough shows the Company keeping a formal record of what it cost to feed the human cargo it moved between its stations. Tracking the food supplied on the passage let the directors reckon the true expense of stocking their Sumatran settlement with imported labour, treating the maintenance of slaves as a distinct charge to be accounted for like any other freight. The invalid soldiers again signing away their wages for the homeward passage confirms the fixed terms on which the Company repatriated men no longer fit to serve. Free carriage was granted only against a written waiver, sparing the Company the cost of paying men through a voyage in which they did no duty, and filling out a ship's short-handed company at the same time.
340	330	Enclosed together with the Capts Receipt§ §The Passengers on board the Caernarvon are Mrs Airey & Miss Braddy§ §Cpts Sleigh and Popham, and Lieuts Thomson, Gordon, Fleming§ §and Robinson, and Mr Dyneley§ §John Robinson Carpenter having Petitioned Us in Consultation§ §of the 29 of last Month for an Augmentation of his Salary; As he§ §is a sober good Man, and of great use to your Honors, and his whole§ §time employed in your Service and his Salary being much less than§ §your Master Masons, though equally serviceable, We Agreed to§ §make it up to £100 a Year as you will please to Observe in the§ §aforesaid Consultation, which we flatter ourselves your Honors§ §will approve off§ §We request that your Honors will Dispatch Us the Store Ships§ §next Year as early as possible, as our demands for Salt Provisions§ §have been unusual this Year; by reason of the many Ships§ §wanting those Supplies, which at other times instead of being§ §in want of they have been able to supply our Necessity which has§ §not been the case this Year, therefore have Obligated Us to strike off§ §that allowance from your Honors Slaves, as well as permit those§ §of the Military that are willing to provide themselves with§ §Fresh and Vegetables not to draw their Usual allowance, and as§ §we have only 110 Casks of Beef and Pork, and 158 of Flour§ §remaining, will not be able to supply any other Ship that may§ §come to this Port with those provisions, as upon the Neccest§ §calculation it will only last until the end of January, as the§ §Consumption of the Military independant of your Honors Slaves§	Enclosed together with the captain's receipt. 4: The passengers aboard the <i>Caernarvon</i> were Mr Airey and Mrs Braddy, Captains Sleigh and Popham, Lieutenants Thomson, Gordon, Fleming and Robinson, and Mr Dyneley. 5: John Robinson, carpenter, had petitioned the council in the consultation of the 29th of last month for an increase in his salary. Since he was a sober good man of great use to the Court, employed his whole time in its service, and his salary was much less than the master masons though he was equally serviceable, the council agreed to make it up to £100 a year, as the Court would see in that consultation. The council trusted the Court would approve. 6: The council asked the Court to despatch its store ship next year as early as possible, since its demands for salt provisions had been unusual this year. Many ships had wanted these supplies, and where at other times they had been able to supply the island's needs, this year they had not. This obliged the council to strike off that allowance from the Court's slaves, and to permit those of the military willing to provide themselves with fresh meat and vegetables not to draw their usual allowance. With only 110 casks of beef and pork and 158 casks of flour remaining, the council would not be able to supply any other ship that might come to the port with those provisions. Upon a careful calculation the stock would only last until the end of January, that being the consumption of the military independent of the Court's slaves. Interpretations The salt provisions crisis recorded here shows how a run of unusually needy ships could drain the island's reserves and force hard rationing. Where passing vessels normally arrived stocked and sometimes replenished St Helena, this year they drew on its stores instead, so the council had to cut the allowance to its slaves and let soldiers forgo their ration in favour of fresh food, laying bare how finely the island's provisioning was balanced against the traffic it served. John Robinson's rise to £100 a year, brought level with what a skilled tradesman's worth demanded, shows the council using salary to retain essential craftsmen. A carpenter of proven use was hard to replace on a remote island, and matching his pay to the master masons rather than losing him reflects the practical bargaining power that scarce skilled labour held over the local administration. The council's plea for an early store ship, its reserves calculated to run out by the end of January, reveals the precariousness of a settlement wholly dependent on timed resupply from home. A single

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			late convoy could leave the garrison short, so the council reckoned its remaining beef, pork and flour to the month and pressed London to load early, since no local source could bridge a gap in the annual provisioning.
341	331	is upwards of 3007 p Week, And beg leave at the same time to§ §represent that we think, it would be necessary for your Honors Stores to§ §be supplied with proper Canvas Cordage Pitch and Tar for the§ §latter Ships, as they are often in want of these things, which we§ §have not to give them, We likewise offer it to your consideration§ §how far it would be necessary to have a spare Mast and over tide§ §Cables in case any accident should happen to any of your Ships§ §on their arrival here§ §As many circumstances offer in the course of Business§ §with the Commanders of your Ships, wherein we are obliged to have§ §recourse to Charter party and as that we have is an old one of the§ §Year 1749, and apprehend they may be many alterations since§ §made, we beg that your Honors will Send Us out one for our§ §future guide§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most obedient and humble Servants§ §(Signed) John Shottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §Matthw Purling§ §St Helena§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §1 August 1765§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet p Ships Earl of Lincoln§ §dated the 1 August 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 1 August 1765§ §2 Do Do Do dated 1 do do relating to Law Matters§ §Duplicate	Upwards of 500 casks a week. The council also thought it necessary for the Court's stores to be supplied with proper canvas, cordage, pitch and tar for the latter ships, since they were often in want of these things which the council had none to give them. The council likewise offered for the Court's consideration how far it would be necessary to have a spare mast and over that cables, in case any accident should happen to any of the ships on their arrival at the island. 7: Many circumstances arose in the course of business with the commanders of the Court's ships in which the council was obliged to have recourse to the charter party. Since the one it held was of the year 1745, and there had probably been many alterations since, the council asked the Court to send out one for its future guidance. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 1 August 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Earl of Lincoln</i>, dated 1 August 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 1 August 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 1 August 1765 relating to law matters Interpretations The charter party was the contract fixing the terms on which the Company hired a ship from its owners, setting out freight rates, the duties of the commander and the obligations owed at each port of call. The council's reliance on a copy twenty years old shows how disputes with ships captains turned on the precise wording of these terms, so that an outdated contract left it uncertain of its rights, which is why it pressed London for a current version. The council's request for spare masts, cables, canvas and cordage to be held on the island reveals its ambition to make St Helena a place where damaged ships could be refitted rather than merely refreshed. Keeping such heavy naval stores in reserve would let the island repair a vessel crippled on the long passage, extending its role from a provisioning stop toward a genuine repair station for the Company's fleet.
342	332	3 Duplicate Governor and Councils General Letter dated 14 July 1765§ §4 Consultations from 15 July to 1 August 1765§ §5 Duplicate do from 1 to 11 do do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Valentine§ §7 Second do for do p Ship Vansittart§ §8 List of Officers and Servants taken 1 August 1765§ §9 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Valentine§ §10 Effective State of the Garrison§ §11 Cash Account from 25 to 30 June 1765§ §12 Do for the Month of July do§ §13 Ship Earl of Lincolns Account§ §14 Duplicate Royal Georges do§ §15 do Valentines do§ §16 Time of Ships Boats arrival at Banks's§ §17 Abstract of the Cargoes of Ship Caernarvon Pitt and Earl of Lincoln§ §18 Duplicate Account of Provision supplied the Royal George§ §19 Instrument in writing from 3 Invalid Soldiers§ §20 Surgeons Certificate of do do§ §21 Capt Hardwicks first Receipt for £15§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 3: Duplicate Governor and Council's general letter dated 14 July 1765 4: Consultations from 12 July to 1 August 1765 5: Duplicate consultations from 1 to 11 July 1765 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Valentine 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Vansittart 8: List of officers and servants taken 1 August 1765 9: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Valentine 10: Effective state of the garrison 11: Cash account from 25 to 30 June 1765 12: Cash account for the month of July 1765 13: Ship Earl of Lincoln's account 14: Duplicate ship Royal George's account 15: Duplicate ship Valentine's account 16: Time of ships boats arrival at Bank's 18: Duplicate account of provisions supplied the ship Royal George

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		§22 Proceedings of a Genl Quarterly Sessions held on 17 July 1765§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We did ourselves the pleasure of writing to you last by the Ship§ §Earl of Lincoln which sailed from hence the 2 instant§ §On the 4 of this Month arrived your Ship London from§ §Bombay§	19: Instrument in writing from three invalid soldiers 20: Surgeon's certificate of three invalid soldiers 21: Captain Hardwicke's first receipt for £15 22: Proceedings of a general quarterly session held 17 July 1765 Items 6, 7 and 9 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Valentine</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Vansittart</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Valentine</i>. Item 13 is the ship <i>Earl of Lincoln</i>'s account, item 14 the duplicate ship <i>Royal George</i>'s account and item 15 the duplicate ship <i>Valentine</i>'s account. Item 17 gives an abstract of the charges of the ships <i>Caernarvon</i>, <i>Pitt</i> and <i>Earl of Lincoln</i>. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court by the ship <i>Earl of Lincoln</i>, which sailed from St Helena on the 2nd of this month. 2: The ship <i>London</i> had arrived from Bombay on the 4th of this month.
343	333	Bombay which place Capt Wood acquaints Us he left the 21 April, and§ §your Ship Calcutta there, She was to be dispatched for Europe about the§ §middle of May, He likewise informs Us he heard that Lord Clive was§ §arrived at the Coast, it was also rumoured that the Subah of the Decan was§ §coming with a large force to demand some former Batys which he said§ §the Nabob owed him§ §As we are much in want of Boats to catch Fish for the use of§ §your Slaves, we request your Honors will be pleased to send Us by the§ §next Store Ships two Yawls about 16 fut long for that purpose, to be§ §framed in England, and we will have them put together here§ §Though we acquainted your Honors in a former Letter that§ §the Flour we received this Year was extremely bad, of which we sent§ §you home a Sample, we must further observe that upon keeping, it§ §sometimes improves but this on the contrary grows worse and scarce§ §Eatable§ §In our last Letter we acquainted you of the Scarceness of our salt§ §Provisions, the 12 Casks we were Obligated to furnish the Caernarvon§ §and Pitt, are the most we can possibly spare, therefore must beg leave to§ §infer our Request that your Honors will be pleased to dispatch the§ §Store Ship early, otherwise we shall be greatly Distressed§ §We have Granted the following Bills of Exchange Vizt One§ §set to Capt Thoms Kirkpatrick for £147 payable to§ §Nicholas Rearcy Esqr And one set to Mr Jeffry Jackson for§ §£219 payable to himself, both dated this instant and§ §drawn at 90 Days sight§ §The Passengers on board the London are Capt Moore§ §and§	From Bombay, and Captain Wood reported that he left Bombay on 27 April, with the ship <i>Calcutta</i> still there. She was to be dispatched for Europe about the middle of May. Captain Wood also informed the council that Lord Clive had arrived at the Coast. It was rumoured that the Subah of the Deccan was coming with a large force to demand some former duties which he said the Nabob owed him. 3: Since the island was much in want of boats to catch fish for the use of the Court's slaves, the council asked the Court to send by the next store ship two yawls about 16 feet long for that purpose, to be framed in England, and the council would have them put together on the island. 4: The council had already informed the Court in a former letter that the flour received this year was extremely bad, of which it sent home a sample. It further noted that upon keeping, the flour did not improve but on the contrary grew worse and was scarcely eatable. 5: In its last letter the council informed the Court of the scarcity of salt provisions. The 110 casks it was obliged to furnish the <i>Caernarvon</i> and <i>Pitt</i> were the most it could possibly spare. The council therefore pressed its request that the Court despatch the store ship early, otherwise it would be greatly distressed. 6: The council had granted the following bills of exchange. One set went to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick for £147, payable to Nicholas Bearcy Esquire. One set went to Mr Jeffry Jackson for £219, payable to himself, both dated the 5th of this month and drawn at 90 days sight. 7: The passengers aboard the <i>London</i> were Captain Moore and Interpretations The council's request for yawls to be framed in England and assembled on the island shows how even small boats had to be prefabricated at home and shipped out in parts. St Helena lacked the seasoned timber and boatbuilding trade to make its own craft, so the Company sent the shaped frames and the island merely joined them, a division that reflects how far the settlement depended on home industry for want of its own materials. The report of the Subah of the Deccan marching to demand arrears from the Nabob points to the wider unrest among Indian rulers as the Company extended its power. Such disputes over tribute and duties among the country powers shaped the conditions in which the Company traded and fought, and the council's transmission of the rumour shows St Helena passing on not just ship movements but

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			the political intelligence that reached it from returning captains. The spoiled flour that grew worse in store rather than keeping exposed a serious flaw in the island's provisioning. Flour was expected to hold for long periods, and its rapid decay left the settlement with stores it could not rely on, which is why the council pressed the point a second time and preserved a sample, building a documented complaint that the supply sent from home was unfit for its purpose.
344	334	and his Wife and Mr Burr§ §This waits on your Honors by the Ship Caernarvon,§ §that sails in Company with the Pitt§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and humbly Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §7 August 1765§ §Matthw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Caernarvon dated 7 August 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 7 August 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated 1 do do§ §3 do do and do dated 1 do do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §4 Consultations of the 5 August 1765§ §5 Duplicate do from 15 July to 1 August 1765§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §7 Second do for do p Ship Valentine§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from 1 to 7 August 1765§ §11 Duplicate do from 25 to 30 June do§	His wife and Mr Burr were also aboard. 8: This letter came to the Court by the ship <i>Caernarvon</i>, which sailed in company with the <i>Pitt</i>. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 7 August 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Caernarvon</i>, dated 7 August 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 7 August 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 1 August 1765 3: Duplicate general letter dated 1 August 1765 relating to law matters 4: Consultations of 5 August 1765 5: Duplicate consultations from 15 July to 1 August 1765 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Earl of Lincoln 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Valentine 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Earl of Lincoln 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Cash account from 1 to 7 August 1765 11: Duplicate cash account from 25 to 30 June 1765 Items 6, 7 and 8 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Earl of Lincoln</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Valentine</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Earl of Lincoln</i>.
345	335	12 Duplicate Cash Account for the Month July 1765§ §13 Ship Caernarvons Account§ §14 Do Pitts do§ §15 Duplicate Earl of Lincolns do§ §16 Time of the arrival of the Londons Boat at Banks's§ §17 Capt Hardwikes Second Receipt for £15§ §18 Duplicate Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held§ §on the 17 July 1765§ §19 Abstract of the Ship Londons Cargo§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Address waited on your Honors the 7 instant§ §by the Ship Caernarvon§ §On the 15 this month arrived a Dutch Ship§ §from Batavia called the Westfriesland Capt Hollman Burthen§ §about 700 Tons carries 30 Guns and 70 Men loaden with Sugar§ §Coffee, and Pepper bound to Rotterdam, the Capt informs Us he§ §left that place the 21 May and five English Ships there but§ §cannot tell the names of them§ §We have given Capt Webb a permit to receive on§ §board his Ship Thoms Perrin late Steward§ §Capt Thoms Kirkpatrick applied to Us to pay§ §£100 into your Cash which we have received and given him§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 12: Duplicate cash account for the month of July 1765 13: Ship Caernarvon's account 14: Duplicate ship Pitt's account 15: Duplicate ship Earl of Lincoln's account 16: Time of the arrival of the London's boat at Bank's 17: Captain Hardwicke's second receipt for £15 18: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly session held 17 July 1765 19: Abstract of the ship London's cargo Item 13 is the ship <i>Caernarvon</i>'s account, item 14 the duplicate ship <i>Pitt</i>'s account and item 15 the duplicate ship <i>Earl of Lincoln</i>'s account. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on the 7th of this month by the ship <i>Caernarvon</i>. 2: A Dutch ship from Batavia called the <i>Westfriesland</i> had arrived on the 15th of this month. Captain Hollman commanded her, and she was of about 700 tons burthen, carried 30 guns and 70 men, loaded with sugar, coffee and pepper and bound for Rotterdam. The captain reported that he left Batavia on 21 May, with five English ships still there, but could not tell their names. 3: The council had given Captain Webb a permit to receive aboard his ship Thomas Perrin, late steward.

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		§Bills drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to Mr§ §Allen§	4: Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick had applied to the council to pay £100 into its cash, which the council received and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Mr Allen Interpretations The Dutch ship carrying sugar, coffee and pepper home to Rotterdam shows the Dutch East India Company drawing the produce of its Javanese possessions back to Europe along the same route the English used. Batavia was the centre of Dutch power in the East, and vessels from it calling at St Helena confirm how the island lay on the common highway of all the European companies, giving the council a window onto their trade and shipping as well as its own. Item 12 is the ship <i>Caernarvon's</i> account, item 13 the duplicate ship <i>Pitt's</i> account and item 14 the duplicate ship <i>Earl of Lincoln's</i> account.
346	336	Allen Auld, 90 Days after sight dated the 15 instant§ §We have the Pleasure of forwarding to your Honors§ §by this conveyancy the Engineers Plans, Remarks, and§ §Additions proposed for strengthening and Repairing the§ §Fortifications of this your Island, which you will find by§ §Consultation was laid before Us, and Maturely Considered§ §the Engineer being present, and must observe in justice to§ §Capt Mitchells Abilitys, and Skill in his Profession that§ §we think in paying a Regard to the necessary and essential§ §Additions, he has also consulted the Oeconomical part, as§ §you will find from his remarks and Plan of Sandy Bay,§ §adapting the present Work now standing, to the conveyancy§ §of the Additions proposed, which when compleated we think§ §will put that part of the Island upon a footing of strength§ §with the rest, we also join in his opinion as to the necessity§ §of rebuilding Banks's upon Battery, as well as Mundens,§ §as there Foundations are totally bad, and can only be§ §improved by making the work anew, these are so Essential§ §to the defence of the Leward Coast, and there distance from§ §each other so well adapted, as their line of Fire totally§ §protects Ruperts Bay, as likewise commands that of the§ §Valley, as you will find p Plan, We have nothing further§ §to add to your Honors upon this Head, but to observe that§ §Capt Mitchells estimate of expences we apprehend is as§ §compleat as the circumstances will admit of, agreeable to§ §the reasons offered in his remarks, as it can only be done by§	Allen Auld, 90 days after sight, dated the 15th of this month. 5: By this conveyance the council transmitted the engineer's plans, remarks and proposed additions for strengthening and repairing the fortifications of the island. As the Court would see, these had been laid before the council and maturely considered with the engineer present. In fairness to Captain Mitchell's abilities and skill, the council held that, while paying regard to the necessary and essential additions, he had also consulted economy. This appeared from his remarks and plan of Sandy Bay, which adapted the present work now standing to suit the additions proposed. When completed, the work would put that part of the island on a footing of strength with the rest. The council also agreed with the engineer on the necessity of rebuilding Bank's, Rupert's Bay and Munden's, since their foundations were entirely bad and could only be improved by making the work anew. These were essential to the defence of the leeward coast, and their distance from each other so well adapted that a line of fire wholly protected Rupert's Bay and likewise commanded the valley, as the Court would see from the plan. The council had nothing further to add, except to note that Captain Mitchell's estimate of expense was as complete as circumstances would admit. In fairness to the reasons offered in his remarks, the work could only be done by Interpretations The rebuilding of Bank's, Rupert's Bay and Munden's rested on the principle of interlocking fields of fire, whereby batteries placed so that their guns covered one another and the ground between denied an enemy any safe landing. The council's stress on the distance between the works and the line of fire protecting Rupert's Bay shows a deliberate defensive design, in which the sites were chosen not singly but as a system commanding the leeward approaches that were the island's most vulnerable coast. Captain Mitchell's plan for Sandy Bay, which adapted the existing works rather than starting afresh, shows the council's insistence that defence be reconciled with economy. Rather than demolishing and rebuilding everywhere, the engineer fitted the new additions to what already stood, and the council pointedly commended this restraint, reflecting the Company's constant concern that its distant garrison not run up expense beyond what its strategic value justified.
347	337	a Yearly estimate, and hope even that may hereafter lessen as§ §your own Slaves become more acquainted with that kind of§ §work, as several of the youngest sort are allotted to the different§	A yearly estimate. The council hoped this might hereafter lessen as the Court's slaves became more acquainted with that kind of work. Several of the younger ones were allotted to the different artificers and would in time be able to take so many of the soldiers off, which was now unavoidable. The

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		§Artificers, and in time will be able to take so many of the§ §Soldiers off, which now is unavoidable, we must further§ §observe since Capt Mitchells return of artificers and labourers§ §17 Men and 1 Boy of your Honors Slaves are added, and you§ §may depend upon our attention in the discharge of every Article§ §with spirit, and frugality for so usefull, and important a§ §work as building this Island in a proper State of defence§ §We beg leave to observe that we shall defer sending a§ §Duplicate of Capt Mitchells Plans, until we hear from§ §your Honors by next Store Ships, as we hope this will get§ §Safe, as the multiplying such things might be prejudicial§ §to your Honors interest incase it should fall in any other§ §hands, as nothing of that sort has been put to Paper§ §before in so clear and distinct a Light, and we flatter§ §ourselves will afford a thorough knowledge of the defence,§ §as well (in case it should happen) of the Attack of this§ §Island§ §We are§ §Sir§ §Your most obedt & most humbly Servts§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §17 August 1765§ §Matthw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§	council further noted that, since Captain Mitchell's return of artificers and labourers, 17 men and 1 boy of the Court's slaves had been added. The Court could depend upon the council's attention in the discharge of every article with spirit and frugality for so useful and important a work as putting the island in a proper state of defence. The council would defer sending a duplicate of Captain Mitchell's plans until it heard from the Court by the next store ship, as it hoped this set would arrive safe. Multiplying such things might be prejudicial to the Court's interest should they fall into any other hands, since nothing of that sort had been put to paper before in so clear and distinct a light. The council trusted this set would afford a thorough knowledge of the defence, as well as, should it ever happen, of an attack on the island. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 17 August 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The training of the Company's younger slaves as artificers to replace soldiers on the fortification work reveals a deliberate substitution of enslaved labour for military labour. Soldiers set to building could not attend to their proper duty, so the council put slaves to learn the trades, both to free the garrison for defence and to reduce the standing cost of the works, treating the island's slaves as a permanent skilled workforce to be developed over time. The council's refusal to send a duplicate of the fortification plans by an ordinary conveyance shows how military intelligence was guarded against capture. Detailed drawings of the island's defences would be of great value to an enemy, so the council held back the copy until a secure store ship could carry it, judging the risk of interception a graver danger than the loss that might follow if the single set never arrived.
348	338	List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship London dated 17 August 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 17 August 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated 7 do do§ §3 Consultations from the 12 to the 16 Aug 1765§ §4 Duplicate do of the 5 do do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Caernarvon§ §6 Second do do p Ship Earl of Lincoln§ §7 List of Officers and Servants taken 17 Aug 1765§ §8 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Caernarvon§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Cash Account from 8 to 17 August 1765§ §11 Duplicate do from 1 to 7 do do§ §12 Ship Londons Account§ §13 Duplicate Ship Caernarvons Account§ §14 do Pitts do§ §15 Courts Martial from 10 Sept 1764 to 12 Aug 1765§ §16 Book contg the Engineers Plans and observations§ §upon the Fortifications &c§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We wrote last to your Honors the 17 instant by your§ §Ship London§ §The	This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>London</i>, dated 17 August 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 17 August 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 7 August 1765 3: Consultations from 12 to 17 August 1765 4: Duplicate consultations of 5 August 1765 5: First receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Caernarvon</i> 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Earl of Lincoln</i> 7: List of officers and servants taken 17 August 1765 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Caernarvon</i> 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Cash account from 8 to 17 August 1765 11: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 7 August 1765 12: Ship <i>London</i>'s account 13: Duplicate ship <i>Caernarvon</i>'s account 14: Duplicate ship <i>Pitt</i>'s account 15: Court martial from 10 September 1764 to 12 August 1765 16: Book containing the engineer's plans and observations upon the fortifications Items 5, 6 and 8 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Caernarvon</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Earl of Lincoln</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Caernarvon</i>. Item 12 is the ship <i>London</i>'s account, item 13 the duplicate ship <i>Caernarvon</i>'s account and item 14 the duplicate ship <i>Pitt</i>'s account. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs.

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			1: The council had last written to the Court on the 17th of this month by the ship <i>London</i> .
349	339	The Dutch Gentlemen applying to Us to pay seven§ §hundred and sixty pounds into your Cash we Granted them§ §the following Bills of Exchange viz§ §One set to Capt Bernardus Halleman for £400§ §payable to himself, One set to Mr Andrew Lorentzon for§ §£200 payable to himself And one set to Mr Hendrick§ §Eckhard for £160 payable to himself all drawn at 90 Days§ §sight and dated this day§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most Obedient and humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §26 August 1765§ §M Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Under date of the 26 of August by a Dutch Ship§ §called the Wadsfriesland we Addressed your Honors last§ §On the 1 instant arrived your Ship Calcutta from§ §Bombay, Capt Renwich acquaints Us, he was informed by a§ §Letter he received from Fort William under date of the 4 March§ §last§	The Dutch gentlemen applied to the council to pay £760 into its cash, for which the council granted them the following bills of exchange. One set went to Captain Bernardus Halleman for £400, payable to himself. One set went to Mr Andrew Sorentzen for £200, payable to himself. One set went to Mr Hendrick Erhard for £160, payable to himself. All were drawn at 90 days sight and dated this day. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 26 August 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on 26 August by a Dutch ship called the <i>Westfriesland</i>. 2: The ship <i>Calcutta</i> had arrived from Bombay on the 1st of this month. Captain Renou reported that he had been informed by a letter received from Fort William dated 4 March Interpretations The Dutch officers paying £760 into the council's cash for bills drawn on the Company in London shows St Helena serving as an exchange house for foreign merchants as well as its own. A Dutch captain carrying silver could deposit it with the council and receive bills payable in England, sparing him the risk of shipping coin home, while the Company gained ready cash on the island against a debt settled later in Europe, a service that turned the island into a node in an international system of credit.
350	340	last, that the Fort of Illeabad had surrendered to our Troops§ §and every thing appeared to be quiet at Bengal, he likewise§ §informs Us the Lord Anson Capt Galbreath was arrived in§ §the River of Bengal, and that they had buried 220 Men in§ §the passage, he further informs Us by a Letter he received from§ §the Coast, that the Kent arrive at Madrass the 10 April and§ §that Lord Clive and the rest of the Gentlemen on board her§ §were well Capt Thomson also tells Us he met with your§ §Ship Ponsonby the 17 July in the Latitude of 34 South§ §about eight degrees to the Eastward of the Cape§ §In our Letter dated the 7 August we acquainted your§ §Honors that the Salt Provisions we then had would last§ §only until the end of January, we have therefore been under§ §the necessity to purchase 4 Casks of Capt Thomson at§ §£13 6 which was under the price he gave for it out§ §of your Stores at Bombay, and as we have sold several§ §Casks to your Ships this season at that rate, we hope§ §it will be a sufficient excuse for our giving so high a price§ §as nothing but supplying our immediate want would§ §have Obligated Us to it§ §The Passengers on board the Calcutta are Capt Jackson§	That the fort of Illiabad had surrendered to the Company's troops, and everything appeared to be quiet at Bengal. Captain Renou also reported that the <i>Lord Anson</i>, Captain Galbreath, had arrived in the River of Bengal, and that they had buried 220 men on the passage. He further reported, from a letter received from the Coast, that the <i>Kent</i> arrived at Madras on 10 April, and that Lord Clive and the rest of the gentlemen aboard her were well. Captain Renou also told the council that he met the ship <i>Ponsonby</i> on 17 July in latitude 34 south, about 8 degrees to the eastward of the Cape. 3: In its letter of 1 August the council had informed the Court that the salt provisions it then had would last only until the end of January. It had therefore been under the necessity of buying four casks from Captain Renou at £13 6s 8d each. He had brought these out of the Court's stores at Bombay, and as the council had sold several casks to the Court's ships this season at that rate, it trusted this would be a sufficient excuse for giving so high a price, since nothing but supplying its immediate want would have obliged it to do so. 4: The passengers aboard the <i>Calcutta</i> were Captain Jackson and Messrs Adams, Pelly and Caux. 5: The council had given Captain Renou an order to receive aboard his ship Robert Shalton, a seaman left sick on the island out of His Majesty's ship <i>Medway</i>, and had paid Interpretations The burial of 220 men on the <i>Lord Anson's</i> passage to Bengal marks the fearful mortality that could attend a long East India voyage. Disease spreading through a crowded ship, particularly on the passage to India, could carry off a large part of those aboard, and the bare figure recorded here conveys the human cost that lay behind the Company's traffic, a toll the council noted as a plain matter of report.

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		§and Messrs Adams Rilly, and Caux§ §We have given Capt Thomson an Order to receive§ §on board his Ship Scott Shulton a Seaman left sick§ §here out of his Majestys Ship Medway, and have paid§	The council's careful justification for paying £13 6s 8d a cask for salt provisions shows how sharply it felt the need to account for extraordinary expense to London. Buying at a high price from a passing captain to cover an immediate shortfall was a departure from ordinary economy, so the council set out the circumstances at length, stressing that it had itself sold at the same rate, to forestall the Court's objection to the outlay. The surrender of the fort at Allahabad continued the run of military intelligence from northern India that the council relayed home. Each fort taken and each report of quiet restored in Bengal marked the consolidation of the Company's grip after Buxar, and St Helena's transmission of these advices shows the island functioning as the point through which the distant course of the Company's wars reached the directors.
351	341	Capt Thomson £5 for his passage, his Receipt for the§ §same goes herewith§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and most humbly§ §Servants§ §(signed) John Shottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §St Helena§ §Matthw Purling§ §2 Sept 1765§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena§ §p Ship Calcutta dated 2 Sept 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 2 Sept 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated 17 Augt do§ §3 do do and do dated 26 do do§ §4 Consultations from 10 August to 6 Sept 1765§ §5 Duplicate do from 12 to 16 do do§ §6 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship London§ §7 do do for do p the Dutch Ship§ §8 Second do for do p Ship Caernarvon§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship London§ §11 Cash Account from 18 to 31 August 1765§ §12 do from 1 to 7 Sept do§ §13 Duplicate do from 8 to 17 August do§	Captain Renou £5 for his passage, whose receipt for the same went enclosed. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 2 September 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>, dated 2 September 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 2 September 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 17 August 1765 3: Duplicate general letter dated 26 August 1765 4: Consultations from 10 August to 6 September 1765 5: Duplicate consultations from 12 to 17 August 1765 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship <i>London</i> 7: First receipt for the packet by the Dutch ship 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship <i>Caernarvon</i> 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>London</i> 11: Cash account from 18 to 31 August 1765 12: Cash account from 1 to 7 September 1765 13: Duplicate cash account from 8 to 17 August 1765 Items 6, 7, 8 and 10 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>London</i>, a further first receipt by the Dutch ship, the second receipt by the ship <i>Caernarvon</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>London</i>.
352	342	14 Ship Calcuttas Account§ §15 Duplicate Londons do§ §16 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Calcutta§ §17 Time of the arrival of the Calcuttas Boat at Banks's§ §18 Book containing the Engineers Observations upon the§ §Fortifications &c§ §19 Capt Thomsons Receipt for £5§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We Addressed you last under date of the 2 September§ §by your Ship Calcutta§ §On the 25 of last Month arrived your Honors Ship§ §Bute from Bengal Capt Waithe acquaints Us he left the§ §Pilot the 23 March and put into the Mauritius the 13 June§ §the same day arrived two French Ships from Europe bound§ §for China, and a Frigate from the Coast of	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 14: Ship <i>Calcutta</i>'s account 15: Duplicate ship <i>London</i>'s account 16: Abstract of the cargo of the ship <i>Calcutta</i> 17: Time of the arrival of the <i>Calcutta</i>'s boat at Bank's 18: Book containing the engineer's observations upon the fortifications 19: Captain Renou's receipt for £5 Item 14 is the ship <i>Calcutta</i>'s account and item 15 the duplicate ship <i>London</i>'s account. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on 2 September by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>. 2: The ship <i>Bute</i> had arrived from Bengal on the 25th of last month. Captain Raikes reported that he left the pilot on 22 March and put into Mauritius on 15 June. The same day two French ships from Europe bound for China arrived, together with a frigate from the Coast of Coromandel. Captain

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		Choromandell§ §He further informs Us he saw a sail off the Cape the 22 of§ §August but did not speak with her§ §The Passengers on board the Bute are Major§ §Munro and Capt McPherson Gordon whichcott and Stay§ §Lieuts Gilchrist Vincent John and Alexr McPherson, and§ §Messrs Arthur and Bendy§ §Major Munro applied to Us for £570 out of your§ §Cash for the use of His Majestys 89 Regiement which Sum§ §We have Advanced him and taken Bills drawn on§ §John	Raikes further reported that he saw a sail off the Cape on 22 August but did not speak with her. 3: The passengers aboard the <i>Bute</i> were Major Munro and Captains McPherson, Gordon, Whichcott and Hay, Lieutenants Gilchrist, Vincent, John and Alec McPherson, and Messrs Arthur and Bendy. 4: Major Munro had applied to the council for £570 out of its cash for the use of His Majesty's 89th Regiment. The council had advanced him this sum and taken bills drawn on John Interpretations The <i>Bute</i> putting into Mauritius on her homeward passage from Bengal exposed a British ship to a French port at a delicate moment, since Mauritius was the base of French power in the Indian Ocean. That two French ships bound for China and a frigate lay there when she called shows how the rival nations trade and shipping crossed at these mid-ocean stations, and the council's careful note of what Captain Raikes observed there reflects the intelligence value of any glimpse into French movements. Major Munro drawing £570 for the use of the 89th Regiment shows the council acting as paymaster to a Crown regiment passing through, advancing government money against bills to be honoured in London. This overlap of Company and royal finance at St Helena reveals how the island's treasury served the wider needs of the state as well as the Company, extending credit to His Majesty's forces far from any other source of funds.
353	343	John Purling Esqr at 90 Days sight dated the 7 instant§ §Capt Maitland having no Money to discharge the§ §Ship Butes Account amounting to £410 13 2 he has left it§ §to be paid by his Owners to your Honors in England as you will§ §observe p Account transmitted in the Packet§ §We beg leave to observe that although we have mentioned in§ §our former Letters the impossibility of our supplying any other of§ §your Honors Ships that should arrive here this Year nevertheless we§ §have been obliged to furnish a large quantity of Salt Provisions§ §&c to the Ship Bute as you will find p Consultations to§ §enable her to pursue her Voyage to Europe with any degree of§ §safety though to a certainty of breaking in upon the Island§ §Stock, hope therefore we shall have an early storeship to§ §prevent the inconveniencys we shall otherwise be put to§ §We cannot transmit your Honors a Cash Account§ §to a later date than the Duplicate of our last, as the Quarters§ §Accounts will not be Laid before Us until the 21 instant§ §We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedient and hum Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §13 October 1765§ §Matthw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List	John Purling Esquire at 90 days sight, dated the 7th of this month. 5: Since Captain Maitland had no money to discharge the ship <i>Bute's</i> account, amounting to £410 13s 0d, he had left it to be paid by the ship's owners to the Court in England, as the Court would see from the account transmitted in the packet. 6: Although the council had mentioned in its former letters the impossibility of supplying any other of the Court's ships arriving this year, it had nevertheless been obliged to furnish a large quantity of salt provisions to the ship <i>Bute</i>, as the Court would see from the consultations, to enable her to pursue her voyage to Europe with any degree of safety. This meant it would certainly break in upon the island's stock. The council therefore hoped it would have an early store ship to prevent the inconvenience it would otherwise be put to. 7: The council could not transmit any cash account of later date than the duplicate of its last, since the quarter's accounts would not be laid before it until the 21st of this month. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 13 October 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The council furnishing the <i>Bute</i> with salt provisions despite its own dwindling stock reveals the hard choice forced on it by a homeward ship in need. To send a vessel on across the Atlantic without adequate victuals risked disaster, so the council drew down reserves it had declared it could not spare, judging the safety of the Court's ship the more pressing claim even at the cost of deepening its own shortage. Captain Maitland leaving the <i>Bute's</i> account of £410 13s 0d to be settled by the owners in London shows a common device for meeting port charges when a ship carried no ready money. Rather than paying at St Helena, the debt was carried home to be discharged against the vessel's owners, allowing the

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			island to supply a ship that could not pay on the spot while keeping a clear record for the Company to collect upon in England.
354	344	List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship§ §Bute dated 13 October 1765§ §No 1 Govr and Councils General Letter dated 13 Octor 1765§ §2 Duplicate do and do dated 2 Sept do§ §3 Consultations from 9 September to 10 October do§ §4 Duplicate do from 19 August to 6 September do§ §5 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Calcutta§ §6 Second do for do p Ship London§ §7 do do for do p the Dutch Ship§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Muster Roles of do§ §10 List of Officers and Servants taken 13 October 1765§ §11 do of Family's taken 30 September do§ §12 do of Rents taken 30 do do§ §13 do of the Honoble Companys Slaves taken 30 Septr 1765§ §14 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Calcutta§ §15 do Cash Account from 18 to 31 August 1765§ §16 do do from 1 to 8 September do§ §17 Ship Butes Account§ §18 Duplicate Calcuttas do§ §19 Abstract of the Cargoe of Ship Bute§ §20 Time of the arrival of the Butes Boat at Banks's§ §21 Duplicate Capt Thomsons Receipt for £5§ §22 Major Munros first Bill of Exchange§	This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Bute</i>, dated 13 October 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 13 October 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 2 September 1765 3: Consultations from 9 September to 10 October 1765 4: Duplicate consultations from 10 August to 6 September 1765 5: First receipt for the packet by the ship Calcutta 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship London 7: Second receipt for the packet by the Dutch ship 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Muster rolls of the garrison 10: List of officers and servants taken 13 October 1765 11: List of families taken 30 September 1765 12: List of rents taken 30 September 1765 13: List of the Company's slaves taken 30 September 1765 14: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Calcutta 15: Duplicate cash account from 18 to 31 August 1765 16: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 7 September 1765 17: Ship Bute's account 18: Duplicate ship Calcutta's account 19: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Bute 20: Time of the arrival of the Bute's boat at Bank's 21: Duplicate Captain Renou's receipt for £5 22: Major Munro's first bill of exchange Items 5, 6, 7 and 14 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>London</i>, a further second receipt by the Dutch ship, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>. Item 17 is the ship <i>Bute</i>'s account and item 18 the duplicate ship <i>Calcutta</i>'s account.
355	345	To the Honble &c§ §Honble Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on your Honors under date of the§ §13 October by your Ship Bute§ §On the 2 Instant arrived the Princess Augusta from§ §China Capt Baddison acquaints Us he left that Place the 2 Apr§ §& met with his Majestys Ship Argo off the Bogue of Tygris the 30§ §May he likewise tells Us he spoke with your Honors Ship Duke§ §of Richmond Duke of Gloucester & Earl of Elgin the 5 of June§ §Ships Sea the 25 Anthonyshe & Dutton the 28 & Salisbury the 29 of§ §the same Month the Grosvenor & Thames the 6 of August all in§ §the Straights of Banca§ §We have given Capt Baddison an Order to receive§ §on board the Princess Augusta towards compleating her Comh§ §Willm Frew who was left here out the Ship Bute, we subsid§ §him 20 days at 6 p day which money we suppose will be§ §repaid to your Honors by the owners of that Ship§ §We have granted the following Bills of Exchange viz One§ §set to Capt Thoms Baddison for £770 payable to himself§	To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on 13 October by the ship <i>Bute</i>. 2: The <i>Princess Augusta</i> had arrived from China on the 2nd of this month. Captain Baddison reported that he left China on 2 April and met His Majesty's ship <i>Argo</i> off the Bogue of Tygris on 30 May. He also reported that he spoke with the ships <i>Duke of Richmond</i>, <i>Duke of Gloucester</i> and <i>Earl of Elgin</i> on 3 June, the <i>Speaker</i> on the 25th, the <i>Anborough</i> and <i>Dutton</i> on the 28th, and the <i>Salisbury</i> on the 29th of the same month, and the <i>Grosvenor</i> and <i>Thames</i> on 6 August, all in the Straits of Banca. 3: The council had given Captain Baddison an order to receive aboard the <i>Princess Augusta</i>, towards completing her company, William Trew, who was left on the island out of the ship <i>Bute</i>. The council advanced him 20 days pay, which money it supposed would be repaid to the Court by the owners of that ship. 4: The council had granted the following bills of exchange. One set went to Captain Thomas Baddison for £770, payable to himself or order. One set went to Mrs Deroit for £130 7s 0d, payable to Mr Matthew Perchard or order, both drawn at 90 days sight and dated this day. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 18 November 1765 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick.

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		§or Order, And one set Mr Wm Peirot for £30 7 payable to Mr§ §Matthw Perchard or Order both drawn at ninety days sight &§ §dated this day§ §We are§ §Honble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and most humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §18 November 1765§ §Mr Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List	Interpretations The Straits of Banca, between Sumatra and the island of Banca, formed the passage through which homeward China ships threaded their way from the South China Sea into the Indian Ocean. The number of vessels Captain Baddison spoke there within a few weeks shows how the Company's fleet moved in loose succession along a common track, so that a single arriving captain could report the position of a dozen ships to the council for onward transmission home. The Bogue of Tygris was the fortified narrows at the mouth of the Pearl River below Canton, the gateway through which all shipping passed to reach the great China trading port. Captain Baddison meeting a King's warship there marks the growing naval presence guarding British commerce in Chinese waters, and its mention shows the council recording the movements of Crown as well as Company vessels along the eastern routes.
356	346	List of the Honble Companys Packet from St Helena p the Ship§ §Princess Augusta dated the 18 November 1765 viz§ §No 1 Governor & Councils Genl Letter dated 13 November 1765§ §2 Duplicate do & do dated 13 October do§ §3 Consultations from 11 October to the 18 November do§ §4 Duplicate do from 2 Septemb to the 10 October do§ §5 First receipt for the Packet p Ship Bute§ §6 Second do for do p Ship Calcutta§ §7 Effective State of the Garrison§ §8 Duplicate List of Family's taken 30 September 1765§ §9 do do of Rents taken 30 do do§ §10 do do of the Honble Compy Slaves taken 30 do do§ §11 do do of the Packet p Ship Bute§ §12 Cash Account from the 2 to the 30 Sept 1765§ §13 do do for the Month of October do§ §14 do do from the 1 to the 18 November do§ §15 Ship Princess Augusta's Account§ §16 Duplicate Ship Butes do§ §17 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Princess Augusta§ §18 Time of the arrival of the Ship Princess Augusta's Boat at Banks's§ §19 Major Munros Second Bill of Exchange§	This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i>, dated 18 November 1765. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 13 November 1765 2: Duplicate general letter dated 13 October 1765 3: Consultations from 14 October to 13 November 1765 4: Duplicate consultations from 9 September to 10 October 1765 5: First receipt for the packet by the ship Bute 6: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Calcutta 7: Effective state of the garrison 8: Duplicate list of families taken 30 September 1765 9: Duplicate list of rents taken 30 September 1765 10: Duplicate list of the Company's slaves taken 30 September 1765 11: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Bute 12: Cash account from 9 to 30 September 1765 13: Cash account for the month of October 1765 14: Cash account from 1 to 13 November 1765 15: Ship Princess Augusta's account 16: Duplicate ship Bute's account 17: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Princess Augusta 18: Time of the arrival of the ship Princess Augusta's boat at Bank's 19: Major Munro's second bill of exchange Items 5, 6 and 11 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Bute</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Calcutta</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Bute</i>. Item 15 is the ship <i>Princess Augusta's</i> account and item 16 the duplicate ship <i>Bute's</i> account.
357	347	To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §We Addressed your Honors last under date of the 18 Novemr§ §by your Ship Princess Augusta§ §On the 25 of last Month arrived your Honors Ships§ §Admiral Stevens from Bengal which place Capt Griffin acquaints§ §Us he left the 19 October last and your Ships Asia and Kent there,§ §he also tells Us he heard the Earl of Middlesex was to sail from§ §Madrass for Europe sometime in October We are likewise informed that§ §after the important Acquisitions obtained by your Honors Forces§ §under the command of Sir Robert Fletcher in Sujah Dowlas§	To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on 18 November by the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i>. 2: The ship <i>Admiral Stevens</i> had arrived from Bengal on the 25th of last month. Captain Griffin reported that he left Bengal on 19 October, with the ships <i>Asia</i> and <i>Kent</i> still there. He also reported that he heard the <i>Earl of Middlesex</i> was to sail from Madras for Europe sometime in October. The council was further informed that, after the important acquisitions the Court's forces under the command of Sir Robert Fletcher obtained in Shuja-ud-Daula's country, General Carnac received command of the army. In a short time he overran the Vizier's whole dominions, after which he returned and got a body of 30,000 Marathas to join his cause. With this force he returned and had several encounters with General Carnac and Sir

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		§Country, General Carnac received the Command of your Army, and in§ §a short time overrun the Viziers whole dominions after which he§ §returned and got a body of 30000 Marattoes to join his cause§ §with which Force he returned and had several Rencounters with§ §General Carnac and Sir Robt Fletcher who constantly gained great§ §advantages over him, and he was again drove out of the Country§ §and the Marattoes forced to retire to their districts, finding no more§ §Friends or other resources submitted to General Carnac, joined the§ §Army in June last, and marched down to Illiabad where the King§ §took up his Residence, these transactions happened in March§ §April and May; Lord Clive arrived at Bengall the 3 of May in§ §time to prescribe the Terms to the King to Sujah Dowla, and to the§ §new Nabob Napim el Dowla, he went up to Illiabad the 25 of§ §June where the King Sujah Dowla and other Rajahs and great§ §Men were convened, and new Treatys were made, in consequence§ §thereof§	Robert Fletcher, who constantly gained great advantages over him. He was at last driven out of the country and the Marathas forced to retire to their districts. Finding no more friends or other resources, he submitted to General Carnac, joined the army in June and marched down to Allahabad, where the King took up his residence. These transactions happened in March, April and May. Lord Clive arrived at Bengal on 3 May in time to prescribe the terms to the King, to Shuja-ud-Daula and to the new Nabob Nujum-ud-Daula. He went up to Allahabad on 25 June, where the King, Shuja-ud-Daula and other rajahs and great men were convened, and new treaties were made. In consequence Interpretations The settlement described here was the treaty framework Clive imposed after Buxar, which fixed the Company's territorial supremacy across Bengal and the neighbouring states. By dictating terms at Allahabad to the Mughal Emperor, to the defeated Shuja-ud-Daula and to the puppet Nawab alike, the Company converted military victory into a formal political order, and the council's full transmission of these events shows St Helena relaying home the decisive moment of the Company's transformation from trader to territorial ruler. The 30,000 Marathas raised by Shuja-ud-Daula reveal how the defeated Vizier sought to recover his position by drawing in the greatest independent military power in India. The Marathas were a confederacy whose horsemen could turn the balance of any campaign, and their willingness to join his cause and subsequent forced retreat show the shifting alliances the Company had to master, so that its victory rested on defeating not one enemy but a coalition of the country powers.
358	348	thereof Suja Dowla is restored to the Ozerat and Gazipoor and§ §Banaras given up to him, he engaging to pay the Company for the§ §Expence of the War 50 Lack of Rupees, the Rent of these two Provinces§ §for next Year going a part of the Sum, a League offensive and§ §Defensive Settled betwixt Sujah Dowla and the Company; the§ §King have given the Company Sunnuds or Grants of the Duanny§ §and perpetual Jaghier of the Royal Revenue of Bengal Bahar§ §and Orixia with Sunnuds, confirming to the Company the§ §Revenues formerly Ceded to them by Cossim Ali Khan viz§ §Burdwan Midnepoor and Chittigong We are also told that Colonel§ §Smith is with an Army of Observation at Illiabad in order if§ §necessary to support the Shah Sadah in case he wants his§ §assistance to set him on the throne§ §The Passengers on board these Ships are Mr and§ §Mrs Johnson Capt Burgall and his Wife and Messrs§ §Downie Bunting Field and Fillwood§ §We have given Capt Griffin a Receipt for§ §£416 10 of your Honors Money it being in German Crowns§ §he would not pass them at the Cape as there was a loss of§ §25 p Ct on that Species§ §Capt John Griffin applied to Us to pay £396§ §into your Cash which we have received and given him Bills§ §drawn on your Honors for that Sum payable to Capt John§	Of these treaties, Shuja-ud-Daula was restored to Oudh, with Ghazipur and Banaras given up to him. He engaged to pay the Company 50 lakhs of rupees for the expense of the war, the rent of these two provinces for next year forming a part of the sum. A league offensive and defensive was settled between Shuja-ud-Daula and the Company. The King had given the Company grants of the diwani and perpetual jaghire of the royal revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, with grants confirming to the Company the revenues formerly ceded to them by Kasim Ali Khan, namely Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong. The council was also told that Colonel Smith was with an army of observation at Allahabad, in order, if necessary, to support the Shah Alam in case he wanted assistance to set him on the throne. 3: The passengers aboard these ships were Mr and Mrs Johnson, Captain Burgall and his wife, and Messrs Downey, Bunting, Field and Fillwood. 4: The council had given Captain Griffin a receipt for £416 10s 0d of the Court's money, it being in German crowns. He would not pass them at the Cape, as there was a loss of 25 per cent on that species. 5: Captain John Griffin had applied to the council to pay £396 into its cash, which it received and gave him bills drawn on the Court for that sum, payable to Captain John Durand or order, 90 days after sight, dated this day. 6: By this opportunity the council transmitted its general books of accounts balanced to 30 September. 7: Since the salt provisions and flour in its stores were expended, the council was now under the necessity of employing the Court's boats to fish for the support of the garrison, as the return of Interpretations The grant of the diwani recorded here was the pivotal acquisition of the Company's history,

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		§Durand or Order 90 Days after sight dated this day§ §By this opportunity we transmit your Honors§ §General Books of Accounts Balanced to the 30 Sept last§ §The Salt Provisions and Flour in your Stores being§ §expended, we are now under the necessity of employing your Honors§ §Boats to fish for the support of the Garrison, as the scarcity of§ §Cattle§	conferring the right to collect the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on behalf of the Mughal Emperor. This transformed the Company from a trading concern into the effective ruler and tax-gatherer of the richest provinces in India, and the council's transmission of the news home marks St Helena as the conduit through which word of this decisive constitutional shift reached the directors in London. The distinction over German crowns refused at the Cape at a 25 per cent loss shows how the value of coin varied sharply between ports according to what each market would accept. Silver crowns good in one place might be discounted heavily in another, so the council recorded the exact species and the loss it carried, since the Company's cash held on the island had to be reckoned not by its face but by what it would actually fetch where it was spent. A lakh was a unit of a hundred thousand, so the 50 lakhs of rupees Shuja-ud-Daula engaged to pay amounted to five million rupees, an indemnity of great magnitude reflecting the scale of the Company's victory. The use of the Indian reckoning in the council's report shows how far the language of the subcontinent's finance had entered the Company's correspondence, as sums of this size passing between Indian rulers and the Company became matters the directors needed to grasp.
359	349	Cattle this Year is only 32 4, and being Obligated to encroach upon§ §them two Months sooner than the usual time, we have fallen upon§ §the above measure to feed the Garrison and shall avoid as much as§ §posable killing upon the live Stock, as we apprehend the Shipping§ §will be in want of them, we likewise allow three Drams p Week§ §to a Man in the Garrison to enable them the better to support on§ §a Fish Diet§ §We have had a pretty good Winter Season, and from§ §the appearance of the Weather flatter ourselves the Summer Rains§ §will soon set in§ §We are§ §Honorable Sirs§ §Your most obedt and most humble§ §Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §Danl Corneille§ §3 Feby 1766§ §Matthw Purling§ §Thos Kirkpatrick§ §List of the Honorable Companys Packet from St Helena p Ship§ §Admiral Stevens dated 3 February 1766 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 3 Feby 1766§ §2 do and do dated 3 do do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate do and do dated 18 Novr 1765§ §4 Consultations from 25 Novr 1765 to 3 Feby 1766§ §5 Duplicate do from 11 October to 18 Novr 1765§	Cattle this year was only 20 head. Being obliged to encroach upon them two months earlier than the usual time, the council had fallen upon the above measure to feed the garrison. It would avoid as much as possible killing upon the live stock, since it feared the shipping would be in want of them. It likewise allowed three drams of arrack a week to each man in the garrison to enable them the better to support a fish diet. 8: The council had had a fairly good winter season, and from the appearance of the weather trusted the summer rains would soon set in. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 3 February 1766 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Admiral Stevens</i>, dated 3 February 1766. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 3 February 1766 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 3 February 1766 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate general letter dated 18 November 1765 4: Consultations from 25 November 1765 to 3 February 1766 5: Duplicate consultations from 14 October to 13 November 1765 Interpretations The issue of arrack to soldiers set to a fish diet shows how the council used a spirit ration to reconcile the men to short commons. Arrack was a strong distilled liquor of the East, and granting it weekly softened the hardship of a diet reduced to fish when the salt provisions failed, a practical concession to keep the garrison content while the island waited on resupply. The council's care to spare the live cattle for the sake of passing shipping reveals the priority it gave to its role as a victualling station over its own convenience. Rather than slaughtering its herds to feed the garrison, it turned the men to fishing and preserved the stock, since the ships that called depended on fresh meat, and the island's whole

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			purpose lay in keeping that supply ready even when its own provisions ran short. The council's reference to the winter season passing and the summer rains approaching in February reflects the southern-hemisphere calendar that governed the island's year. Its husbandry and its expectations of the harvest turned on this reversed cycle, so that the depths of the northern winter fell in St Helena's cooler months, a rhythm the council's planning of provisions and cattle necessarily followed.
360	350	6 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Princess Augusta§ §7 Second do for do p Ship Bute§ §8 Effective State of the Garrison§ §9 Muster Roles of do§ §10 List of Officers and Servants taken 3 Feby 1766§ §11 do of Cattle returned for Slaughter and killed in the Year 1765§ §12 Duplicate List of the Packet p Ship Princess Augusta§ §13 Cash Account from 19 to the 30 November 1765§ §14 do for the Month of December do§ §15 do for the Month of January 1766§ §16 do from the 1 to the 3 Feby do§ §17 Duplicate do from the 9 to 30 September 1765§ §18 do do for the Month of October do§ §19 do do from the 1 to 18 November do§ §20 Ship Admiral Stevens Account§ §21 Duplicate Ship Princess Augusta's Account§ §22 Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held the 9 Octor 1765§ §23 General Books of Accounts§ §To the Honoble &c§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Our last Letter waited on your Honors under date§ §of the 3 February by the Ship Admiral Stevens§ §On the 20 of last Month arrived Your Ships Earl of§ §Middlesex	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 6: First receipt for the packet by the ship Princess Augusta 7: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Bute 8: Effective state of the garrison 9: Muster rolls of the garrison 10: List of officers and servants taken 3 February 1766 11: List of cattle returned for slaughter and killed in the year 1765 12: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Princess Augusta 13: Cash account from 10 to 30 November 1765 14: Cash account for the month of December 1765 15: Cash account for the month of January 1766 16: Cash account from 1 to 3 February 1766 17: Duplicate cash account from 9 to 30 September 1765 18: Duplicate cash account for the month of October 1765 19: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 13 November 1765 20: Ship Admiral Stevens's account 21: Duplicate ship Princess Augusta's account 22: Proceedings of a general quarterly session held 9 October 1765 23: General books of accounts Items 6, 7 and 12 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Bute</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i>. Item 20 is the ship <i>Admiral Stevens's</i> account and item 21 the duplicate ship <i>Princess Augusta's</i> account. To the Honourable Court. Honourable Sirs. 1: The council had last written to the Court on 3 February by the ship <i>Admiral Stevens</i>. 2: The ship <i>Earl of Middlesex</i> had arrived on the 16th of last month.
361	351	Middlesex from Madrass, Captain Fletcher acquaints Us he left that§ §Place the 20 October and your Honors Ship Hardwicke there She§ §was to sail for Bombay two days after, being the Fox and True§ §Briton left Madrass the 18 of October for Bombay, the Pacifick§ §Grenville and Speke proceeded for Bengal about the beginning of Octobr§ §and the Horrendon Royal Captain and Tilbury Sailed from Fort§ §St George for China in July last, He also informs Us the Company's§ §Troops were in Winter Quarters after having Conquered the Nyggars§ §who held out against the Nabob, and that the Affairs on the Coast§ §were in perfect Peace when he left Madrass§ §The Passengers on board these Ships are Mr Vandulingen§ §a Dutch Gentleman late Governor of Negahalam his	The <i>Earl of Middlesex</i> had come from Madras. Captain Fletcher reported that he left Madras on 20 October, with the ship <i>Hardwicke</i> still there. She was to sail for Bombay two days after him. The <i>Fox</i> and <i>True Briton</i> left Madras on 18 October for Bombay, the <i>Pacific</i>, <i>Grenville</i> and <i>Speke</i> proceeded for Bengal about the beginning of October, and the <i>Horsendon</i>, <i>Royal Captain</i> and <i>Tilbury</i> sailed from Fort St George for China in July. Captain Fletcher also reported that the Company's troops were in winter quarters after having conquered the Poligars who held out against the Nabob, and that affairs on the Coast were in perfect peace when he left Madras. 3: The passengers aboard this ship were Mr Vandulingen, a Dutch gentleman late governor of Negapatam, his wife, and Captains Backhouse and Russell, Lieutenants Scott, Jarmone, Nesbett, Marques and Smith, Ensign Spencer and William King, surgeon's mate, all belonging to His Majesty's 79th Regiment, Mr Macfad and Messrs Dacosta and Munro.

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		Wife and Family§ Captains Backhouse and Russell, Lieuts Scott, Sarmores, McNabb§ Marques and Smith, Ensign Spencer and William King Surgeons§ mate all belonging to his Majestys 79 Regiment, Mr MacFad and§ Messrs DCoste and Munn§ Your Honors will please to Observe by our Consultation§ of the 10 of last Month, that we took several Depositions with respect§ to the Desertion of six of your Military on board the Admiral Stevens§ we beg leave to refer you to that Consultation for the particulars, and§ must further observe that from the several circumstances it appears to§ Us that the Captain and Officers of that Ship were privy to the Desertion§ of those Men, Your Honors former Orders with regard to Ships not§ being allowed to Sail from hence in the Night, we are determined§ strictly to put into execution in future, as we think it will be a means§ of deterring the Garrison and others from such attempts for the time to come§ On§	4: In the consultation of the 10th of last month the council took several depositions concerning the desertion of six of the Court's military aboard the <i>Admiral Stevens</i>. The council referred the Court to that consultation for the particulars, and further noted that from the several circumstances it appeared the captain and officers of that ship were privy to the desertion of those men. The Court's former orders about ships not being allowed to sail from the island in the night the council was determined strictly to put into execution in future, since it thought this would be a means of deterring the garrison and others from such attempts for the time to come. Interpretations The desertion of six soldiers aboard the <i>Admiral Stevens</i>, with the ship's officers suspected of conniving at it, exposed a persistent threat to the garrison's strength. Homeward ships offered deserting men a route off the island, and a captain willing to hide them made the loss easy, so the council seized on the Court's rule against night sailings as its remedy, judging that a ship forced to leave by day could be watched and searched before it slipped away. The Poligars were the fortified chieftains of southern India who held their lands by arms and often defied the authority of the Nawab and the Company alike. Their subjugation, reported here as clearing the way to peace on the Coast, marks the Company's steady reduction of the independent country powers, and the council's relay of the news shows how the pacification of the far south reached London through the island's traffic. Negapatam was the principal Dutch settlement on the Coromandel coast, so its late governor travelling home aboard a British ship marks the movement of a senior official of a rival power through St Helena. That a Dutch governor took passage on an English East Indiaman shows the practical accommodation between the nations at sea even as they competed for the eastern trade, and the island served as the common waypoint where such crossings occurred.
<u>362</u>	352	On the 22 of last Month arrived your Ships Medway§ and the 2 instant the Prince of Wales, by which Conveyances we had the§ pleasure of receiving your Honors Orders and Instructions to Us, the§ Earl of Middlesex sailing so soon after the arrival of these Ships§ renders it impossible for Us to answer your Letter until the next§ opportunity, but in the mean time beg leave to assure your Honors§ that we will punctually Obey and pay all proper regard and§ Attention to your Orders relative to the Fortifications, as well as all§ others§ Capt Fletcher having spared Us 10 packs of Salt§ Provision, when we had nothing in the Stores, in consideration of which§ we had promised to permit him to touch at Ascension for Turtle but the§ arrival of the Storeships altering that circumstance by enabling Us§ to return him an equal weight of Salt Provision we do not think it§ proper to take upon Us to grant him that liberty, and on his§ further representation of wanting fresh Provision for the use of his§ Passengers, we have furnished him with 21 Bullocks and 6 Sheep§ extraordinary on that Account§	5: The ship <i>Norway</i> had arrived on the 28th of last month, and the <i>Prince of Wales</i> on the 2nd of this month. By this conveyance the council received the Court's orders and instructions. Since the <i>Earl of Middlesex</i> was to sail so soon after the arrival of these ships, it was impossible for the council to answer the Court's letter until the next opportunity. In the meantime the council assured the Court that it would punctually obey and pay all proper regard and attention to the orders relating to the fortifications, as well as all others. 6: Captain Fletcher having spared the council 10 casks of salt provisions when it had none in its stores, in consideration of which the council had promised to permit him to touch at Ascension for turtle. The arrival of the store ships altered that circumstance, since it enabled the council to return him an equal weight of salt provisions. The council did not think it proper to grant him that liberty, and on his further representation of wanting fresh provisions for the use of his passengers, it furnished him with 21 bullocks and 6 casks extraordinary on that account. The council closed as the Court's most obedient and humble servants. The letter was signed at St Helena on 4 March 1766 by John Shottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. Interpretations The council's refusal to let Captain Fletcher touch at Ascension for turtle, once the store ships allowed it to repay him in kind, shows the tight control it kept over ships breaking their passage at the island's

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		§We are§ §Honoble Sirs§ §Your most obedt and most humble Servants§ §(signed)§ §St Helena§ §John Shottowe§ §Daniel Corneille§ §4 March 1766§ §Matthew Purling§ §Thomas Kirkpatrick§ §List	dependency. Ascension was a resort for turtle that homeward crews prized for fresh meat, but the council treated permission to call there as a favour to be granted only in return for a real service, so when it could settle the debt with salt provisions instead, it withdrew the concession rather than let it pass as a matter of course. The whole exchange over 10 casks of salt provisions turns on the precariousness of the island's stores at the moment they ran dry. Captain Fletcher's ship supplied the council when it had nothing, reversing the usual flow in which the island victualled the ships, and the careful reckoning of repayment in equal weight shows how exactly such emergency dealings were accounted for when the settlement's own reserves had failed.
363	353	List of the Honoble Companys Packet from St Helena p Ships§ §Earl of Middlesex dated 4 March 1766 viz§ §No 1 Governor and Councils General Letter dated 4 March 1766§ §2 do and do do dated 4 do do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §3 Duplicate do and do dated 3 February do§ §4 do do and do dated 3 do do§ §relating to Law Matters§ §5 Consultations from 10 Feby to 3 March 1766§ §6 Duplicate do from 25 November 1765 to 3 Feby 1766§ §7 First Receipt for the Packet p Ship Admiral Stevens§ §8 Second do for do p Ship Princess Augusta§ §9 Effective State of the Garrison§ §10 Duplicate List of Cattle returned for Slaughter and killed in the Yr 1765§ §11 do do of the Packet p Ship Admiral Stevens§ §12 Cash Account from 4 to 22 February 1766§ §13 do from 1 to 4 March do§ §14 Duplicate do from 19 to 30 November 1765§ §15 do do for the month of December do§ §16 do do for the month of January 1766§ §17 do do from the 1 to 3 February do§ §18 Ship Earl of Middlesex's Account§ §19 Duplicate Ship Admiral Stevens do§ §20 Proceedings of a General Quarterly Sessions held the 15 Jany 1766§ §21 Duplicate do and do held the 9 Octor 1765§ §22 Abstract	This was a list of the Company's packet sent from St Helena by the ship <i>Earl of Middlesex</i>, dated 4 March 1766. 1: Governor and Council's general letter dated 4 March 1766 2: Governor and Council's letter dated 4 March 1766 relating to law matters 3: Duplicate general letter dated 3 February 1766 4: Duplicate general letter dated 3 February 1766 relating to law matters 5: Consultations from 10 February to 3 March 1766 6: Duplicate consultations from 25 November 1765 to 3 February 1766 7: First receipt for the packet by the ship Admiral Stevens 8: Second receipt for the packet by the ship Princess Augusta 9: Effective state of the garrison 10: Duplicate list of cattle returned for slaughter and killed in the year 1765 11: Duplicate list of the packet by the ship Admiral Stevens 12: Cash account from 4 to 28 February 1766 13: Cash account from 1 to 4 March 1766 14: Duplicate cash account from 19 to 30 November 1765 15: Duplicate cash account for the month of December 1765 16: Duplicate cash account for the month of January 1766 17: Duplicate cash account from 1 to 3 February 1766 18: Ship Earl of Middlesex's account 19: Duplicate ship Admiral Stevens's account 20: Proceedings of a general quarterly session held 15 January 1766 21: Duplicate proceedings of a general quarterly session held 9 October 1765 Items 7, 8 and 11 concern named vessels: the first receipt for the packet went by the ship <i>Admiral Stevens</i>, the second receipt by the ship <i>Princess Augusta</i>, and the duplicate list of the packet by the ship <i>Admiral Stevens</i>. Item 18 is the ship <i>Earl of Middlesex's</i> account and item 19 the duplicate ship <i>Admiral Stevens's</i> account.
364	354	22 Abstract of the Cargo of Ship Earl of Middlesex§ §23 Time of the arrival of the Ship Earl of Middlesex's Boat§ §at Banks's§	The list of the packet continued with the following items. 22: Abstract of the cargo of the ship Earl of Middlesex 23: Time of the arrival of the ship Earl of Middlesex's boat at Bank's
365	355	Blank page	
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		Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) (H) 38.5 cm × (W) 26 cm × (D) 5 cm No. written pages: 363 No. blank pages: 77 Spine and cover Good condition Recently rebound. Inside pages Good condition. Foxing present. Pages numbered on every other page. Additional comments Time taken to photograph (hours) 4 hours.	