St Helena Records 1763-1764

Introduction: This is the 42nd volume in the series of *St Helena Records*, which summarises the proceedings of official meetings held by the island's Governor and Council, during which matters of government, defence, supplies, justice and discipline were discussed and recorded.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-1-42.

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

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

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

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

Pagination: The pages are unnumbered. Therefore, for reference purposes, the first page of the records on Film No. 5 is designated as page 1 (location 5/1), with numbering continuing sequentially through the end of the volume.

Dates: The Council's first meeting took place on 24 July 1763, with the final meeting occurring on 1 October 1764. All the sessions were convened during the administrations of Captain Charles Hutchinson (1747-1764) and John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

The records run from the Council meeting of Monday 25 July 1763 at the Castle in Jamestown, with accounts from 1 July 1763, to the meeting of 8 October 1764. Governor Charles Hutchinson presided with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as

councillors; the first minute names Matthew Bazett, the secretary, in place of Purling, probably a copying slip. The Seven Years' War had ended with the peace signed at Paris on 10 February 1763, proclaimed on the island on 31 March 1764. [Film No. 5–429]

Governance and Administration

From 25 July 1763 the Council met at the Castle, usually on Mondays, with meetings also on Thursday 1 December 1763, Friday 4 May, Thursday 10 May, Tuesday 22 May, Tuesday 5 June, Friday 6 July and Thursday 16 August 1764; it read and signed the previous minutes, all members signed each entry, it approved the plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts monthly and it counted the cash itself. Monthly accounts were approved on 14 November and 12 December 1763 and on 9 January, 13 February, 12 March, 11 June, 9 July, 13 August and 10 September 1764. [Film No. 5, 9, 10, 14, 25, 29, 30, 116, 122, 125, 131, 186, 188, 192, 201, 268, 278, 282–283, 295, 300, 315, 319, 331, 333, 402, 404, 414]

A notice of 29 August 1763 closed the stores from 10 September to 10 October for the annual count, and on 5 September the Council sent Skottowe and Kirkpatrick rather than the storekeeper, James Powell, to take stock. It wrote off a spoiled tierce of Irish beef on 19 September and on 26 September struck off six worn diaper tablecloths, seven damask napkins, two feather beds and a staved longboat from the Governor's household. The inventory, signed by Skottowe and Kirkpatrick on 30 September and entered on 17 October 1763, valued the stores at £11,562 3s 9d, of which European goods made £9,322 6s 5d; damaged bunting was listed apart, and £7,499 6s 10d carried forward became £7,499 6s 3d on the next leaf. On 24 October 1763 Powell's wastage account of £34 2s 9d, signed on 30 September, was approved and charged to profit and loss. [Film No. 23, 24, 29, 32, 93, 102–110, 112–113]

The paymaster's account for July to September 1763, signed by Kirkpatrick on 30 September with a reservation for errors and examined on 17 October, charged him with £3,099 7s 1d. The Governor drew £125 0s 0d a quarter, or £500 a year, with £31 14s 9d for servants, and Skottowe £87 10s 0d; writers received £20 a year and factors £30, with allowances often exceeding salary. Richard Law was paid as writer for six days and factor for 86. The stonemason Thomas Townsend earned £78 a year and the master mason John Bland £70 with allowances. Purling was paid as councillor and as accountant. Minor offices, among them clerk of the peace, gardener, cooper, gaoler and clock cleaner, cost £82 5s 0d. The Second Company's sentries were carried forward at £180 6s 0½d but brought forward at £186 6s 0½d. [Film No. 42–44, 48, 49, 54, 57, 61–62, 76, 92]

Separate books checked one another. In July to September 1763 flour issued to the Governor's table matched the 1,120 lb consumed, sugar candy and arrack agreed to the pound and bottle, and a bar shot and speaking trumpet lost in the gunner's account reappeared as paid sales, though the table valued sugar candy at 4d a pound against about 5¼d in store. The Council drew 155 lb of candles that quarter, more than the Castle, 155 lb again in October to December with 98½ lb for the Castle, and 195 lb in April to June 1764. [Film No. 62, 70, 80, 150, 354]

On 31 October 1763 the accountant reported the books balanced to 30 September and was ordered to make fair copies for the Court of Directors; they were ready on 2 January 1764, after the *Grosvenor*, the only homeward ship in the interval, had sailed on 6 December. [Film No. 114, 131]

The civil list for October to December 1763 gave the Governor £156 14s 9d with his servants' allowance and Law £30 0s 0d as a full factor and assistant to the Governor; Townsend's salary of £19 10s 0d exceeded the secretary's, and the cooper appears as James Forbet and the groom as Zedekiah Sanderson. Pay for the quarter totalled £2,851 8s 5½d on 31 December 1763. Kirkpatrick, as paymaster, was charged £3,036 15s 0¾d, recorded payments of £3,036 15s 3¼d and the cash account entered £3,036 15s 3d; a penny also went astray between two pages of the artillery list. [Film No. 163, 164, 175–178, 180, 182, 183, 185]

On 27 March 1764 the *Duke of Richmond* brought the Directors' packet, and the Council passed its orders to the Reverend William Lee, Nathan Sampley and John Ware Welch; Welch was promoted from cadet to lieutenant from 17 May 1763 with £61 6s 8d arrears and Sampley received £48 0s 0d arrears as lieutenant from the same date. In the civil list for January to March 1764 a factor drew £7 10s 0d salary and £12 10s 0d allowances, William Wrangham was also assistant storekeeper, Law assistant to the Governor, and

Kirkpatrick received only £10 0s 0d as councillor. Powell signed the storekeeper's return on 31 March, dividing stock between three rates of sale and 11 accounts, and the Council approved the quarter's accounts on 16 April; balances of £985 8s 8d and £60 8s 10d reappeared as £985 13s 8d and £60 8s 4d, and the shortage account of 9 April is signed by a storekeeper read as [...] Bowle. Kirkpatrick received £3,555 0s 1½d for the quarter, of which £621 16s 4½d went beyond pay. [Film No. 210, 220, 224, 226–227, 236–237, 244–248, 257, 260–263]

Hutchinson went aboard the *Egmont* on 13 May 1764 to a 19-gun salute, taking a sea stock of six cattle, six sheep, 18 ducks, 12 dozen bottles of wine and a cask of beer, entered in the livestock account as six steers, six wethers and 18 ducks. On 14 May the Council proclaimed, with 19 guns, that the Directors had named Skottowe to succeed on Hutchinson's resignation and required all officers, soldiers and inhabitants to obey him; the salary list paid Hutchinson to 13 May and Skottowe as Governor from 14 May, and the Council sat thereafter as three. [Film No. 284–285, 288, 316, 318, 369]

On 21 May 1764 Matthew Bazett junior, overseer for 10 years, petitioned for the pay of his late predecessor Richard Gurling; the Council found the post had paid £60 0s 0d a year, deducted £10 0s 0d now paid to Robert Tushurst for the Longwood livestock and granted him £50 0s 0d a year as chief overseer, against £30 0s 0d before. [Film No. 263, 294]

The Council used ships' passages for its correspondence. On 8 April 1764 it wrote by the *Duke of Richmond* to Bombay under Charles Crommelin, Madras under Robert Palk and Bengal under Henry Vansittart, listing ships arrived since its previous letters by the *Egmont* of 15 April 1763, and sent Roger Carter at Fort Marlborough the ship's charter party, manifest and victualling bill with over 500 lb of sheathing nails and four Chinese millstones for Bencoolen. The *Princess Augusta* arrived from England on 22 May with a Directors' packet; her 10 working days for unloading expired on 2 June, and on 4 June the Council ordered Captain Thomas Baddison to Fort Marlborough with letters and copies of those sent by the *Duke of Richmond*. It sent the supercargoes at Canton a chest of treasure and ordered no sugar candy for 1765, and it regretted that Fort Marlborough had not received the Chinese settlers it expected. [Film No. 213–215, 295, 297–299]

The salary list for April to June 1764 paid Purling £15 0s 0d as councillor, £17 10s 0d as accountant and £15 0s 0d diet; Kirkpatrick £7 10s 0d with house rent; the chaplain John Thackery £17 10s 8d; the secretary, Matthew Bazett, and Powell £35 0s 0d each; the factors William Wrangham £25 0s 0d, Francis Wrangham £20 0s 0d and Richard Law £30 0s 0d; and the writer David Alcock £17 10s 0d. On 30 July 1764 Alcock petitioned to go to England when his contract expired in 1765 to seek a post at another settlement, seeing little prospect of advancement. [Film No. 369, 396]

On 27 August 1764 the Council ordered every household to return a signed account of family, land and cattle to the Secretary's Office by 20 September and to pay rents at the Castle on 1 October, and closed the stores from 8 September to 8 October. At a meeting entered as 10 September, but probably held on 3 September because the next minutes, also dated 10 September, read those of 3 September, it appointed Purling and Kirkpatrick to take the stocktaking. On 24 September 1764 it transferred to the London current account debts of £4 11s 3d from George Gabriel Powell, who left in 1744, and £13 17s 10½d from the *Princess Amelia*, taken by the French in 1746. [Film No. 410–411, 413–414, 422]

Military Affairs and Defence

The garrison comprised four infantry companies under Kirkpatrick (First), Henry Bazett (Second), Richard Beale (Third) and John Howard (Fourth) and an Artillery Company under Thomas Hall. Pay was reckoned by the day on a quarter of 91¼ days: a captain 10s, the adjutant 5s, a lieutenant 4s, a sergeant 1s 8d, a corporal or drummer 1s 2d and a sentry 10d, against 8d for a British private and 1s for a sergeant at home; a matross drew 1s, a quarter gunner 1s 6d, a gunner's mate 2s and the chief gunner's mate 2s 6d. By the quarter this gave a captain £45 12s 6d, a lieutenant £18 5s 0d with £6 16s 10½d diet and £2 10s 0d house rent where he lacked quarters, a sergeant £7 12s 1d, a corporal or drummer £5 6s 5½d, a private £3 16s 0½d, a gunner's mate £9 2s 6d, a quarter gunner £6 16s 10½d and a matross £4 11s 3d. Thomas Lambert drew no house rent in the quarter to 31 March 1764 but did in the next. The list for April to June 1764 ranked the artillery as sergeants at £9 2s 6d, corporals and bombardiers at £6 16s 10½d, gunners at £6 1s

8d and matrosses. Pay and allowances totalled £2,863 17s 10d for July to September 1763, £2,933 3s 9d for January to March 1764 and £2,850 19s 7½d for April to June 1764. [Film No. 44, 45, 47, 49, 52–56, 61, 165, 167, 170, 172, 175, 177, 247–249, 254–259, 371–383, 391]

Names such as Hans Ulrich Algaver and Christian Greenawald mark German or Swiss recruits. The cadet John Ware Welch drew a sergeant's pay, and the First Company had 68 privates in October to December 1763. The drum major was paid for teaching the young drummers in 1763 and Richard Platfoot in January to March 1764. The clothing issue of July to September 1763 supplied 383 sets of shoes, stockings, shirts and neckcloths; uniforms cost £693 14s 6d, a sergeant's coat and breeches £5 4s 6d against about £1 9s 5d for a sentry's, and the garrison account reached £1,032 10s 9d. [Film No. 44, 47, 49, 53, 61, 82, 165, 263]

Soldiers served fixed terms. George Finn was discharged on 20 July 1763 with 20 days' pay and joined the *Mercury*'s crew; the drummer Lewis King's pay stopped on 19 August, the day he applied, though release came on 22 August; Lewis Lemfried and Henry Scharenhorst were discharged on 3 September, two days before the *Clive* and *Prince of Wales* sailed. John Dobson, landed from the Cape in the *Mercury*, enlisted for five years on 17 October 1763 for a £5 0s 0d bounty and heard the Articles of War read. William Cooksey was discharged on 12 December 1763 after 73 days' service in the quarter. The drummer John Caffen (Caffyn) died on 16 November 1763 and Francis Soane moved from the Third Company to his place from 17 November at £1 10s 5d more a quarter; Michael Downey's pay ended in the Second Company on 14 November and began in the Third on 17 November, leaving two days unpaid. [Film No. 7, 19, 24, 47, 51, 53, 55, 112, 127, 168, 171–173, 179]

The matross John Robinson was discharged on 30 January 1764. On 13 March 1764 Corporal Christian Hornick (Hornicle) and 10 sentinels, among them Algaver and Greenawald, applied for discharge at the end of their terms, followed between 22 March and 9 April by Abraham Major, Baron Delofe, Samuel Hilson, Isaac Buck, John Cripps and Henry Sawyer; the pay list paid Algaver and Martin Newman only to 1 March. Alexander Groombridge became corporal on 14 March in Hornick's place. A man could leave early by finding a substitute: on 19 March John Piplow (Pipley), a barber with one year nine months served, was released and John Slade, discharged on 13 March, rejoined in his place on 28 March; on 26 March George Streaight, a matross with three years nine months served, was released for Isaac Buck and engaged as armourer for three years, though the civil list paid him £9 0s 0d as armourer for the whole quarter. Bounties of £10 0s 0d for five years' re-enlistment were paid to 11 men: Newman, Abraham Mayor (Mayo) and Greenawald on 2 April 1764, Daniel Armin on 9 April, Cooksey on 13 April and William Hayks, Samuel Nixon, John Long, Thomas Pearce, Thomas Wiffington and James Long; Baron Delofe re-enlisted without bounty. Fourteen new men joined on 27 March, and the *Duke of Richmond*'s surgeon, John Crowther, was paid 5s 0d a head for 20 recruits. [Film No. 186, 205, 207–209, 211–212, 222, 247–256, 259, 267, 385]

Sergeant John Burnham was discharged on 7 April 1764 and sailed for Bencoolen with the Council's written praise; William Bell became sergeant and William Clay corporal on 8 April. James Hill, a matross and bricklayer discharged on 4 April, went to Bencoolen for five years in place of James Byrne. Sergeant George Hillesham (Hillesheim) and Private John Marsh were discharged on 14 April and Thomas Bailey became sergeant and Armin, six days after enlisting, corporal on 15 April; John Allen was discharged on 23 April. Corporal Silvanus Kolph was reduced on 21 May, when Anthony Reynolds replaced him, and John Forbes on 28 May, when William Greenough rose. A recruiting drive on 22 May 1764 enlisted men in every company, including James Parfitt, who moved to the artillery on 5 June, and Jans (Jurgan) Buckman, left by the *Britannia*, enlisted from 21 May for £5 0s 0d. [Film No. 207, 211–212, 215, 222, 259, 267, 272, 292, 371–387]

Sergeant Thomas Ferris was discharged on 10 June 1764, John Carey becoming sergeant and John Sheens corporal on 11 June. Nine invalids discharged on 10 June were sent home at £5 0s 0d each, William Baker, James Brown, Andrew Sullivan, Darby O'Brien and James Huxley with Captain O'Hara and James Shadd, John Smith, John Dickerson and William Watkins with Captain Bowland. Thomas Durham and Thomas Lyon, left by the *Falmouth* and *Princess Augusta*, enlisted on 11 June for £5 0s 0d each. The island-born James Moyce enlisted on 2 July for half the bounty. Sergeants George Bazett and William Beale and Private Thomas Eastwood were discharged on 30 July 1764 and Groombridge on 21 August, after which he joined the *Deptford*'s crew. Thomas Richards, a *Pigot* passenger, enlisted on 6 August, and two King's soldiers from

the *Deptford*, Stephen Pryer and John Osborn, joined as corporal and private for £10 0s 0d each on 3 September 1764. [Film No. 315, 323, 330, 372, 379, 381, 387, 389, 396, 398, 410, 412–413]

Deaths recorded in the garrison were: Edward Jennings, a matross, on 4 August 1763; the sentry Anthony Day on 26 August, after 57 days' pay; John Cosslee on 27 October 1763; Henry Cooter (Cooke in the pay list) on 8 January 1764; Joseph Phillips on 27 or 28 January; the matross John Stow, drowned on 7 or 8 February; Private Edward Law, drowned on 11 February; Peter Eglestone on 24 February; John Holloway on 5 April and William Dicks on 6 April, dated 4 and 7 April in the pay list; William Beckett on 10 May 1764; and the discharged soldier Jonathan Chandler on 21 June 1764 after 45 days in the hospital. The sexton, John Price, dug 10 soldiers' graves in April to June 1764, and deals for coffins were charged to the garrison. [Film No. 13, 20, 27, 114, 131, 186–188, 190, 203, 212, 238, 249, 251, 253–254, 256, 259, 266, 283, 330, 357, 375–378, 389, 391]

Men awaiting passage were kept by the adjutant, Solomon Jacob, at 6d a day: five discharged soldiers, including King, Lemfried and Scharenhorst, and seamen left by the *Essex* and *Prince of Wales* in July to September 1763; Henry Mason, a sailor from the *Clinton*, for 58 days and Cooksey for 19 days in October to December; 17 men for 397 days in January to March 1764; and 19 men for 418 days, three seamen for 70 days at 7½d and a recruit for Bencoolen in April to June 1764. [Film No. 61, 181, 263, 391]

Lookouts at the Alarm House, Prosperous Bay, Banks's, Munden's Point, Turk's Cap, Lemon Valley, Rupert's, Sandy Bay, the Main Fort and the Main Guard reported every sail, and soldiers were paid for running news of ships to windward, £2 0s 0d in January to March and £4 0s 0d in April to June 1764. Alarms used the 3-pounders and 4-pounders; on 31 July 1763 two Dutch ships passing without calling brought a double alarm and fire from the 9-pounders at Banks's. A French ship ran past to leeward on 8 November 1763 and ships passed on 14 and 25 January, 17 February and 18 March 1764; the gunner recorded a double alarm for two ships on 17 February, though the minutes counted three. [Film No. 7, 12, 27, 41, 115–116, 127, 135, 186, 188, 190, 192, 203, 205, 218, 263, 389]

Powder spent was 96 lb 8 oz in July, 62 lb 12 oz in August, 52 lb 8 oz in September, 75 lb 4 oz in October, 56 lb 4 oz in November and 302 lb 8 oz in December 1763, when recruits' firing practice between 12 and 21 December took 252 lb; 31 lb 8 oz on alarms in January 1764; and 132 lb 8 oz with 75 guns in February, 151 lb with 88 guns in March, 265 lb with 178 guns in April, 302 lb with 205 guns in May, 160 lb 8 oz with 97 guns in June, 88 lb 8 oz with 30 guns in July, 210 lb 8 oz with 148 guns in August and 77 lb 8 oz with 19 guns in September 1764. May's funerals of Beckett and a Bencoolen recruit were entered at 24 lb each against 2 lb 4 oz for June's, so the month's total is probably overstated. [Film No. 7, 12, 27, 41, 116, 127, 133, 186, 190, 192, 203, 205, 218, 286, 317, 335, 402, 416, 428]

Salutes were scaled by rank: nine guns from the 2-pounders, at 1 lb a round, for each Company ship; 21 guns with small-arms volleys for George III's accession on 25 October 1763, the peace on 31 March 1764 (23 lb 8 oz and 17 lb) and the King's birthday on 4 June 1764 (volley 16 lb 8 oz); 18 for the *Plassey* and *Earl of Ashburnham* and 19 for Governor George Pigot's landing and 15 for Governor Vansittart's wife in February 1764, with further salutes at their embarkation on 5 March; 13 for Colonel Morris of the *Osterley* on landing on 5 April and re-embarking on 12 April; 19 for Admiral Cornish; 19 each for Hutchinson and Skottowe in May; 13 for the *Liverpool* and 15 for a Dutch ship in August; and 15 for Colonel Monson on landing from the *Deptford* on 18 August and 13 on re-embarking on 5 September 1764. The *Duke of Richmond*'s arrival salute is entered on both 25 and 27 March 1764, though she arrived on 27 March. [Film No. 7, 116, 192, 203, 210, 218, 286, 316, 317, 335, 402, 416, 428]

Guns and gear wore out. At Munden's Point sponge staves and rammer heads broke in August 1763; in September 15 lb of 1-pounder shot rusted and the gunner sold surplus powder, tallow, a sponge staff and a sheepskin; a pound of lead shot killed a sea cow, probably a seal, at Sandy Bay in July 1763. In October 1763 a 9-pounder and a 4-pounder were condemned as honeycombed and sent as ballast in the *Mercury*. Five budge barrels were condemned in January 1764, when a pound of powder shot game for the table, as again in March. Priming at Banks's since 28 November 1762, at the Alarm House and Prosperous Bay since 7 February 1763 and at the Alarm House since 17 July 1763 was charged only in February and April 1764. In May 1764 the East Flying Party used 18 lb and the West 9 lb in exercise, 37 lb scaled the guns at Sandy

Bay on 24 July, and in September 1764 the gunner sold 42 lb, lost 6 lb to sea spray at Sandy Bay and condemned five gun carriages. [Film No. 12, 27, 41, 116, 121, 190, 203, 205, 286, 317, 335, 402, 428]

Guards burned 140 gallons of train oil costing £26 16s 8d and received 97 lb of bohea in October to December 1763, 114½ gallons in January to March 1764 and 113¾ gallons at £22 16s 0d with 90 lb of bohea, 23 lamps, 61 blankets marked with Venetian red and sentry coats in April to June 1764. John Thomason was paid £2 15s 0d for new flags for the Main Fort, Banks's and Turk's Cap in 1763 and 10s for an ensign for the *Fly* in 1764. [Film No. 57, 61, 80–82, 85, 152, 241, 356–357, 389]

The fortifications account was £12 19s 1d for July to September 1763, when soldiers spent 551 days burning lime and repairing the Sandy Bay defences; £9 16s 2d for October to December, with paint for gun carriages, halyards at Banks's and repairs to the Sandy Bay guardhouse, and William Brown was paid £3 0s 0d for painting carriages, sentry boxes and the pinnace; £1 17s 9d for January to March 1764, chiefly 84 lb of cordage for the portcullis at the landing, with repairs at Turk's Cap, Prosperous Bay, the main guard and gunners' barracks and new sentry boxes; and £2 4s 10d for April to June 1764, covering iron and a padlock for the Lines gate and cordage for mounting cannon at Banks's. The Council ordered repair of the Prosperous Bay guard room on 23 January 1764. [Film No. 61, 77, 79, 81–82, 85–86, 148, 150, 159, 179, 186, 234–235, 238, 361]

The armourer George Streaight drew £9 0s 0d a quarter, arms chests were covered with canvas and train oil kept stored weapons from rust, and soldiers worked in his shop: Edward Durrant and William Mumford in 1763, John Dobson 10 weeks at 9s in October to December 1763 and 13 weeks in each of the next two quarters, Mumford 3 weeks at 6s and then 11 weeks, William Harris and Edward Terry 7 days at 1s 6d. The inventory of 30 September 1763 held 31 cwt of bar iron and six pairs of smith's bellows worth £31 3s 0d. [Film No. 56, 59, 77–78, 99, 102, 176, 179, 261, 389]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

All land belonged to the Company. A notice of 29 August 1763 required each householder to return a signed account of household, land and cattle to the Secretary's office by 20 September; on 30 September 1763 the inhabitants paid £572 1s 6d on 2,208¾ acres of freehold and 1,901 of leasehold, and on 1 October 1764 £575 11s 0d on 2,204¾ and 1,901. Freehold paid a small rent to the Company and leasehold more; ground rent fell on town plots. Parcels were charged from 1s to 20s an acre, the top rate on Margaret Alcock's 1¼ acres (1½ acres at 20s a year in 1764), some land for part of a year, and Francis Wrangham held 6 acres at a peppercorn. [Film No. 23, 33–35, 423–425]

Richard Bagley held over 300 acres, paying £47 14s 4d in 1763 and £48 19s 9d in 1764; Purling held over 300 acres at £34 15s 6d in 1763 and 313 acres at £36 0s 6d in 1764; and the Bagley, Bazett, Beale and Alexander families held most of the acreage. Kirkpatrick paid £4 14s 0d in 1763 and £6 9s 0d on 14 acres in 1764, and Nathan Sample held 25 acres of freehold and 8½ of leasehold. Ground rent alone was paid by Michael Frost, Eleanor Leech, the Pritchards, John Jacks, John Shirtley and others, and James Powell's plot at 3s a year, leased on 27 February 1764 after his petition of 6 February, was charged £0 1s 9d for seven months in 1764. Robert Ballard held 15½ acres at £1 8s 6d. Orphans' holdings of the Colgrave, Doveton, Desfountain, Harper, Knipe, Kennedy, Beale, Burnham, Gurling, Hayes, Seale, Twaits, Worrall and Whaley children were entered in their fathers' names, and Sarah Funge, Margaret Harper, Eleanor Leech and Elizabeth Lamb paid rent in their own names. [Film No. 33–35, 55, 57, 61, 187, 196, 423–424]

Some land was held on leases for lives, renewed by a fine when a named life died. On 5 July 1763 Richard Beale senior paid £1 0s 0d to add a life to his lease of 8 acres, and on 3 October 1763 the executors of Thomas Cotgrave (Colgrave on the rent roll) paid £3 8s 9d to replace the dead Samuel Doveton with James Cotgrave in the orphans' lease of 27½ acres, each fine half a year's rent at 5s an acre. The lease of Richard Harper's orphans' house expired on 7 September 1763; his executors Thomas and Henry Harper petitioned on 12 September and the new lease issued on 19 September. [Film No. 15, 28, 29, 34, 37, 38, 120]

The Council renewed and transferred leases on petition. On 7 November 1763 it renewed Purling's 9 acres in the East Division near the head of James Valley, executed on 14 November, and William Moore's 10 acres at Sandy Bay, whose term ended on 10 November, executed on 21 November. On 28 November

Simon Whaley was allowed to transfer 5 acres to Purling, who signed the order. On 19 December 1763 the executors and widow of John Worrall obtained renewal of his 42½ acres at Sandy Bay, executed on 9 January 1764. [Film No. 114–115, 118–119, 121, 128, 134]

On 13 February 1764 John Robinson petitioned for barren ground in the East Division to fence his holding against roaming stock, and it was ordered viewed. On 20 February the executors of Thomas Harper, Orlando Bagley, Benjamin Mason, Samuel Alexander and Jonathan Doveton, obtained leave to sell 19 acres at the head of Lemon Valley by public auction for his orphans. On 12 March 1764 Richard Bagley was granted a small plot and William Moore leave to sell his 10 acres in Sandy Bay Valley, Mrs Elizabeth Lamb becoming tenant. On 26 March John Bagley surrendered about 10 acres in the southern division to Harper's orphans, and Ruth Colgrave and George Alexander, executors of Thomas Colgrave, obtained leave to sell his 71½ acres in the East and South Divisions at auction as his will directed. On 25 June 1764 Bagley was leased a plot of waste in James's Valley at 6s 0d a year. [Film No. 188, 191, 194, 203, 204, 208–209, 325]

On 13 August 1764 Thomas Townsend, Joseph Chamberlain and John Bazett, Chamberlain signing with his mark, applied for unused ground opposite John Bruce's house; after inspection Chamberlain, a carpenter, received a plot 60 feet by 79 and Townsend, a mason, one 60 feet by 67 on 8 October 1764. On 10 September the Council renewed Orlando Bagley senior's 9 acres at the head of Lemon Valley in the West Division and Benjamin Mason's 4 acres called Griffin's in the South Division, completed on 24 September. On 1 October Richard Bagley, Francis Wrangham, James Greentree, Jonathan Doveton and Martha Scott, whose houses had no back doors, sought leases of Company ground behind them, as did Purling, and on 8 October Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice asked for a plot beside John Jacks's house; the Council ordered each viewed. [Film No. 403–404, 417, 422, 425–426, 429]

The Company's livestock opened July 1763 at 292 cattle, 673 sheep, 252 goats and 23 hogs. The flock fell to 621 by 31 July after 32 were slaughtered, 14 died and six wethers went to the *Albion*, stood at 610 at the end of August but opened September at 574, wethers dropping unexplained from 159 to 99; 21 lambs were born in August and 24 in September, and heifers fell from 25 to 19 and steers from 31 to 26. Regrading by age at the end of September gave 286 cattle and 573 sheep. On 1 October 1763 the stock stood at 286 cattle, 573 sheep, 254 goats, 22 pigs, 12 horses and 4 donkeys; 155 wethers came from the Cape in October, and 22 wethers were killed in October, 30 in November and 20 in December, leaving 173. A bull killed in December left three for 83 cows, and on 31 December 1763 the stock stood at 292 cattle, 661 sheep and 272 goats. [Film No. 11, 26, 40, 43, 117, 126, 132]

A notice of 19 December 1763 required each inhabitant to return by 1 January 1764 the cattle he would supply for slaughter in 1764, binding him to deliver them and to report any accident to a beast within three days in writing or replace it, with returns of horses and of sheep for sale. [Film No. 130]

In January 1764, when the stock opened at 292 cattle, 661 sheep, 272 goats and 19 pigs, 22 wethers were killed and two oxen died, cutting the working teams from 15 to 13; in February 84 sheep, 80 of them wethers, and a horse came from the Cape, probably in the *Mercury*, and the flock ended at 686. March ended with 295 cattle, 635 sheep, 282 goats, 17 hogs, 13 horses and 3 asses after 25 sheep were killed, six died and 20 went to the *Plassey*, with 15 fowls and six turkeys dead. On 9 April the Council paid £61 5s 0d, 245 dollars, to Captain Vincent for 100 sheep, barley, straw and flour brought from the Cape in the *Osterley*, which lifted the flock to 693 in April, when 10 cattle and 37 sheep were killed and fowls fell from 100 to 72 and turkeys from 45 to 30. May ended at 292 cattle, 679 sheep and 306 goats, 50 lambs were born in each of May and June, two ships took 10 wethers; on 30 June the flock stood at 691 and the cattle at 289, with nine of 26 turkeys dead in June. [Film No. 187, 189, 202, 217, 223, 287, 318, 334, 385]

The July 1764 return opened with 239 cattle against 289 on 30 June and closed at 240 against 290 on 1 August, a 50-calf discrepancy. Seven wethers went to the *Speaker* in August and 10 to the *Deptford* in September, wethers falling from 161 on 1 July to 97, pigs from 13 to 10; a mare was foaled in August. On 30 September 1764 the stock of 291 cattle, 632 sheep and 303 goats was regraded by age. [Film No. 401, 415, 427]

The plantation account was £17 12s 6d for July to September 1763 (ox bows, milk pans, scythe stones, wheelbarrow wheels); £23 11s 3d for October to December, for the main plantation, the Great Wood and a Sandy Bay holding, repairs to the old plantation house, the Great Wood gate and the slaves' house there, rat traps and 56 cwt of paddy for horses and poultry at £10 3s 2d, with 2½ pairs of yokes and four pairs of bows costing £5 0s 8d, arrack and sugar for men breaking in young oxen and train oil for mange; £13 0s 9d for January to March 1764, chiefly 39 cwt of paddy, with tar for sheep scab, a scythe for the Great Wood, paint for the cornice of Plantation House and nails for pasture gates and the pigeon house; and £18 17s 11d for April to June 1764, covering a lopping axe for the Great Wood, where an overseer lived, tools for the Maldivia garden, 18 scythes, ox yokes and bows, three cases of fleams for bleeding cattle, dairy milk pans and cordage and nails for thatching Plantation House and Longwood. Robert Tushurst (Ticehurst, Tewhurst) was paid £2 10s 0d a quarter for the Longwood livestock, entered for the Longwood kitchen in October to December 1763, and the overseers Samuel Alexander and Matthew Bazett £7 10s 0d a quarter each in 1763. Drams of arrack rewarded men who killed wild cats in October to December 1763, and a pound of powder was spent shooting wild cats at Longwood on 23 June 1764. [Film No. 43, 59, 61, 83–85, 149, 155, 156, 189, 239–240, 263, 335, 360]

Soldiers supplied most labour at 1s a day. In July to September 1763 they worked over 1,600 man-days, including 153 at the water trench, 229 in the pastures, 166 in the stores and 124 aboard the *Fly*; in October to December 357½ days grubbing spurge and furze at £17 17s 6d, 112½ repairing the hospital and more at Banks's, the lime kilns, the Ladder Hill path and the Longwood road; in January to March 1764 523½ days on fortifications, 125½ cutting wood for lime, 119 building a wall for the watercourse, 100 in the pastures, 85 in the stores, 78 on the road to Longwood and Ladder Hill, 72 at carpentry, 68 on the Company's houses and 8½ quarrying, with £13 11s 0d for the longboat; and in April to June 490½ days in the stores, 281 carrying wood for lime, 216 clearing furze and spurge, 116 quarrying limestone, 102 on fortifications, 31 cleaning the Castle and 31 heaving down the *Fly*, besides £3 6s 0d for watering the *Baleine*. Powder blasted limestone at Rupert's on 27 and 30 November and three times in December 1763 and on 8 February 1764, and slow match was issued to stone blasters in January 1764. [Film No. 61, 85, 127, 133, 181, 190, 203, 263, 385, 389, 391]

Stores for buildings in July to September 1763 went to the church, the market house roof, the officers' rooms at the new barracks, the officers' guard room, the Pigeon House, the Lieutenant Governor's house, the engine shed for the fire engine, an officers' room at Munden's Point and the garden and woodhouse at Plantation House; Riga pine cost £32 2s 1d, the church steeple, windows and doors were painted and 22 panes fitted, and general expenses came to £101 1s 10d. General charges in October to December were £70 17s 8d, covering the shed on the Line, Banks's guard room, the gunners' barracks and sentry boxes; in January to March 1764 £68 13s 2d covered the church, market house, storehouses, Lieutenant Governor's house, painting of the pigeon house roof, gunners' barracks, the Castle's blind and porch and the Secretary's office, thatch cordage for the church and a wood house and limestone moved from Sandy Bay. In April to June 1764 stores for the Company's use cost £74 19s 8d, including 80 bushels of coal at £4 18s 4d, locks for the tile house, lime house, new barracks and doctor's shop, axes for Horse Point and a lathe, nail rods and cooper's tools. The inventory of 30 September 1763 held 70 pickaxes, 34 wheelbarrows and over 100 masons' tools. [Film No. 76–80, 85, 96, 100–101, 148–151, 234–237, 241, 325, 351–353, 355]

On 25 June 1764 the Governor reported the new Plantation House decaying, and the tradesmen's survey found the walls and newest roof sound but the lead gutters, of 10 lb sheet to the square foot, blistered; John Robinson and Townsend proposed pulling down the three rear rooms under one thatched roof, Townsend with an extra storey. The Council's inspection that day found the roof ruinous and timbers rotting and blamed John Bland, under whom the hall beams had been too light, two parts had needed new roofs in 1759 and two rebuildings still leaked; it ordered the rear rooms removed, the house raised a storey and a single-span roof. On 2 July 1764 the Governor reported rain in almost every room of the Castle; Bland, Townsend and Robinson found the south wall sunk 6 inches where joined to older work, rafters propped, tiles rotten and canvas over part of the roof, and patches of lime, sugar and pitch failing, and the Council ordered a new roof under Robinson. Both surveys bear dates earlier than the meetings ordering them. [Film No. 323–325, 328, 329, 360]

Supply and Provisioning

The *Essex* brought 14 chests of sugar weighing 4,489 lb from China on 23 July 1763, invoiced at Canton on 27 January 1763 at 158 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 3 cash with chests at 5 mace each. The *Prince of Wales* from Bombay on 15 August and the *Clive*, last from Tellicherry, on 18 August each brought half of one Bombay order, 20 bags of beaten rice, 32 of paddy and a bale of Surat chelloes, invoiced at 719 rupees 1 quarter 10 reas; on 29 August the rice proved 10 cwt 3 qr 2 lb and 2 cwt 1 qr 12 lb short respectively, the *Prince of Wales* landed barely half the *Clive*'s paddy and the *Clive*'s sound bale lacked 3 corges 6 pieces. The *Clinton* arrived from Madras on 20 September 1763 with an invoice of 886 pagodas 34 fanams 36 cash for 117 pieces of long cloth in four bales, 34 bags of rice, 22 of paddy and two leaguers of arrack holding 200 gallons; on 30 September the storekeeper reported no rice or arrack delivered and the paddy 1 cwt 2 qr 8 lb short. [Film No. 5, 16–18, 23, 31, 32, 36]

The inventory of 30 September 1763 held about 390 casks of salt beef and pork worth £4,109 17s 10d, nearly 1,200 cwt of flour worth £815 8s 0d, 1,251½ gallons of arrack, over 2,500 lb of tea, sugar candy worth £778 10s 0d, rice and paddy over 660 cwt, 707 pairs of men's shoes, Cape salt, nearly 13 tons of rope worth £507 9s 0d, anchors worth £229 11s 3d (one lying on the West Rocks), a teak topmast, spars for a snow with 20 half-barrels of gunpowder, over 41,000 hooks and nearly 2,500 lines, 63 ox bows and yokes and 53,960 Irish halfpence worth £112 8s 4d. [Film No. 93–99, 103, 105–110]

Bread was baked by soldiers: Mark Balls and Michael Brown baked 117 batches at 20d in July to September 1763, Balls and Michael Read 147 batches for £9 15s 0d in October to December, Mark Batts £9 15s 0d of bread in January to March 1764, and Balls and Read 117 batches for £9 15s 0d with 675 lb of biscuit for the *Fly* and 600 lb for the *Mercury* in April to June 1764. Staff bought flour as baked bread: over 266 cwt for £248 15s 0d in July to September 1763, 363 cwt 3 qr 10 lb for £344 5s 0d in October to December, over 302 cwt for £282 15s 0d in January to March and almost 300 cwt for £278 15s 0d in April to June 1764. They bought salt meat at 2s a piece: 4,182 pieces, pork outnumbering beef by 10 to 1, in July to September 1763; 1,662 of beef and 3,606 of pork for £526 16s 0d in October to December; 320 of beef and 3,831 of pork for £415 2s 0d in January to March; and 3,577 of pork for £357 14s 0d in April to June 1764, with 3,301 lb of sugar and 2,324 lb of sugar candy for £108 5s 7d. English flour cost about 1½d a pound and Cape flour nearly 2¾d. [Film No. 59, 62–63, 90, 135, 179, 181, 224–230, 261, 336–338, 364, 389]

Fishing supplied fresh food. Staff bought over 6,000 hooks and 700 lines in July to September 1763, over 1,800 hooks and about 17 dozen lines in October to December, over 2,600 hooks in January to March 1764, and 2,425 hooks and 237 lines in April to June 1764, when planters bought 1,450 more. [Film No. 65, 83, 88, 99, 136, 226–230, 337, 347]

Planters sold produce to the Company: Richard Bagley 1,300 lemons in July to September 1763, 1,200 lemons and seven cabbages in October to December and 325 lemons and 13 cabbages for the table in January to March 1764; Jonathan Doveton apples and four loads of binders; Richard Beale 30 rafters; Benjamin Mason 159 loads of rushes and 18 ground joists in October to December and 13½ loads of rushes for £2 7s 0d in January to March; Elisha Isaacke and Matthew Bazett six loads of bamboo each at 2s 6d, and Bazett 11 loads for binding at the fort church in January to March 1764; and Mary Harper 400 lemons in April to June 1764. Turtles were kept in a pen, and Jason, a black man, received 5s for recapturing one. [Film No. 59, 61, 83–85, 179, 181, 261, 385, 389]

The *Plassey* from Madras and the *Earl of Ashburnham* from Bengal arrived on 26 February 1764. The Madras invoice of 762 pagodas 35 fanams 35 cash covered graded long cloth, 40 bags of rice, 22 of paddy and two leaguers of arrack; the Bengal invoice of 1,339 rupees 15 annas 9 pies covered fine rice, paddy, fine sugar, six third-leaguers of arrack and four chests of wax candles at 512 rupees, with sloop hire down the Hooghly the heaviest charge. On 5 March the storekeeper reported none of the *Plassey*'s paddy landed, her rice 3 cwt 1 qr 12 lb light and her leaguers, gauged at 306 gallons, 18½ gallons short, and her 78 pieces of long cloth against 68 acknowledged in the master's bill of lading; the *Earl of Ashburnham*'s rice was 13 cwt 2 qr short, her sugar 3 cwt 8 lb short and only 240 gallons of her arrack received. [Film No. 195, 196, 200, 201]

On 8 April 1764 the Council asked Bombay for 200 pieces of Surat challows, Madras for 210 pieces of long cloth at 3 to 12 pagodas and Bengal for 8 maunds of wax candles on every ship and 150 pieces of dosooties, each to fill the rest of the island's 1% cargo allowance with rice, paddy, arrack or sugar. The *Osterley*, arriving

from Bengal on 4 April, had already brought 22 leaguers of Batavia arrack, 8 maunds of wax candles, sugar, paddy and rice invoiced at 1,570 rupees 14 annas 9 pies over Richard Barwell's signature, with charges of just under 5%. On 9 April the *Duke of Richmond* was found to have landed 656 broken plain tiles and short measures of coal, soap, cordage, salt and brandy, her Lisbon wine losing about 7% and her Mountain 3%, and the *Osterley*'s two leaguers were 17¾ gallons short. [Film No. 212–214, 219–220]

China ships landed tea and sugar invoiced at Canton by the supercargoes, among them Thomas Fitzhugh, Samuel Blount, Hillary Torriano, Robert John Harrison and Thomas Bevan, in taels per picul of 133⅓ lb: the *Britannia*, invoiced on 31 December 1763, on 17 April 1764; the *Hector* and *Egmont*, invoiced on 20 and 27 January, on 28 April; the *Neptune*, invoiced on 2 February, on 15 May; and the *Houghton*, invoiced on 21 December 1763, on 2 June 1764. Plain sugar cost 4 taels 5 mace, sugar with candy 7 taels 6 mace, bohea 17 taels, singlo 24 and congou 26 taels 5 mace, with lead lining at 5 mace a chest; the *Britannia*, *Egmont* and *Hector* landed over 16,000 lb of sugar and candy and nearly 2,000 lb of tea. A *Britannia* singlo chest was 7½ lb short on 23 April, and on 7 May 1764 62 pieces of the *Egmont*'s porcelain were found broken despite a 2% breakage allowance at Canton. [Film No. 268–269, 274–277, 282–283, 288–289, 297]

On 5 June 1764 the storekeeper found the *Princess Augusta* short of sole leather, salt, two fir oars and 36 long deals, with glasses and 15 panes broken, her port 4½ gallons short of 180, her Lisbon 5¼ short and her beer 20 short of 321; the account is signed J. Cowell, probably for Powell. The *Pigot* from Bengal on 29 July 1764 brought fine rice, sugar, paddy, wax candles and two leaguers of Batavia arrack invoiced at 1,216 rupees 14 annas, including gunny bags, peons, weighmen and sloop hire, over Barwell's signature; her arrack was 9 gallons short of 279½. The *Speaker* from Bombay on 8 August brought beaten rice, batty and blue Surat chelloes invoiced at 646 rupees 1 quarter 96 reas by J. Dalton, with six pieces of chelloes missing. The *Deptford* from Madras on 17 August brought superfine and fine long cloth, two leaguers of arrack and rice and paddy invoiced at 839 pagodas 29 fanams 13 cash by Richard Fairfield; her arrack was 23 gallons short of 300, her rice 7 cwt 0 qr 12 lb short and one piece of cloth missing. With no pepper in store, the Council ordered Captain James Dewar of the *Speaker* on 13 August 1764 to land two bags of the Company's pepper. [Film No. 309, 310, 395–396, 399–400, 404, 407–408, 411]

Captains sold provisions to the Company: Captain William Harrold beef at the Cape for the *Royal George*, costing 39 rix-dollars or £7 16s 0d, and 280 lb of fresh beef at 2 stivers a pound for his crew from 27 to 31 December 1763; Captain Benjamin Godfrey cheese, currants, raisins, pickles, mustard and salted butter worth £10 2s 9d from his private trade on 9 April 1764; Captain Charles Mears 562 pieces of salt meat for £56 4s 0d on 10 May and Captain Gabriel Steward 781 pieces for £78 2s 0d on 28 May, at 2s 0d a piece; and Captain Baddison raisins, currants, pickles, mustard and hams worth £6 13s 0d on 4 June 1764. [Film No. 222, 261, 284, 295, 299, 385, 387]

The Company's table at the Castle cost £32 13s 7¾d in July, £29 6s 6d in August, £29 9s 7½d in September, £24 16s 10¼d in October, £20 13s 11½d in November and £24 11s 6d in December 1763, and £26 0s 7¾d in January, £22 5s 2½d in February, £28 11s 1½d in March, £27 12s 11¼d in April, £29 0s 8d in May, £21 15s 4¼d in June, £21 19s 9¼d in July, £26 18s 11¼d in August and £21 12s 9¼d in September 1764. Meat was charged at 3d a pound for beef, 4d for goat, 5d for mutton, 6d for pork and veal, butter at 1s and wine at 1s 6d a bottle, with Lisbon and Mountain wine, arrack and sugar candy every month and port from 1764. Mutton fell from 360 lb to 260 lb and 213 lb between July and September 1763; the first lambs were served at 10s each in September 1763; Cape mutton was entered separately from December 1763 and made 180 lb of January's 420 lb; beer rose from 34 to 60 bottles and Mountain from 23 to 45 in April 1764; arrack ran at 74 bottles in May and 61 in June; Lisbon rose from 23 to 43 bottles in August; and salt meat appeared in June and September 1764. A heifer killed in October 1763 fed the officers of the *Mercury* and *Fly*, and in February 1764 only 148 lb of beef from three cattle reached the table. Poultry served matched the birds slaughtered in October 1763, February 1764 and July 1764 but not in August 1764. The diet account for the Governor's household cost £32 15s 10d in October to December 1763, £32 9s 8d in January to March and £28 10s 3d in April to June 1764. [Film No. 10, 11, 25, 26, 39, 40, 117–118, 125, 134, 151, 190, 191, 201, 202, 216, 222, 237, 285, 315, 316, 333, 355, 403, 414–415, 429]

Judiciary

The Council sat as the probate court. Edward Jennings, a matross, made his will on 26 July 1763 and died on 4 August after 35 days' service in the quarter, his pay of £1 15s 0d passing to his estate; he left shirts, shoes, spatterdashes, stockings, stocks and coats to comrades, among them the matrosses John Jack, Bryan Lynch and Evan Newland and infantrymen of three companies such as Daniel Bry, John Carr, George Freeman, Avery Truman, Joseph Uffin, Jonathan Chandler and John Cunningham, and the residue equally among all 17 legatees; his executor, the gunner's mate Adam Watson, brought it before the Council on 8 August and probate was granted on the oaths of Fisher Gambell and Francis Powell. On 15 August the executors of Mary Goodwin produced an inventory valued on oath by Jonathan Doveton and William Wrangham, and on 22 August Henry Bazett registered several bills of sale. Saint George, a French prisoner landed from the *Godolphin*, died in the hospital and his effects sold for £12 0s 0d, credited on 30 September 1763 to the London account; John Laroze, a French prisoner landed from the *Clinton*, made a spoken will on 10 October 1763 leaving his goods to William Laroche, a private. On 19 December 1763 John Desfountain and George Alexander valued John Worrall's goods on oath, his widow Susannah swore she had produced everything and the inventory was registered. [Film No. 10, 12–14, 16, 19, 37, 45, 47–49, 51, 53, 55–56, 67, 111–112, 130]

In April 1764 the Council proved the wills of two soldiers on their witnesses' oaths. John Holloway, who made his on 2 April, left everything including his arrears to Sergeant John Simmons, witnessed by William Beckett, John Carey and John Robinson; William Dicks, who made his on 31 March, left his clothes, chest and arrears to James Shad and his newest suit to Captain Beale, and he and the witness William Watkins signed with marks beside John Robinson and Andrew Sullivan. A notice of 16 April summoned the creditors of Lieutenant Samuel Price, whose half pay had ended on 28 June 1761, and on 19 April his effects of £24 0s 1½d and outstanding pay, £42 19s 2d in all, were set against advances and a loss of £3 15s 0d on 300 pistareens; creditors including John Bland, Elizabeth Kennedy and Peg Joe received 3s 11d in the pound in full settlement, Kirkpatrick collecting for four absentees, and the shares of Esther Norton (£7 16s 8d) and Banks Mitchell (£0 1s 5d) went to the London account. [Film No. 224, 266–267, 269–272, 293]

The £12 4s 10d due to Nicholas Dahleen, a seaman of the *Fly* who died in the hospital, was paid into the treasury on 7 May 1764 and transferred to the London account. On 2 June 1764 Captain William Smith of the *Houghton* and his first and second mates signed a protest, entered on 5 June, that storms on the passage from Bencoolen caused any damage to ship or cargo. On 4 June the Council registered a deed of gift for Benjamin Pledger. [Film No. 283, 299, 314, 320]

Courts followed English forms. The clerk of the peace received £1 12s 0d in fees on 1 August 1763, Richard Law was clerk of arraignments at three general quarter sessions in July to September 1763 with the sentry John Langridge as crier, and in January 1764 a clerk of arraignment and the crier Charles Lewes were paid £1 5s 0d and 12s 6d for the last sessions. Richard Beale was judge advocate at £10 0s 0d, Phillip Mahoney clerk of the peace and John Price marshal and gaoler. Timber for jury benches was issued in 1763 and each quarter of 1764, new oak stocks were made in 1763, and two constable's staffs were issued in April to June 1764. On 2 July 1764 the Council ordered extracts from pages 267 and 269 of Burn's Justice posted at the market place in the valley and the church door in the country. No criminal trial appears in the minutes. [Film No. 43, 44, 57, 61, 76–77, 148, 224, 234, 246–247, 261, 330, 354]

On 17 September 1764 nine residents, among them Richard Beale senior and junior, Richard Goodwin, Jonathan Doveton, Henry Bazett, the Wranghams, Bagley and Mason, complained that two doors and a window newly opened onto the narrow Ladder Hill lane frightened horses. The Council found that Elizabeth Kennedy and Robert Ballard had made them without permission, ordered them blocked and allowed doors through their back yard walls, which both accepted. Ballard then delivered a letter demanding a jury at the next General Quarter Sessions and threatening to complain to the Company in England. On 24 September 1764 the Council ruled that openings onto a public road encroached on the Company's rights, that a public nuisance was not a property dispute between private men and so needed no jury, and that Ballard was litigious, noting Mrs Kennedy's ready compliance. [Film No. 418–419, 421–422]

Crime and Punishment

Discipline appears chiefly through pay. Francis Pruett was reduced from corporal on 30 August 1763, and Sergeant Richard Johnson, whose pay fell from 1s 8d to 10d, and Corporal Alexander Trembridge were

reduced on 6 September, each vacancy filled the same day by John Lemmon, John Maurice, Thomas Baily or John Carey. The sentries Jacob Brown, Thomas Jones and John McDonald had 10s each noted against their pay, a bar shot and a speaking trumpet lost through carelessness were charged to the men, and two silver salt cellars from the Governor's household were written off as stolen on 26 September 1763. [Film No. 32, 41, 47, 49–54]

Lines and whipcord for whips were issued to the garrison in July to September 1763, a whipping post was built and whipcord issued to the marshal in October to December 1763, and whipcord was charged again in January to March 1764. The inventory of 30 September 1763 held over 280 locks. [Film No. 81, 100, 150–151, 238]

On 12 March 1764 the Council reported that the sentinel George Young of the First Company, whose pay stopped on 5 March, had deserted the day the ships sailed, aboard the *Plassey*, helped by a soldier and a black islander; no punishment is recorded. On 2 April 1764 Captain Godfrey reported that James Byrne, a recruit bound for Bencoolen, had tried to strike the second mate, hit the steward and threatened the boatswain's mate; after hearing the second, fourth and fifth mates the Council put him ashore to serve on the island. Private Charles Lewis vanished on 5 May 1764, the day the King's ships sailed, and was believed to have deserted aboard one of them. [Film No. 164, 167, 197, 204, 211–212, 215, 249, 282, 372]

Under the Council's order of 24 September 1759 arrack was capped at 6s 6d a gallon, publicans were barred from auctions and licensed houses retailed at 12s. After its meeting of 18 June 1764 the Council learned that the publican Robert Ballard had bid at auctions and boasted he would sell without a licence; summoned, he rudely admitted it and lost his licence and the right to sell spirits. [Film No. 319, 322]

On 2 July 1764 James Powell complained that John Baptist Mitchland had bought up all the mustard in Captain Baddison's *Princess Augusta*, and Purling that he had bought all her playing cards at 9d a pack to sell at 1s 6d. Mitchland, a foreigner who came as a soldier in the *Earl of Holdernesse* in 1759, had worked as a silversmith suspected of melting stolen spoons, bought a gold ring stolen aboard HMS *Assistance* and been ordered to stop trading, been flogged several times, boasted of making £2,500 in five years and, on his first night after discharge on 2 April 1764, started a riot with several black men and been bound over. The Council resolved to ship him off at the first opportunity. [Film No. 326–328, 381]

Economy, Finance and Currency

On 25 July 1763 the Council cut the pistareen from 1s 3d to 1s, a fifth of a dollar at 5s, because its import at the higher rate was driving out full-weight dollars; the treasury wrote off £25 7s 6d on 2,030 pistareens held as double reals. Coin was valued at pagodas 8s, rupees 2s 3d, dollars 5s, double reals 1s 3d, pistareens 1s and small French pieces 2d. [Film No. 6, 15, 111]

The cash opened July 1763 at £5,810 1s 10d and closed with £5,629 15s 2d in coin and £539 15s 0d in cash notes no longer usable, carried unchanged to October 1764. In August nothing was paid out; the Governor's £100 and the *Essex*'s £42 15s 10d, chiefly 355 pagodas, raised the balance to £6,312 6s 0d, entered as £6,311 6s 0d on 1 September. September receipts totalled £9,019 6s 6d, including the year's rents, Powell's £2,039 2s 3d for stores sold, £28 1s 0d for plantation provisions, £15 0s 0d from licences for 10 public houses at 30s, £7 7s 7d from the *Clive* and £34 8s 2d from the *Prince of Wales*; after the paymaster's advance the balance of £5,919 19s 5d held £5,380 4s 5d in coin, including 8,061 pagodas, 620 rupees, 441 French pieces, 1,484 double reals, 4,252 pistareens and 7,108 dollars. [Film No. 15, 30, 111]

October 1763 added £3 8s 9d from the Cotgrave fine and £106 18s 5d from the *Clinton*, paid as 441 dollars and two pistareens, giving £6,030 6s 7d; November recorded nothing. December receipts were £1,864 19s 6d from the storekeeper, £33 5s 11d from produce, £38 10s 6d from the *Grosvenor* and £15 0s 0d in licences, leaving £4,701 12s 3d in coin after the paymaster's advance; that count omitted the dollars, shown in the identical January 1764 total as 4,540 worth £1,135 0s 0d beside 7,980 pagodas, and January recorded no transactions. The count for February, made on 19 March 1764, found £5,762 7s 3d, including 8,080 pagodas worth £3,232 0s 0d and 6,340 dollars worth £1,585 0s 0d. [Film No. 120, 129, 184, 185, 193, 205–206]

March 1764 receipts totalled £9,080 10s 2d: £22 11s 11d from the *Plassey* and £12 16s 3d from the *Earl of Ashburnham* on 3 March, £777 1s 11d in bills, a chest of coin from the *Duke of Richmond* counted at £1,002 10s 0d on 27 March and charged to the London account, Powell's £1,454 0s 11d, matching his sales of £1,151 16s 8d to servants and £302 4s 3d to others, £34 1s 11d for produce and £15 0s 0d in licences. After the paymaster's advance, coin of £4,985 15s 0½d comprised 5,560 pagodas, 525 rupees, 441 French pieces, 1,640 pistareens and 10,468 dollars. April added £7 5s 0d from the *Duke of Richmond*, £187 9s 1d in bills, £103 18s 1d from the *Osterley*, the creditors' shares from the Price estate and £36 1s 6d from the *Britannia*, closing at £5,868 1s 9½d with pagodas up to 6,416, although May opened at £5,768 1s 9½d. [Film No. 264–265, 293, 320]

May 1764 recorded no payments; bills brought £2,396 5s 0d, the *Hector*, *Egmont*, *Hawke* and *Neptune* settled, leaving £8,372 5s 4½d on 31 May with coin of £7,832 10s 4½d in 10,040 pagodas and 14,626 dollars among others. June receipts were £867 0s 0d in bills on 5 June and £449 9s 8½d on 11 June, £7 6s 6d from the *Princess Augusta*, £20 14s 4d from the *Cruttenden*, £11 10s 10d from the *Falmouth*, £31 7s 0d from the *Houghton*, Powell's £1,708 17s 0d, £45 14s 0½d for produce and £15 0s 0d in licences, totalling £11,529 4s 9½d; after the paymaster's £4,202 17s 6½d (£4,202 17s 6¾d on several pages), of which £1,351 17s 11d went beyond pay, the coin stood at £6,786 12s 3d. July added Thackeray's bill money and £7 5s 0d from the *Havannah*, leaving £7,359 12s 3d with coin of £6,819 17s 3d; August added Purling's bill money and £71 12s 10d from the *Pigot* on 7 August, £33 2s 0d from the *Speaker* on 18 August and £14 13s 1d from the *Glatton* on 22 August, leaving £7,731 8s 4d with coin of £7,191 13s 4d. [Film No. 320–321, 384–393, 409, 420]

Bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, issued in sets and payable 90 days after sight, drew travellers' coin into the treasury: Robert Wood £100 0s 0d and Captain John Clark £278 5s 10d on 11 July 1763; the Governor £100 0s 0d payable to Samuel Hough on 1 August; Captain David Saunders £150 0s 0d payable to the Reverend John Saunders and the purser David Mitchell £146 0s 0d payable to Thomas Forbes on 5 December 1763; Captain William Harrold £500 0s 0d on 13 February and £600 0s 0d on 26 March 1764, both payable to John Hallet; Captain Henry Bassett £177 1s 11d payable to Jordan Bigger on 5 March; Lieutenant John Hartland £70 1s 9d, Thomas Grantree (Mary Adamson in the cash book) £47 7s 4d and John White £70 0s 0d on 9 April; Lieutenant Edward Howorth £60 0s 0d and the chaplain William Lee £270 0s 0d, payable to William Mallone, on 4 May; James Williamson £75 0s 0d, John Lauder £130 0s 0d, Mears £880 0s 0d, Captain John Cotton £202 0s 0d and £368 0s 0d for the late John Carpenter, Captain Norman Lamont £26 5s 0d and George Cooper £55 0s 0d payable to Samuel Mercer on 10 May; Steward £330 0s 0d on 28 May; Baddison £300 0s 0d payable to Susannah Baddison, Edward Bland Wollstonecraft £117 0s 0d payable to Lydia Wollstonecraft, Captain Geffrie O'Hara £90 0s 0d and £260 0s 0d and Captain John Bowland £100 0s 0d payable to Elizabeth Bowland on 5 June; Kirkpatrick £299 9s 8½d payable to John Whiter and Captain John Howard £150 0s 0d payable to Argent Carr on 11 June; John Thackeray £26 0s 0d payable to Eliab Thackeray on 6 July; and Purling £252 18s 2d payable to Hutchinson on 6 August 1764, sums the cash book entered as premiums. [Film No. 5, 9, 15, 124, 184, 191, 192, 200, 206, 209, 222, 264, 281, 283–284, 293, 296, 314, 319, 332, 392, 398, 409, 420]

The stores sold on tiered margins. In July to September 1763 staff paid cost plus 10% and bought £1,921 8s 3d, while planters paid 40% on provisions and hardware and 25% on cloth, hats, shoes and stockings and bought £117 14s 0d, and ships £68 1s 7d, over half in cordage; bohea cost staff 11d a pound and planters 14d. In October to December employees at 10% bought £1,597 1s 1d, planters at 25% £58 5s 9d on one page and a 40% tier ran to £267 18s 5d, dominated by 416½ gallons of arrack at 6s; ships at 40% bought £128 13s 11d, including an anchor of over 32 cwt at £76 19s 4d. In January to March 1764 servants bought £1,151 16s 8d, planters and others £302 4s 3d and ships £18 13s 1½d, and buyers at 40% took 814 gallons of arrack for £244 4s 0d with 463 lb of sugar and 200 lb of sugar candy. In April to June 1764 general sales were £1,307 2s 10d, planters' £401 14s 2d, including 298 gallons of arrack at 6s against 5s generally and nearly 3 tons of cordage at £174 13s 3d, and Company ships' £205 7s 0d at 10%; carried-forward figures in that return differ by 1s and £2. [Film No. 62, 70–71, 74–75, 135, 142–148, 224, 231–234, 336, 338, 343–351]

Tea came direct from Canton: staff bought 1,392 lb in July to September 1763, 679 lb of congou against 123 of bohea in October to December, and paid about 11d for bohea and 1s 5d to 1s 5½d for congou and

singlo in 1764. Staff bought 404 gallons of arrack at 5s and over 540 gallons of port, Lisbon and Mountain in July to September 1763. The stores sold Chinese porcelain, Madras long cloth, Indian chelloes and dosooties, English broadcloth at 18s to 22s a yard including pompadour, serge, long ells, osnaburg and ticklenburg, 155 ready-made shirts, 53 pairs of plain shoes in January to March 1764, and whalebone, staymaker's tools and a hatter's dyes and irons in April to June 1764. In October to December 1763 employees bought 99 beakers, 55 bowls and 42 cups and saucers, Baltic deals, laths, wainscot, locks and hinges; and gilt, silver, plated and mohair buttons with over 2,000 horn button moulds. [Film No. 63–64, 66–67, 70, 136–139, 141–142, 224–230, 336–345]

On 23 July 1764 the Council limited retail trade to six licensed shopkeepers paying 40s a year, capped their mark-up at 30% on perishables and 20% on other goods and set a forfeit of double the price for breaches, after unlicensed sellers had bought up goods from store-ship officers and resold them at extortionate prices. On 2 July 10 licensed publicans, among them Mary Burnham, Henry Harper and John Price, had petitioned against unlicensed sellers retailing arrack at the publicans' buying price, and the Council republished its rules. The notice of 23 July also fixed laundry charges at 6d for a ruffled shirt or shift, 4d for a plain one, 3s 0d a dozen for tablecloths and sheets and 2s 0d a dozen for small items. [Film No. 329, 330, 338, 392, 394–395]

Invoices came in the money of their origin: Canton in taels of 10 mace, each of 10 candareens of 10 cash; Bombay in rupees of four quarters of 100 reas; Madras in pagodas of 36 fanams of 80 cash; Bengal in current rupees of annas and pies, distinguishing the factory from the bazaar maund; and the Cape in rix-dollars at 4s of 48 stivers. [Film No. 5, 17, 31, 56, 70, 195, 196, 261, 395, 400, 407–408]

Trade and Shipping

In 1763 the *Albion* settled her account of £5 10s 0d on 14 July, took six wethers and left on 16 July; the *Essex* stayed from 23 July to 5 August; the *Prince of Wales* and *Clive* from mid-August to 5 September; and the *Clinton* from 20 September to 8 October. The *Mercury*, whose crew of 16 drew a month's wages of £35 0s 0d on 7 August, sailed on 10 August with stores worth £57 16s 10d, including 165 gallons of arrack, and returned from the Cape on 14 October; the cutter *Fly* lay in the road in October. [Film No. 5, 7, 10–12, 14–16, 24, 31, 39, 42, 88–92, 111, 116–117, 120]

The *Grosvenor*, Captain David Saunders, arrived from China on 26 November 1763, the *Mercury* sailed on 27 November, the Company's snow *Lapwing* passed and exchanged salutes on 5 December and the *Grosvenor* left for England on 6 December, having settled her account on 3 December. On 26 November the Council ordered Saunders to sell any goods by public auction; learning that he had privately sold several leaguers of arrack, each about 150 gallons, it summoned him and he promised an auction on 3 December 1763. The *Mercury*, whose crew of 13 had drawn a month's wages of £27 5s 0d on 18 November 1763, returned on 4 February 1764, and the *Fly* sailed on 10 February and returned on 30 March. The *Plassey*, James Ward, and the *Earl of Ashburnham*, Thomas Pierce, stayed from 26 February to 5 March 1764. [Film No. 121–125, 133, 179, 184, 188, 192, 195, 201, 210]

The Danish *Queen of Denmark*, of 800 tons, 30 guns and 150 men, called from 25 to 28 March 1764 with tea and porcelain from China for Copenhagen. The *Duke of Richmond* stayed from 27 March to 11 April and the *Osterley* from 4 April, when her boat landed at Banks's at a quarter past four, to 12 April. The *Britannia*, Thomas Bates, stayed from 17 to 26 April; the *Egmont*, Charles Mears, and *Hector*, John Williams, arrived on 28 April with the Danish *King of Denmark*, Captain Smit, of 900 tons, 26 guns and 140 men; and the *Hawke*, John Cotton, and Admiral Samuel Cornish with the King's ships *Norfolk*, *Elizabeth*, *Chatham* and *America* arrived on 30 April. The squadron sailed on 5 May, the *Hector* on 6 May, the *King of Denmark* on 7 May and the *Egmont*, *Hawke* and the Danish *Queen Louisa*, Captain Krue, of 900 tons, 30 guns and 140 men, which had arrived on 6 May, on 13 May 1764. [Film No. 207, 210, 212–213, 221, 223, 268, 272, 275, 278–279, 282, 284]

The King's ship *Baleine* came from Bombay on 14 May and the *Neptune*, Gabriel Steward, from China on 15 May, both sailing on 1 June; the *Princess Augusta* stayed from 22 May to 9 June; a Swedish ship passed on 23 May; the *Houghton*, *Falmouth* and *Cruttenden* arrived on 2 June; the *Mercury* and *Fly* sailed for Madagascar on 6 June; the *Falmouth* and *Cruttenden* left on 10 June and the *Houghton* on 18 June 1764. The *Havannah*

came from Fort Marlborough on 1 July, according to the gunner, or 2 July, according to the minutes, her boat landing at Banks's at 8.40 one evening, and left on 8 July. The *Pigot*, George Richardson, stayed from 29 July to 9 August; the King's ship *Liverpool* passed on 6 August; the *Glatton*, Richard Doveton, from China and *Speaker*, James Dewar, from Bombay arrived on 8 August, their boats landing at 11 at night and 2 in the morning, and left on 23 August; the Dutch *Elizabeth Dorothy*, Martin Pieters Moor, of 500 tons, 22 guns and 86 men, called with pepper from Batavia for Amsterdam from 9 to 20 August; the *Deptford*, William Tryon, from Madras stayed from 17 August to 6 September; and ships passed far out on 4 August and 29 September 1764. [Film No. 288, 290, 295–296, 305, 315–317, 319, 320, 326, 333, 335, 395, 397, 399, 402, 404, 407, 410, 414, 416, 423]

Purling mustered every Company ship's crew for deserters from 1 August 1763 to September 1764 and found none. East Indiamen carried butchers, poulterers, bakers, tailors and officers' servants, some of the servants listed by single names such as Anjango, Caesar, Tombey, Pompey, Cornwall, Cezar and Malacca, with a John Neptune and a Pigot named after their ships and a Julius Caesar on the *Deptford*. Nathaniel Dance, later knighted for driving off a French squadron in 1804, was a midshipman in the *Clinton*. The *Grosvenor*, *Hector* and *Houghton* carried many Scandinavian, Dutch, Portuguese and Italian seamen, the *Falmouth*'s crew was almost wholly British, and lascars served under serangs and tindals: Mamo Sodac and Jaffer in the *Earl of Ashburnham*, one serang, two tindals and 29 unnamed lascars in the *Osterley*, and Israel Lagare, Francisco Monte and George Hendric with Indo-Portuguese seamen in the *Deptford*. [Film No. 8, 9, 20–22, 35, 36, 122–123, 197–199, 221, 272–273, 278–281, 290–291, 311–313, 331, 332, 397–398, 404–406, 411–412]

Passengers included two French officers as prisoners in the *Essex*; 19 French prisoners and 16 invalid soldiers of the King's army in the *Prince of Wales* and further invalids in the *Clive*; 61 Frenchmen in the *Clinton*; nearly 30 French prisoners in the *Grosvenor*; George Pigot, retiring Governor of Madras, with four gentlemen, six servants and some 16 French prisoners in the *Plassey*; French prisoners under an officer named Hezigoyen in the *Earl of Ashburnham*; army officers from a colonel to an ensign in the *Osterley*; one invalid from Bombay, a French gentleman, four French petty officers and 29 French seamen in the *Britannia*; the supercargo Thomas Bevan in the *Egmont*; 15 French prisoners in the *Hawke*; Torriano and Harrison in the *Neptune*; 38 French prisoners in the *Houghton*, six in the *Falmouth* and 10 in the *Cruttenden*, with names such as Lajeunesse and St Germain; nine in the *Havannah*, with Mrs Baldwin and Miss Hunt; the Honourable Captain Thomas Howe, two Russian gentlemen and 13 black servants in the *Pigot*; Captain Charles Todd with his family and army officers in the *Speaker*; and the Honourable George Monson, army officers and the Sephardic merchants Aaron Nunes and Esther and Rebecca Franco in the *Deptford*. [Film No. 9, 21, 22, 36, 123, 197–199, 221, 273, 279, 281, 291, 311–313, 332, 398, 406, 412–413]

Each ship settled its account before sailing, and the stores sold them chandlery: the *Fly* was all but rebuilt between July and September 1763, with new rudder irons made on 4 August, sails at £42 19s 0d, a new 8-inch cable, nearly 900 lb of nails and stores of £282 14s 0d, while her mates Adam Sheriff and David Moore lodged 83 days with Townsend at £33 4s 0d; a new longboat was built. The *Mercury* was refitted for £75 14s 1d in October to December 1763, with canvas and cordage over £44, and William Isaac Ford caulked her 26 days at 2s 6d; the *Fly* drew £35 17s 7d that quarter and £36 8s 2d in January to March 1764, when the *Mercury* took £131 5s 11d, including a 12-inch cable of nearly 34 cwt at £69 1s 10d. The boats' accounts were £12 4s 9d in October to December 1763 and £23 15s 11d, nearly all cordage, in January to March 1764. The paymaster paid six months' wages of £259 10s 0d for the *Mercury* and £175 10s 0d for the *Fly* in January to March 1764 and, in April to June, £177 0s 0d to the *Mercury*'s officers, £154 10s 0d to the *Fly*'s and £42 9s 0d to her crew, besides annual allowances of £150 0s 0d to Harrold and £100 0s 0d to Teal for the year to 16 May 1764 and two months' wages of £50 10s 0d to 13 of the *Mercury*'s men and £13 10s 0d to her third mate William Rigby and surgeon Thomas Hamilton. Other payments covered Charles Snakenburg of the *Mercury*, left at the Cape (£15 0s 0d), four *Fly* seamen and Mr Vagas at £2 5s 0d a month (£22 10s 0d), the discharged *Mercury* men Richard [...] (£13 13s 4d), Charles Purefoy (£17 15s 0d), the surgeon George Wade (£26 10s 6d), Robert Fleming (£1 5s 7½d, 3 May 1764) and William Potter (£20 0s 0d), John Barton of the *Fly* (£14 11s 4d), George Hillesham's 12 days' cooperage aboard the *Mercury* at 4s (£2 8s 0d), Jules (Giulio) Fabiano's repair of her yawl (£1 10s 0d), William Cockey's and Cooksey's 50 days each aboard the *Fly* at 1s, Ford's 10 days aboard her (£1 5s 0d) and 5 days caulking the longboat (12s 6d), the corporal John Maurice's cooperage aboard her (£1 13s 9d and 15s 0d), Harrold's carpenter's tools (£2

5s 0d) and Teal's payments for the dead Thomas Wright and Wallis Martin (19s 0d). The store sold 700 lb of paddy to the King's ship *Norfolk* and 100 lb of tallow to the *Baleine* in May 1764, and the *Fly* drew 76 lb of tallow in December 1763. [Film No. 57, 59, 86–92, 133, 157–158, 160–162, 179, 188, 241–244, 261, 317, 354, 385, 387]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Yams from Company land fed slaves and stock: 28,200 lb in July, 25,450 lb in August (14,450 lb to slaves and 11,000 lb to animals) and 27,380 lb in September 1763; to slaves and stock respectively 21,930 and 9,265 lb in October, 26,540 and 7,565 lb in November and 16,100 and 6,325 lb in December 1763; 23,550 and 6,820 lb in January 1764; and, without a stated unit, 32,060 and 8,580 in February, 24,240 and 6,990 in March, 24,300 and 7,575 in April, 26,400 and 9,250 in May, 17,560 and 9,000 in June, 33,500 and 7,000 in July, 29,240 and 4,500 in August, and 24,000 sound and 3,400 rejected in September 1764. [Film No. 11, 26, 40, 117, 126, 132, 189, 202, 217, 287, 318, 334, 401, 415, 427]

The slaves' account was £135 17s 6d for July to September 1763, supplying 11,221 lb of rice, 874 pieces of Irish salt meat, 25 pairs of shoes, three blankets, cloth, thread, hooks and lines and small allowances of tea, sugar and arrack. In October to December it was £205 18s 3d: over 4 tons of rice, 1,023 pieces of Irish and English salt beef and pork worth £145 5s 0d, 25 pairs of shoes for craftsmen, 40 blankets, long cloth for women in childbirth, tackle for fishermen, deals and nails for their houses and iron pots. In January to March 1764 it was £167 9s 5d, including salt meat of £138 2s 10d, 4,621 lb of rice, 28 pairs of shoes, knives and pots. In April to June 1764 it was £412 11s 3d, including 1,141 pieces of salt meat for £156 11s 10d, over 3 tons of rice, over 1,000 hooks and 300 lines and seamen's slops of 112 men's and 22 boys' suits with 224 and 44 shirts, 26 pairs of men's and two of women's shoes, and chelloes and kersey for women; canvas was issued for a black armourer. Staff and planters bought osnaburg, ticklenburg, dosooties and paddy used for slaves. [Film No. 68, 82–83, 153–154, 238–239, 338, 343, 346, 353, 358–359]

Slaves' births and deaths were entered in the livestock returns: a girl, Massey, born in September 1763; Maccoy, who drowned in October 1763, and June, who died that month; Woodfort, drowned, and a boy, John, born in May 1764; Tony (Toney), missing from 11 July and recorded on 16 July 1764 as drowned at Friar's Valley, where his clothes were found, and Harry Rich, who died in July; a girl, Isabella, born and a boy, August, dead in August; and a boy, Frank, born and Betty Charles dead in September 1764. On 13 February 1764 the Council sold Jacob, a Company slave long in Hutchinson's household, to the Governor at the £21 0s 0d entered in the general books, rather than order a fresh valuation. The Clinton carried two black women as servants to Mrs Ann Bourchier and Mrs Moor. [Film No. 36, 40, 42, 117, 189, 191, 206, 318, 336, 401, 415, 427]

After Captain Peter Teal (entered as Fea in some minutes) reported the *Fly* unfit, carpenters of the *Britannia*, Singleton Weaver (paid 10s as Singleton Winter) and Stephen Bickenham, surveyed her on 24 April 1764 and found only a rotten pump and weak port-bow wales, though her carpenter, Giulio Fabiano, judged the timbers decayed. In May the Council decided to send her with the *Mercury* to Madagascar for slaves, and Teal was allowed an extra hand for rounding the Cape. Orders of 5 June 1764 made Captain William Harrold and his chief mate John Meryweather of the *Mercury*, and Teal and his chief mate Adam Sheriff of the *Fly*, the Company's agents, to buy strong men under 25 and well-grown boys with rice for the return, pay prices shown in extracts from earlier ships' books, treat the Malagasy politely, guard against a rising while treating the slaves with great humanity, keep daily journals with copies for the Council and originals for the Directors, buy jointly with each other and any other Company agents, and receive £1 0s 0d for each captain, 6s 8d for each mate and 5s 0d for the *Mercury*'s surgeon for every slave landed alive. The *Mercury*, of 140 tons with 32 men, eight carriage guns and eight swivels, could call at the Cape for news and water, and a certificate asked any governor at peace with Britain to supply Harrold on credit, while Teal carried a letter of credit. [Film No. 291–292, 300–302, 305–307, 309, 315, 387]

The *Mercury*'s trade goods were invoiced at £376 11s 5d, including firearms of £104 11s 3d (buccaneer and trade guns and two fine guns as presents), gunpowder of £138 19s 5d, 14,000 flints, shot, 173 lb of beads, two hogsheads of brandy holding 134 gallons at £40 2s 10d, tobacco, baize, pewter, knives, razors and mirrors; and 24 slave collars, 24 pairs of handcuffs and 44 pairs of shackles. The *Fly*'s, invoiced at £65 7s 8d, included 25 buccaneer muskets and a fine gun as a gift, about £28, a hogshead of brandy near £20, a

cask of damaged tobacco at full value, 16 shackles, 16 handcuffs, a chain and six collars. Stores issued in April to June 1764 gave the *Mercury* six puncheons of salt beef at £77 17s 0d, five hogsheads of pork, 2,075 lb of rice, canvas, deep-sea lines and padlocks, and the *Fly* 191 gallons of arrack at £30 8s 10d, over 29 cwt of rice, coal and a coffin, her stores totalling £202 14s 10d; 16 empty hogsheads were bought as water casks for £4 0s 0d, and the *Mercury*'s carpenter Christopher Reynolds received a month's wages in advance. [Film No. 302–304, 308, 363–368, 385, 387]

Social Order

The Company kept Nakhoda Pockellum (Pochollum, Bokollum), whose title meant the master of a trading vessel, at an allowance of £1 12s 6d a quarter, with arrears paid in 1764, and rented him a room from Henry Harper at £1 0s 0d a quarter. An account headed 'Mallay' supplied him or a man of that name with beef, rice, arrack, tea and pumps worth £3 18s 9d in July to September 1763 and £9 5s 3d, including brown holland, stockings, scarlet broadcloth and shalloon, silk and buttons, in October to December; the Malays drew £3 19s 11d in January to March and £4 0s 2d in April to June 1764 of rice, beef, arrack, sugar, tea and soap. Joachim Topee was fed at 9d a day in 1763, and punch ladles were issued to the Castle. [Film No. 61, 84, 154–155, 179, 239, 263, 359, 387, 389]

Arrack was issued as drams to men carrying stores from the landing, hauling the longboat, bringing the *Mercury*'s cable ashore, shearing sheep, killing wild cats and rowing the guard boat, with 45 gallons at musters in July to September 1763, 22½ at musters and 23⅞ to workmen in October to December, and 67⅞ to men unloading store ships and launching the longboat in April to June 1764. [Film No. 76, 78, 81, 149, 153, 354, 357]

A notice of 16 April 1764 called a vestry at the chapel in the valley on 23 April to choose parish officers and a constable and nominate candidates for sheriff. The Council chose the first name in each group, appointing Richard Bagley sheriff over James Powell and John Desfountain, Desfountain and Francis Wrangham churchwardens and James Cotgrave, Benjamin Mason and William Seale junior overseers of the East, West and South Divisions, with Roderick Marchant as constable; Bagley and Marchant were sworn in, probably on 14 May 1764. [Film No. 224, 273–274, 288]

Soldiers held civil posts: Joseph Chamberlain was carpenter's mate at £7 10s 0d a quarter, Zedekiah Saunderson groom at £2 0s 0d and John Criswell coxswain of the longboat, while settlers' sons such as John and George Bazett, William Beale and John Burnham were sergeants and two privates were entered as William Harris the elder and the younger. In January to March 1764 John Bland drew £29 0s 0d and Townsend £19 10s 0d against £15 0s 0d or £17 10s 0d for a writer, and Chamberlain's carpenter's pay nearly trebled his income. On 2 April 1764 John Bland had to petition before his son could sail as a seaman in the *Duke of Richmond*. The Council recorded the deaths of William Oakman, an inhabitant, on 4 January 1764; Stephen, son of Stephen and Penelope Young, before 14 February; William Hayes, an inhabitant, on 9 May; Susanna, daughter of the publican John Teal, on 28 June; and Rebecca, wife of the adjutant Solomon Jacob, on 3 August 1764. [Film No. 44, 47, 49, 50, 54, 55, 131, 192, 211, 247, 250, 253, 258, 283, 326, 376, 397]

Religion, Education and Health

The chaplain William Lee drew £25 0s 0d salary and £15 0s 0d diet a quarter, and Jennings left him £11 0s 0d, the largest cash bequest among his 17 legatees. Four priests sailed home in the *Clive* in September 1763 and the Reverend Mr Moor in the *Clinton* in October. Richard Beale was paid £3 8s 3d a quarter as schoolmaster. The inventory of 30 September 1763 held 19 Bibles, 29 prayer books, 22 spelling books, 21 primers and 4 hornbooks; staff bought two spelling books and two prayer books in July to September 1763, a spelling book, a Bible and a prayer book in October to December, three spelling books in January to March 1764 and a Bible, a prayer book, two spelling books, two primers and a hornbook in April to June 1764. [Film No. 13, 22, 36, 42, 43, 69, 95, 140, 163, 164, 230, 245–246, 342, 369]

The surgeon Robert Barclay was paid 7d a day for each patient, charged to the ship or account concerned; in October to December 1763 he claimed £27 10s 7d above that and £8 0s 0d for procuring fresh provisions, and he drew £22 5s 0d in January to March 1764. Patients included Thomas Carr of the *Mercury* for 25 days, John Tollock and John Barker of the *Fly*, Nicholas Dahleen, John Barton and Peter Clawson

of the *Fly* for 92 days, Erick Ashelin of the *Mercury* for 57 days and John Warrington, a soldier bound for Bencoolen, for 13 days. The hospital account was £10 7s 0d in July to September 1763, £13 12s 0d in October to December, including 398 lb each of sugar and flour and 13 gallons of train oil, £11 3s 2d in January to March and £12 2s 7d in April to June 1764, supplying sugar, flour, rice, tea and lamp oil but no salt meat. The inventory of 17 October 1763 held a pewter still worth £10 12s 4d, and a sedan chair and a carrying chair for the sick were repaired in 1763 and 1764. [Film No. 59, 86–87, 97, 104, 150, 159, 181, 236, 242, 261, 362–363, 391]

Personalities

On 25 July 1763 Kirkpatrick sold the Council his new seven-oared boat with mast, sails and awnings for £20 0s 0d to replace the *Mercury*'s worn boat, after the Company's carpenter and those of the *Mercury* and *Fly* surveyed both. Offices gathered in few hands: Richard Beale drew almost £59 a quarter from his three posts; Lieutenant Michael Frost also cleaned the clocks and instruments; Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice was master at arms; Phillip Mahoney was also a sergeant; Nathan Sampell (Sample) was chief gunner's mate; Thomas Bazett was a lieutenant; and Matthew Bazett senior was both secretary and overseer. [Film No. 6, 7, 34, 43, 44, 47, 49, 55, 163–165, 167, 170, 178, 246, 250, 252]

Admiral Samuel Cornish had taken Manila in 1762, and Captain Hyde Parker, saluted with 13 guns on landing in May 1764, had captured the Manila galleon *Santísima Trinidad*. [Film No. 316, 317]

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1715-1764Photographer Shelley and CharlizeDate photographed 6.11.21 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
4		Blank page	
5	1	Island St Helena July 25th 1763 At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th Day of July 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was Read, approved, and Signed, dated 18th July 1763. Saturday the 23d Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Essex from China, and brought Us the following Supplys vizt Invoice of Ship Essex. S.H. No 1@14 Sugar 14 Chests Wt Nett 44 89 Pl. or Pecl 33. 66¼. at 4 5 Tales 150 Tales 3 Mace 0 Candareens 3 Cash 14 Chests 5 Tales 7 Mace 0 Candareens 0 Cash Total amount of this Invoice 158 Tales 5 Mace 0 Candareens 3 Cash Errors Excepted 27th January 1763 Signed Thos Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Nathl Garland Alex. Hume Benj: Torin Thos Smith W. H[...] [...] **Margin Notes:** [...] 1763	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 25 July 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Bazett and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick sitting as councillors. The minutes of the previous meeting, held on 18 July 1763, were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Essex* reached the island from China on Saturday 23 July. She brought a consignment of sugar, which the Canton invoice set out as follows. Sugar, 14 chests marked St Helena numbers 27 to 40, net weight 4,489 lb or 33.66¾ piculs at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 151 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 3 cash 14 chests to pack the sugar at 5 mace each, 7 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total of the invoice, 158 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 3 cash The invoice was dated 27 January 1763 and carried the usual reservation allowing for later correction of any mistakes. The following men signed it. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Nathaniel Garland Alexander Hume Benjamin Torin Thomas Smith William Henry Pigou **Interpretations** The invoice was drawn up in Chinese units of weight and money rather than in sterling, because the sugar was bought at Canton. A picul was a standard Chinese weight of about 133⅓ lb, carried by a porter on a shoulder pole, and the conversion here fits that figure closely. The tael was a weight of silver used as money of account, divided into 10 mace, each mace into 10 candareens and each candareen into 10 cash. The Council recorded the cost in these units because the price paid at Canton, not a sterling valuation, formed the basis on which the island's stores were later charged.

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			The signatories were the Company's supercargoes, the council of merchants who managed the trade at Canton each season. Their collective signature made the invoice a formal accounting document, binding the Canton factory to the quantities and prices stated. The reservation for errors let either side reopen the figures if the weight or charges proved wrong on landing, which was why the St Helena Council copied the invoice in full into its own record. The containers were charged separately from their contents, at half a tael apiece. The island thus paid for the chests as goods in their own right, and they probably went into the stores for reuse once emptied. The numbering of the chests from 27 to 40 suggests that they formed part of a longer run of marked packages consigned to the island, which would allow any shortfall to be traced to a particular chest. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploaded files, so no dates, names or series from it could be checked against this page. If it is uploaded, the page can be reissued with those cross-references.
6	2	25th July Finding that a great Number of Pieces of Money called Pistereens, and likewise the Half and quarter parts of that Coin have been lately introduced into this Island to the prejudice of the Inhabitants by their passing for a quarter part of a Mexico Dollar, which is greatly above their intrinsick Value, We to prevent any further inconvenience from their Importation, came to a Resolution to have them lowered to a Shilling each, and the lesser parts in the like proportion; Therefore Ordered the following Advertizement to be published vizt Island St Helena 25th July 1763 Whereas a great Number of Pieces of Money called Pistereens, and likewise of the Half and Quarter parts of such pieces, have, from Time to Time, been brought into this Island and passed for much more than their real Value, whence it is obvious, that this will encourage People to introduce such Money, because at its present Currency four such Pistereens are equal to, and may be exchanged for, a milled or unmilled, Mexico Dollar, two Pistereens for the Half, one Pistereen, for two Reals or the fourth; Half a Pistereen for one Rial, or the Eighth and a Quarter of a Pistereen, for half a Rial, or the sixteenth part of a Mexico Dollar, And whereas it may for these reasons, be apprehended, that in a short Time most of, if not all, the Mexico Dollars and lesser Pieces of that Mony, as they are intrinsically worth more will be carried away, and none but Pistereens than the Pistereens, and the Half, and fourth Parts of them will remain here, To prevent, therefore any further Detriment that the Importation of them must certainly be in the End to the Inhabitants here, at the Value they now bear: It is hereby Ordered, That from, and after the day of the Date hereof, — A Pistereen is to pass, or be received, in Payments for no more than one Shilling, or the fifth Part of a Milled, or unmilled	The Council found that large numbers of pistareens, together with their half and quarter pieces, had recently come into circulation on the island. Each pistareen passed for a quarter of a Mexican dollar, which was far more than the silver it contained was worth. This hurt the inhabitants, so the Council decided to lower the pistareen to one shilling and to cut the smaller pieces in the same ratio. It then ordered a public notice to be issued, dated 25 July 1763. The notice explained that pistareens and their halves and quarters had been brought to the island over time and accepted at well above their true worth. Such a rate plainly encouraged people to import more of them. At the current rate, four pistareens bought a Mexican dollar, whether milled or unmilled. Two pistareens stood for half a dollar and one for a quarter, which was two reals. Half a pistareen counted as one real, an eighth of a dollar, while a quarter pistareen stood for half a real, a sixteenth of a dollar. The notice warned that the island risked losing most or all of its Mexican dollars and their smaller coins. These contained more silver than pistareens of the same face value, so they would be shipped away, leaving nothing in circulation but pistareens and their fractions. To stop the damage that continued imports at the current rate would cause, the Council ordered a new rate. From the date of the notice, a pistareen would pass or be accepted in any payment for no more than one shilling, a fifth of a milled or unmilled Mexican dollar. Its smaller parts would fall in the same proportion. Captain Harrold told the Council that the boat belonging to the snow *Mercury* was worn out. **Interpretations** The pistareen was a Spanish silver coin of two reals, minted in Spain rather than the Americas and struck with noticeably less silver than the reals of the Mexican dollar. The Mexican dollar, or piece of eight, was worth eight reals and was the standard silver coin of long-distance trade. The milled dollar was the machine-struck coin with a regular edge, while the unmilled dollar was the older, roughly cut hammered coin. Treating both as equal, the island's rate showed that the Council valued the dollar by its silver rather than its appearance. The page revealed the island's rate of exchange indirectly. By setting a shilling as one fifth of a dollar, the Council valued the dollar at 5s 0d on St Helena. The old rate of a quarter dollar had therefore put the pistareen at 1s 3d, so the order cut its value by a fifth. The reasoning in the notice described the familiar effect later known as Gresham's law. When two coins pass at the same face value but contain different amounts of silver, holders spend the weaker coin and

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		mexico Dollar; and the lesser parts of a Pistereen, as abovementioned, are to be reduced in the like proportions. Captain Harrold representing to Us, that the Boat belonging to the Snow Mercury was worn out, and of no further	hoard or export the stronger. On an island supplied almost entirely by passing ships, dollars paid out locally could leave within weeks in the hands of commanders and crews, while pistareens bought cheaply elsewhere flowed in. By lowering the pistareen's rate to match its silver, the Council removed the profit from importing it and protected the island's stock of full-weight coin. A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel rigged much like a brig, with a small extra mast behind the mainmast carrying a fore-and-aft sail. Its own boat was essential for carrying cargo and men between ship and shore at an anchorage with no wharf for larger craft.
7	3	1763 further use, We therefore directed her to be surveyed by the Honorable Company's Carpenter, and the Carpenters of the Mercury and Fly, who report that she is quite unfit for any further service, Captain Harrold likewise acquainting Us that Captain Kirkpatrick had a new Boat which rowed with seven Oars and had a Mast Sails Awnings and every thing in good Order to be disposed of for twenty pounds, we directed the aforesaid Carpenters to inspect her, and they finding she had every thing compleat and proper for the Snow Mercury, We agreed to purchase her at that price On Wednesday the 20th Instant We discharged George Finn Centinel, from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time. Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 1st Day of August 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed, dated the 25th July 1763. Yesterday Passed by two Ships under Dutch Colours.	The Council ordered a survey of the worn-out boat belonging to the snow *Mercury*. The Company's carpenter carried it out with the carpenters of the *Mercury* and the *Fly*, and all of them reported the boat quite unfit for further work. Captain Harrold then told the Council that Captain Kirkpatrick owned a new seven-oared boat that he wished to sell for £20 0s 0d. It came complete with a mast, sails and awnings, all in good condition. The Council sent the same carpenters to examine it. They found the boat fully equipped and well suited to the *Mercury*, so the Council agreed to buy it at the asking price. On Wednesday 20 July, the Council released George Finn, a sentry, from the garrison because he had completed the term of service agreed with the Company. Governor Hutchinson signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council met again at the Castle on Monday 1 August 1763. The Governor presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 25 July 1763 were read, approved and signed. The Council recorded that two ships flying Dutch colours had sailed past the island the day before, on 31 July. **Interpretations** Captain Kirkpatrick sat on the Council that approved the purchase of his own boat. The Council guarded against any charge of favouritism by having the boat examined by three carpenters, one of them the Company's own man, before agreeing to the price. Their report, rather than the councillor's word, provided the justification entered in the record, which the Company's directors in London would later read. George Finn's discharge showed that soldiers of the garrison served under fixed-term contracts with the Company rather than for life. Once the agreed term ended, a man was entitled to leave the service, and his release was formally entered so that his pay and rations could be stopped and his claim settled. The note of two Dutch ships passing without calling formed part of the Council's regular watch on shipping. Recording foreign vessels that sighted the island gave the Company a running account of rival traffic on the homeward route.
8	4	1 August. Mr Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Essex to Muster her Company, and inquire for deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows vizt Muster Roll of Ship Essex George Jackson Commander Francis Read Chief Mate George Hepburn 2d do James Mitchel 3d do Wm Dickinson 4th do Robert Snow 5th do David Jones 6th do Marcus Clarke Purser Jonathan Cooper Surgeon	Matthew Purling told the Council that he had gone aboard the *Essex* to muster her crew and search for deserters. He found none, and he produced the crew list, which ran as follows. George Jackson, commander Francis Read, chief mate George Hepburn, second mate James Mitchel, third mate William Dickinson, fourth mate Robert Snow, fifth mate David Jones, sixth mate Marcus Clarke, purser Jonathan Cooper, surgeon Arthur Walker, surgeon's mate Francis Dillien, gunner

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		Arthur Walker Do Mate	Peter Goddeat, gunner's mate
		Francis Dillien Gunner	William Ballison, boatswain
		Peter Goddear Do Mate	William Cornish, carpenter
		Wm Ballison Boatswain	William Painter, carpenter's first mate
		Wm Cornish Carpenter	Bartholomew Taylor, carpenter's second mate
		Wm Painter 1 Mate do	John Hill, ship's steward
		Barthw Taylor 2 do	Joseph James, midshipman
		John Hill Ships Stewd	Andrew Scott
		Jos: James Midshipman	George Allen
		And: Scott	Daniel Monk
		George Allen	Samuel Watts, quartermaster
		Danl Monk	William Rowe
		Saml Walls Quartr mastr	William Matthews
		Wm Grove	John Thompson
		Wm Matthews	William Harlow, caulker's mate
		John Thompson	John Dobble[...], cooper
		Wm Harlow Caulkers Mate	Jacob Sprung, cooper's mate
		John Dobbleave Cooper	Thomas Brown, armourer
		Jacob Sprung Do Mate	John Vine, ship's cook
		Thos Brown Armourer	James Irons, sailmaker
		John Vine Ships Cook	Richard Battersby, butcher
		James Irons Sailmaker	Thomas North, poulterer
		Richd Battersby Butcher	Peter Hornsby, captain's steward
		Thos North Poulterer	Edward Powell, baker
		Peter Hornsby Captns Stewd	William Hornby, seaman
		Edward Bowell Baker	Frederick Collet
		Wm Hornsby Seamen	Daniel Saunders
		Frederick Collet	James Ramsay
		Daniel Saunders	George Morris
		James Ramsay	Robert Bell
		George Morris	James Black
		Robert Bell	Christian Smith
		James Black	Jacob Secor
		Christian Smith	James Willson
		Jacob Seward	John Hardy
		James Willson	Robert Snow
		John Hardy	Benjamin Crane
		Robert Trew	William Shergill
		Benjn Crane	Archibald Lachman
		Wm Shergill	Joseph Eckhart
		Archibald Lachman	Robert Wallis
		Joseph Cockart	David Palmer
		Robert Walles	William Watts
		David Falmer	Daniel Ireland
		Wm Watts	Griffith Roberts
		Daniel Ireland	Mark Crew
		Griffith Roberts	John Harley
		Mark Crews	Joseph Collins, seaman
		John Harley	William Oats
		Joseph Collins Seaman	Thomas Bell
		Wm Oats	John Crump
		Thos Beth	Frederick Haverly
		John Crump	Christian Neukell
		Frederick Haverly	William Morrison
		Christian Neustell	Isaiah Donaldson
		Wm Morrisson	Christopher Langbourn
		Isaiah Donaldson	Thomas Sheridan
		Chris: Langbourn	John Everett
		Thos Sheridan	Miles Shelley
		John Everett	Alexander Whitlow
		Miles Shelley	Richard Bilkey
		Alexr Whitlow	Martin Morris
		Richard Bilkey	James Knuckle
		Martin Morris	Thomas Beckwith
		James Knuckle	George Warden
		Thomas Beckwith	John Warren
		George Worden	Stephen Bugles
		John Warren	Stephen Woodberry
		Stephen Bugles	Patrick Johnson
		Stephen Woodberry	Peter Godb[...]
		Patrick Johnson	James Willson
		Peter Godbient	James Carew, captain's servant
		James Willson	John Shepherd, captain's servant
		James Carew Capts Servt	Thomas Mosely, boatswain's servant
		John Shepherd Do Mates	John Jones, carpenter's servant
		Thos Mosely Boatn do	Lawrence Dinley, seaman

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Jones Carpentr do Lawrence Dinley Seamn	**Interpretations** Mustering a Company ship at St Helena served as a check on the island's own manpower rather than on the ship's. The Council sent a councillor aboard to confirm that no soldier of the garrison, runaway slave or indebted islander had slipped into the crew, since a homeward ship offered the easiest way off the island. Comparing the men present with the ship's own list exposed anyone taken on without leave, and entering the roll in full gave the Council a record against which any later claim could be tested. The roll showed how an East Indiaman carried its own victualling trades on the long voyage from China. The butcher and poulterer tended the live cattle, sheep, pigs and fowls kept aboard for fresh meat, while the baker supplied bread to the officers' table. The captain's steward ran the commander's cabin separately from the ship's steward, who issued stores to the crew. The servants at the foot of the list were boys or young men attached to particular officers. They received the Company's wages in their master's name, and the arrangement served both as an apprenticeship at sea and as a source of income for the officer concerned.
2	5	1763 John Murray Seaman And Staton Ralph Barron John Carvalho Seaman Antonio Carvalho Walberg Coert Peter Matthewson Seam John Muller James Reed Passengers Major Drake Major Barker Lieut Sir John Forbes Two Servants Two French Officers Prisoners (Signed) George Jackson The Governor hath paid one hundred pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Samuel Hough Esqr or order ninety days after Sight dated this day. Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The muster roll of the *Essex* continued with nine more seamen and a list of the passengers aboard. John Murray, seaman Andrew Staton Ralph Barron John Carvalho, seaman Antonio Carvalho Walberg Coert Peter Matthewson, seaman John Muller James Bird The ship carried the following passengers. Major Drake Major Barker Lieutenant Sir John Forbes 2 servants 2 French officers, held as prisoners George Jackson signed the roll. Governor Hutchinson paid £100 0s 0d into the Company's treasury on the island. In return, the Council gave him bills of exchange for that sum, dated the same day and drawn on the Company's Court of Directors in London. The bills were made payable to Samuel Hough, or to anyone he named, 90 days after they were presented. Charles Hutchinson signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The Governor's payment used a standard device for moving money between St Helena and England without shipping coin. Cash paid into the island treasury met local costs such as wages and purchases from ships, sparing the Company the need to send silver out. The Governor in turn received a written order on the Court of Directors, which his agent in London could collect. The words "or order" made the bills transferable by endorsement, so Samuel Hough could pass them on to settle a debt before they fell due. The 90-day term ran from the moment the bills were presented, giving the directors time to check the island's accounts before paying. The Council issued the bills to a man who was himself its president. Every councillor signed the minute, so the transaction rested on the authority of the whole board rather than on the Governor's own signature, which protected him against any suggestion that he had drawn on the Company for his private benefit. The two French officers were prisoners of the war that had ended with the peace signed at Paris in February 1763. Their passage home on a Company

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			ship reflected the exchange of captives that followed the settlement.
10	6	8th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th day of August 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed dated the 1st August 1763 Thursday the 4th Died Edward Jennings Matross Friday the 5th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Essex for England The Plantation, Gunners and Stewards Accounts, for the Month of July last, were this day brought in which were examined and approved, and are as follows vizt Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of July 1763 vizt Lisbon 24 Bottles £1 16s 0d Mountain 24 Bottles £1 16s 0d Arrack 69 Bottles £3 4s 3d Beer 43 Bottles £0 11s 7½d Flour 410 lb £2 11s 3d Beef 218 lb £2 14s 6d Salt Beef 1 lb £0 2s 11½d fresh Pork 68 lb £1 14s 0d Salt Pork 11 lb £1 7s 11½d Mutton 360 lb £7 10s 0d Goat 30 lb £0 16s 8d Fowls 12 £0 18s 0d Ducks 8 £0 12s 0d Turkeys 5 £1 5s 0d Fresh butter 40½ lb £2 0s 3d Candles 110 lb £1 16s 8d Veal 53 lb £1 6s 6d	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 8 August 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 1 August 1763 were read, approved and signed. Edward Jennings, a matross in the artillery, died on Thursday 4 August. The Company's ship *Essex* left for England the following day. The accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the steward for July were presented at the meeting. The Council examined and approved them, beginning with the provisions consumed at the Company's table during July 1763. 24 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 16s 0d 24 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 16s 0d 69 bottles of arrack, £3 4s 3d 43 bottles of beer, £0 11s 7¾d 410 lb of flour, £2 11s 3d 218 lb of beef, £2 14s 6d 1 piece of salt beef, £0 2s 11½d 68 lb of fresh pork, £1 14s 0d 11 pieces of salt pork, £1 7s 11½d 360 lb of mutton, £7 10s 0d 50 lb of goat meat, £0 16s 8d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d 40¼ lb of fresh butter, £2 0s 3d 110 lb of sugar candy, £1 16s 8d 53 lb of veal, £1 6s 6d 2 pigs, £0 10s 0d Total, £32 13s 7¾d **Interpretations** Lisbon and Mountain were both sweet fortified wines of the Iberian peninsula. Lisbon wine came from the country around the Portuguese capital, while Mountain was a heavy, sweet white wine from the hills behind Málaga in southern Spain. Both kept well on long voyages, which made them staples of tables at distant garrisons. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in Asia, chiefly at Batavia and in Goa, from fermented palm sap or rice and molasses. Company ships brought it homeward from the East, and it was mostly drunk mixed into punch. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised into large hard lumps, usually from China, and served both as a sweetener and as a keeping form of sugar. The Company's table was the Governor's official table, kept at the Company's charge for the councillors, the chief officers and visiting commanders and passengers. Its monthly account formed a regular public charge, and entering it line by line in the minutes let the directors in London see exactly what hospitality cost them. The steward bought the meat and produce from island farmers, so the table also served as a steady market for local stock. The prices showed the island's meat priced by the pound at fixed rates: beef at 3d, goat at 4d, mutton at 5d, and pork and veal at 6d. Goat appeared because the island had carried large herds of goats since its earliest settlement, and their meat supplemented the scarcer beef and mutton. A matross was a junior soldier of the artillery, who assisted the gunners in loading, firing and moving the cannon.

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		Pigs 2 £0 10s 0d Total£32 15s 7¼d	
11	7	1763 Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c. for the Month of July 1763 vizt Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses He Asses, Asses She Asses, Asses Total Remaining 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 86, Neat Cattle Calves 73, Neat Cattle Yearlings 60, Neat Cattle Heifers 25, Neat Cattle Steers 31, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 290, Sheep Weathers 203, Sheep Lambs 172, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 673, Goats Ewes 147, Goats Weathers 17, Goats Kids 79, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 252, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 18, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 23, Poultry Fowls 85, Poultry Ducks 32, Poultry Turkeys 44, Poultry Geese 15, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 3, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 4 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 7, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 7, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 6, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 6, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 2, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 2, Poultry Fowls 11, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 86, Neat Cattle Calves 80, Neat Cattle Yearlings 60, Neat Cattle Heifers 25, Neat Cattle Steers 31, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 299, Sheep Ewes 290, Sheep Weathers 203, Sheep Lambs 172, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 673, Goats Ewes 147, Goats Weathers 17, Goats Kids 85, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 258, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 20, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 25, Poultry Fowls 96, Poultry Ducks 32, Poultry Turkeys 44, Poultry Geese 15, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 3, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 4 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 4, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 5, Sheep Ewes 5, Sheep Weathers 27, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 32, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 3, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 3, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 4, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 4, Poultry Fowls 12, Poultry Ducks 8, Poultry Turkeys 5, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 1, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 2, Sheep Ewes 2, Sheep Weathers 8, Sheep Lambs 4, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 14, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 1, Poultry Ducks 1, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0	The Lieutenant Governor, John Skottowe, signed the monthly account of the Company's livestock for July 1763, which recorded the herds and flocks as follows. Stock on 1 July: 4 bulls, 86 cows, 73 calves, 60 yearlings, 25 heifers, 31 steers, 13 oxen, 292 cattle in all Stock on 1 July: 290 ewes, 203 wethers, 172 lambs, 8 rams, 673 sheep in all Stock on 1 July: 147 nanny goats, 17 wether goats, 79 kids, 9 billy goats, 252 goats in all Stock on 1 July: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 18 pigs, 1 boar, 23 hogs in all Stock on 1 July: 85 fowls, 32 ducks, 44 turkeys, 15 geese Stock on 1 July: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 horses in all Stock on 1 July: 3 male asses, 1 female ass, 4 asses in all Born during the month: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 7 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 7 cattle in all Born during the month: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all Born during the month: 0 nanny goats, 0 wether goats, 6 kids, 0 billy goats, 6 goats in all Born during the month: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 2 pigs, 0 boars, 2 hogs in all Hatched during the month: 11 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Born during the month: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Born during the month: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all Total held: 4 bulls, 86 cows, 80 calves, 60 yearlings, 25 heifers, 31 steers, 13 oxen, 299 cattle in all Total held: 290 ewes, 203 wethers, 172 lambs, 8 rams, 673 sheep in all Total held: 147 nanny goats, 17 wether goats, 85 kids, 9 billy goats, 258 goats in all Total held: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 20 pigs, 1 boar, 25 hogs in all Total held: 96 fowls, 32 ducks, 44 turkeys, 15 geese Total held: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 horses in all Total held: 3 male asses, 1 female ass, 4 asses in all Slaughtered: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 4 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 5 cattle in all Slaughtered: 5 ewes, 27 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 32 sheep in all Slaughtered: 0 nanny goats, 3 wether goats, 0 kids, 0 billy goats, 3 goats in all Slaughtered: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 4 pigs, 0 boars, 4 hogs in all Slaughtered: 12 fowls, 8 ducks, 5 turkeys, 0 geese Slaughtered: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Slaughtered: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all Died: 0 bulls, 1 cow, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 1 steer, 0 oxen, 2 cattle in all Died: 2 ewes, 8 wethers, 4 lambs, 0 rams, 14 sheep in all Died: 0 nanny goats, 0 wether goats, 0 kids, 0 billy goats, 0 goats in all Died: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all Died: 1 fowl, 1 duck, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Died: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Died: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all Supplied to the ship *Albion*: 0 cattle, 0 ewes, 6 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 6 sheep in all, and 0 goats, hogs, poultry, horses or asses. Stock on 31 July: 4 bulls, 85 cows, 79 calves, 60 yearlings, 21 heifers, 30 steers, 13 oxen, 292 cattle in all

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		To Ship Albion: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 6, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 6, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Remaining 31st: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 85, Neat Cattle Calves 79, Neat Cattle Yearlings 60, Neat Cattle Heifers 21, Neat Cattle Steers 30, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 283, Sheep Weathers 173, Sheep Lambs 168, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 621, Goats Ewes 147, Goats Weathers 14, Goats Kids 85, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 255, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 16, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 21, Poultry Fowls 83, Poultry Ducks 23, Poultry Turkeys 39, Poultry Geese 15, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 3, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 4 Yam Expended for the Blacks and Stock 28200 lb (Signed) John Skottowe	Stock on 31 July: 283 ewes, 173 wethers, 168 lambs, 8 rams, 621 sheep in all Stock on 31 July: 147 nanny goats, 14 wether goats, 85 kids, 9 billy goats, 255 goats in all Stock on 31 July: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 16 pigs, 1 boar, 21 hogs in all Stock on 31 July: 83 fowls, 23 ducks, 39 turkeys, 15 geese Stock on 31 July: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 horses in all Stock on 31 July: 3 male asses, 1 female ass, 4 asses in all Yams used to feed the slaves and the livestock, 28,200 lb **Interpretations** The account tracked the Company's own herds and flocks, which were kept on its farmland to supply the Governor's table, the garrison and passing ships. Each month the stock was reconciled from opening numbers through births, slaughter, deaths and issues to closing numbers, so that no animal could vanish from the Company's property without a recorded reason. The Lieutenant Governor signed it because he had charge of the Company's plantations and livestock, and his signature made him answerable for the figures. The slaughter figures tied directly to the July account for the Company's table. The 32 sheep killed matched the 360 lb of mutton charged there, and the 12 fowls, 8 ducks and 5 turkeys also appeared on the table account. The two ledgers therefore checked one another, since meat served had to correspond to animals taken from the Company's own stock. Neat cattle meant cattle of the ox kind, as opposed to sheep, goats and other livestock. Shoats were young pigs past weaning but not yet fully grown. Wethers were castrated males, reared for meat rather than breeding, which was why they made up most of the sheep killed and the six supplied to the *Albion*. The yams were the staple food of the Company's slaves and a fodder crop for the stock. Growing and issuing them from the Company's own land kept the cost of feeding the labour force within the Company's accounts, rather than exposing it to the prices of imported rice or grain.
12	8	8th August Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of July 1763 Guns fired, 9 Pounders, 4 Pounders, 3 Pounders, 2 Pounders, Powder Expended 7. An Alarm: Guns fired 6 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 2 Guns, 3 Pounders 2 Guns, 2 Pounders 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb 0 oz Arrived the Albion returned the Salute: Guns fired 9 Guns, 9 Pounders 9 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 8 oz Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay from ye 30th Augt 1762: Guns fired 0 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 3 lb 0 oz Powder for priming at the Alarm House from ye 5 April 1763: Guns fired 0 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 3 lb 0 oz 16th Departed the Albion returned the Salute: Guns fired 9 Guns, 9 Pounders 9 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 8 oz	The gunner's account recorded the artillery stores used in July 1763, listing for each occasion the guns fired, the number fired from each size of gun and the powder spent. The calibre heading of the last gun column could not be read, so those figures carry that mark. 7 July, an alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 from 9-pounders, 2 from 4-pounders, 2 from 3-pounders, 0 from 2-pounders, 2 from [...]-pounders, powder 12 lb 0 oz On the arrival of the *Albion*, the garrison returned her salute: 9 guns fired, 0 from 9-pounders, 0 from 4-pounders, 0 from 3-pounders, 9 from 2-pounders, 0 from [...]-pounders, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Powder for priming the guns, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 8 oz Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay since 30 August 1762, 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 0 oz Powder for priming at the Alarm House since 5 April 1763, 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 0 oz On 16 July, the garrison returned the salute of the departing *Albion*: 9 guns fired, 0 from 9-pounders, 0 from 4-pounders, 0 from 3-pounders, 9 from 2-pounders, 0 from [...]-pounders, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Powder for priming the guns, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 8 oz 22 July, an alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 from 9-pounders, 2 from 4-pounders, 2 from 3-pounders, 0 from 2-pounders, 2 from [...]-pounders, powder 12 lb 0 oz On 23 July, the garrison returned the salute of the arriving *Essex*: 9 guns fired, 0 from 9-pounders, 0 from

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		22. An Alarm: Guns fired 6 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 2 Guns, 3 Pounders 2 Guns, 2 Pounders 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb 0 oz 23 Arrived the Essex, returned the Salute: Guns fired 9 Guns, 9 Pounders 9 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 8 oz 31. A Double Alarm for two Ships that went by: Guns fired 9 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 3 Guns, 3 Pounders 3 Guns, 2 Pounders 3 Guns, Powder Expended 18 lb 0 oz An Alarm at Banks's for the same Ships: Guns fired 2 Guns, 9 Pounders 2 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz Powder for Priming in order to have returned the Salute of the same Ships: Guns fired 0 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 3 lb 0 oz Powder for Replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns fired 0 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 4 lb 0 oz Do for Signals: Guns fired 0 Guns, 9 Pounders 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 0 oz Total: Guns fired 50 Guns, 9 Pounders 29 Guns, 4 Pounders 7 Guns, 3 Pounders 7 Guns, 2 Pounders 7 Guns, Powder Expended 96 lb 8 oz Tallow for the use of the Wood Carts 4 lb Do for the use of the Boats 3 lb [...] Paper for the use of the Fly Cutter 9 Quires Lead Shot for Shooting a Sea Cow at Sandy Bay 1 lb (Signed) Thos Hall The Executor to the last Will and Testament of Edward Jennings Matross, deceased this day presented the said Will desiring the same might be proved, which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as follows vizt	4-pounders, 0 from 3-pounders, 9 from 2-pounders, 0 from [...]-pounders, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Powder for priming the guns, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 8 oz 31 July, a double alarm for two ships sailing past: 9 guns fired, 0 from 9-pounders, 3 from 4-pounders, 3 from 3-pounders, 0 from 2-pounders, 3 from [...]-pounders, powder 18 lb 0 oz 31 July, an alarm at Banks's for the same two ships: 2 guns fired, 2 from 9-pounders, 0 from 4-pounders, 0 from 3-pounders, 0 from 2-pounders, 0 from [...]-pounders, powder 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming guns ready to answer any salute from the same two ships, 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 0 oz Powder for refilling the cartridges at the Main Guard, 0 guns fired, powder 4 lb 0 oz Powder for signals, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 0 oz Total: 50 guns fired, 2 from 9-pounders, 7 from 4-pounders, 7 from 3-pounders, 27 from 2-pounders, 7 from [...]-pounders, powder 96 lb 8 oz Tallow for greasing the wood carts, 4 lb Tallow for the boats, 3½ lb Paper for the cutter Fly, 9 quires Lead shot for killing a sea cow at Sandy Bay, 1 lb Thomas Hall signed the account. The executor of Edward Jennings, the matross who died on 4 August, brought his will before the Council and asked for it to be proved. The witnesses to the will confirmed it on oath, and the Council granted probate on that evidence. **Interpretations** The account showed how the island's defence depended on a chain of signal posts rather than on its guns alone. Lookouts at the Alarm House, Prosperous Bay and Banks's fired set numbers of guns when ships appeared, and the pattern told the garrison at Jamestown how many vessels were approaching and from which quarter. A double alarm meant two ships in sight at once, as on 31 July, when the two Dutch vessels passed without calling. Guns at these posts were kept primed so that they could fire the moment a sail was sighted, which was why priming powder appeared as a separate running charge. The garrison matched each gun to its purpose. Every salute used the small 2-pounders, costing 1 lb of powder a round, so the nine-gun courtesy owed to each arriving or departing Company ship consumed as little as possible of a store that could not be replaced until the next ship brought more. Alarms instead used the heavier 3-pounders and 4-pounders at 2 lb a round, and Banks's used its 9-pounders at 4½ lb a round, because a warning had to carry across the island's ridges and valleys. Recording each round and each ounce let the Council account to London for every barrel spent. The *Fly* was a small cutter kept by the Company for island service, and the paper issued for her was probably for making up her gun cartridges or for her records. Tallow was rendered animal fat, used here to grease the axles of the carts hauling firewood and to protect the boats. A sea cow in St Helena usage was probably a seal. Its killing at Sandy Bay, charged to the Company's shot, suggested that such animals were valued for their oil or skins. The Council proved the will itself because the island had no separate church court to grant probate, as in England. Sitting as the island's court, it admitted the will on the sworn word of its witnesses, which gave the executor legal authority to collect and distribute the dead man's estate.
13	9	1763 Island St Helena In the Name of God Amen I Edward	Edward Jennings, a matross in the St Helena garrison, drew up his will while mindful that life was uncertain and death certain. He committed his soul to

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		Jennings of the aforesaid Island Matross considering the uncertainty of Life and Certainty of Death Do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following First I recommend my Soul into the Hands of the Almighty God who gave it and my body to the Earth, hoping thro' the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer to be made partaker of Eternal Happiness. And as to that Worldly Estate it hath pleased the Almighty to bless me with I Give devise and bequeath the same on this Island in the following Manner To the Revd Mr Lee £11 0s 0d To Adam Watson £3 3s 0d To Evan Newland £0 16s 0d To John Carr Two Coloured Shirts To Geo: Freeman Two White Shirts To John Cunningham Two White Shirts To George Watts Two White Shirts To Daniel Bury Two White Shirts Thomas Bell Two White Shirts Avery Truman 2 White Shirts & One Coloured Jonathan Chandler 2 pair Spatterdashes & 2 pair Shoes Bryan Lynch 2 pair Spatterdashes & 2 pair Shoes John Cope 1 pair White Stockings John Jacob 2 pair White Stockings, & 1 pair of Coloured Stockings Richard Brown One Coat and two pair Breeches Joseph Uffin Six Stocks and two Neckcloths Wm Johnson One Coat and one pair Breeches And all the rest residue and remainder of my Estate on the aforesaid Island St Helena I do hereby Give devise and bequeath unto the above mentioned Persons to be equally divided among them Share and Share alike And I do hereby nominate Constitute and appoint the aforesaid Adam Watson Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament; Likewise revoking, and by these presents disannulling all former and other Wills and Testaments by me at any time heretofore made, and declaring this to be my only last Will and Testament	God and his body to burial, trusting in the merits of Christ for a share in eternal happiness. He then set out how his possessions on the island should be shared, leaving the following legacies. The Reverend Mr Lee, £11 0s 0d Adam Watson, £3 3s 0d Evan Newland, £0 16s 0d John Carr, 2 coloured shirts George Freeman, 2 white shirts John Cunningham, 2 white shirts George Watts, 2 white shirts Daniel Bry, 2 white shirts Thomas Bett, 2 white shirts Avery Truman, 2 white shirts and 1 coloured shirt Jonathan Chandler, 2 pairs of spatterdashes and 2 pairs of shoes Bryan Lynch, 2 pairs of spatterdashes and 2 pairs of shoes John Cope, 1 pair of white stockings John Jack, 2 pairs of white stockings and 1 pair of coloured stockings Richard Brown, 1 coat and 2 pairs of breeches Joseph Uffin, 6 stocks and 2 neckcloths William Johnson, 1 coat and 1 pair of breeches Jennings left everything else he owned on the island to these same people in equal shares. He named Adam Watson as his only executor. He cancelled every earlier will he had made and declared this one alone to express his final wishes. **Interpretations** The will showed a soldier's estate made up largely of clothing, handed out piece by piece among the men he had served beside. In a garrison where pay was small and imported cloth dear, shirts, shoes and stockings held real value and would otherwise have been sold at auction. Naming each comrade and each item kept the property within the barracks and turned the will into a final settlement of friendships and perhaps of small debts. The largest cash bequest went to the Reverend Mr Lee, who was probably the island's chaplain. A gift to the clergyman was a customary way of securing a proper burial and prayers. Spatterdashes were long cloth or leather gaiters buttoned over the shoe and lower leg to keep off mud and wet, and they formed part of a soldier's regular kit. Stocks were stiff bands of cloth or leather fastened round the neck in place of a tie, worn as part of military dress, while neckcloths were softer strips of linen wound round the throat. Leaving the remainder equally to all the named legatees placed a practical duty on the executor. Adam Watson had to gather whatever was left, including any unpaid wages owed by the Company, and divide it into seventeen equal shares.
14	10	8th August In Witness whereof I have to this my last Will and Testament signed my hand and affixed my Seal this twenty sixth day of July One thousand seven hundred & sixty three. Signed sealed and acknowledged by (signed) the Testator as and for his last Will Edward Jennings and Testament in presence of Us (signed) Fisher Gambel Francis Powell. Chas Hutchinson	Edward Jennings signed and sealed his will on 26 July 1763. Fisher Gambel and Francis Powell witnessed his signature and his declaration that the document was his will. Governor Hutchinson signed the minutes of 8 August with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 15 August 1763. The Governor presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as

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		John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th Day of August 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed dated the 8th August 1763 Wednesday the 10th Sailed the Mercury Snow Counted & examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month July last, which is as follows vizt	councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 8 August 1763 were read, approved and signed. The snow *Mercury* left the island on Wednesday 10 August. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for July. **Interpretations** Jennings signed his will on 26 July and died on 4 August, so the document was made only nine days before his death. The two witnesses carried the legal weight of the probate granted on 8 August, since their sworn evidence that they saw him sign and heard him acknowledge the will was what allowed the Council to accept it without the testator. The monthly count of the treasury was a direct check on the officer holding the Company's money. Rather than accepting a written balance, the councillors counted the coin themselves, so that any shortfall would be found within a month and fixed on the man responsible.
15	11	15th August Cash Dr 1763 July 7th To Balance remaining £5810 1s 10d 5th To Rents recd of Richard Beale Senr for renewing one Life in a Lease of eight Acres £1 0s 0d 11 To Exchange for 2 Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follows vizt One Set to Robt Wood Esqr for£100 0s 0d One Do to Capt John Clark£278 5s 10d £378 5s 10d 14 To Ship Albion recd the Balance of Her Account £5 10s 0d £6194 17s 8d Per Contra Cr 1763 July 25th By Profit and Loss lost on 2030 Pistereens which in the Honble Company's Cash were under the denomination of Double Ryals and passed for 15d the ¼ of Mexico Dollar but now reduced to 1s as per Consultation of this day 2030 Pistereens 3d lost on each amounts to £25 7s 6d 31st By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt Pagodas 8212 at 8s 0d £3284 16s 0d Rupees 124 at 2s 3d £14 8s 0d French pieces 441 at 0s 2d £3 13s 6d Doub Ryals 4466 at 1s 3d £279 2s 6d Pistereens 2030 at 1s 0d £101 10s 0d Dollars 7785 at 5s 0d £1946 5s 0d Odd Money £0 0s 2d £5629 15s 2d Cash Notes of no use Amounting to £539 15s 0d £6169 10s 2d £6194 17s 8d	The Company's cash account for July 1763 recorded the following receipts. 1 July, balance brought forward, £5,810 1s 10d 5 July, rent from Richard Beale senior for adding a life to his lease of 8 acres, £1 0s 0d 11 July, cash paid in for 2 sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, £378 5s 10d 1 set to Robert Wood, £100 0s 0d 1 set to Captain John Clark, £278 5s 10d On 14 July, the treasury received the balance of the ship *Albion*'s account, £5 10s 0d. Total receipts, £6,194 17s 8d Against these, the account recorded the following entries. 25 July, loss on 2,030 pistareens entered in the treasury as double reals at 1s 3d, a quarter of a dollar, but lowered to 1s by the Council on this date, a loss of 3d on each, £25 7s 6d 31 July, balance held in coin as follows: 8,212 pagodas at 8s each, £3,284 16s 0d 124 rupees at 2s 3d each, £14 8s 0d 441 French coins at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 4,466 double reals at 1s 3d each, £279 2s 6d 2,030 pistareens at 1s each, £101 10s 0d 7,785 dollars at 5s each, £1,946 5s 0d Small change, £0 0s 2d Total coin, £5,629 15s 2d Cash notes that could not be used, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £6,169 10s 2d Total, £6,194 17s 8d **Interpretations** The treasury held a mixture of coins from across the Company's trading world, each valued at a fixed island rate. The pagoda was a small, thick gold coin of south India, struck chiefly at Madras, and valued here at 8s. The rupee was the silver coin of Mughal India. The double real was a Spanish-American silver coin worth two reals, a quarter of a dollar, while the dollar was the full Spanish-American piece of eight. The French coins at 2d each were probably small base-metal pieces picked up in trade or from prisoners and ships. Pagodas made up more than half the coin held, which showed that the island's cash reached it largely from Madras aboard homeward Company ships rather than from England. The loss on the pistareens showed the cost of the Council's decision of 25 July 1763 falling on the Company itself. The treasury had taken in 2,030 pistareens as though they were full-weight double reals, and lowering them from 1s 3d to 1s wiped £25 7s 6d off the value of its own holdings. By writing the loss off at once to profit and loss, the Council kept the cash balance true to what the coins would actually fetch on the island. The cash notes that could not be used were probably paper notes issued by the island treasury and

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			later taken back in payment. They still counted towards the balance because the treasury had given value for them, but they could not be paid out again as money, so the Council listed them apart from the coin. Richard Beale's payment showed that Company land on the island was let on leases for lives, in the manner then common across England. The lease ran for as long as the named people lived, and a tenant paid a fine to add a new name when one died, securing the land for his family for another generation. The sale of bills to Robert Wood and Captain John Clark followed the same method as the Governor's payment of 1 August 1763. Their cash met the island's costs, while the bills let them collect the money from the directors in London.
16	12	15th August The Executors to the last Will and Testament of Mrs Mary Goodwin deceased this day presented an Inventory of Her Effects appraised by Messrs Jonathan Doveton and William Wrangham, who being duly sworn, that they valued the same to the best of their Judgement, it was ordered to be entered in a Book kept for that purpose Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 22d Day of August 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed, dated the 15th August 1763. Monday the 15th in the Evening Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Prince of Wales from Bombay Thursday the 18th Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Clive last from Tellicherry The Ships Prince of Wales & Clive brought Us the following Supplys vizt	The executors of Mary Goodwin brought the Council an inventory of her possessions. Jonathan Doveton and William Wrangham valued the goods and swore that they had priced them as fairly as they could judge. The Council ordered the inventory to be copied into the register kept for such records. Governor Hutchinson signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 22 August 1763. The Governor presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 15 August 1763 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Prince of Wales* reached the island from Bombay on the evening of Monday 15 August. The *Clive* followed on Thursday 18 August, having last called at Tellicherry. Together the two ships delivered supplies for the island. **Interpretations** The sworn valuation of Mary Goodwin's estate protected both her heirs and her creditors. Two independent appraisers fixed the worth of each item under oath, giving a figure against which the executors had to account for every sale and payment. Entering the inventory in a dedicated register rather than in the minutes created a permanent public record that could settle any later dispute over the estate. Tellicherry was the Company's fortified trading post on the Malabar coast of south-western India, the centre of its pepper trade. A ship that last called there would have carried pepper and other Malabar produce homeward.
17	13	22nd August Invoice of Ship Prince of Wales Rice beaten Rice 20 Bags @ 6 Maunds 30 seers is 135 Maunds at 22 R per 18 Rs 165 0 qrs 0 reas Batty 32 Bags @ 3 is 3.21 @ 15 per Morah Rs 57 0 qrs 0 reas Challoes 1 Bale 5 Corge @ 83 Rs per Corge Rs 415 0 qrs 0 reas Surat Charges Customs 2 per Cent Rs 8 1 qr 20 reas Packing Rs 7 2 qrs 0 reas Boathire Rs 2 0 qrs 40 reas Rs 16 1 qr 60 reas Rs 431 1 qr 60 reas Charges Merchandize Packing the Rice and Batty Rs 57 0 qrs 60 reas Hamallage on Do Rs 2 0 qrs 40 reas Do on the Challoes Rs 0 0 qrs 20 reas	The invoice for the supplies carried by the *Prince of Wales* from Bombay listed the following goods and charges, reckoned in rupees, quarters and reas. Rice: 20 bags of beaten rice weighing 6 candies 3 maunds 0 seers, or 135 maunds, at 22 rupees per 18 maunds, 165 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Unhusked rice: 32 bags at 3 [...] each, making 3 morahs 21 [...], at 15 rupees per morah, 57 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Chelloes: 1 bale containing 5 corges at 83 rupees per corge, 415 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Charges at Surat: Customs duty at 2 per cent, 8 rupees 1 quarter 20 reas Packing, 7 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Boat hire, 2 rupees 0 quarters 40 reas Total charges at Surat, 16 rupees 1 quarter 60 reas Chelloes with charges at Surat, 431 rupees 1 quarter 60 reas Charges on the goods at Bombay: Packing the rice and unhusked rice, 57 rupees 0 quarters 60 reas Porterage on the rice and unhusked rice, 2 rupees 0 quarters 40 reas

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		Boathire Rs 6 0 qrs 0 reas Rs 65 1 qr 10 reas Rupees 719 1 qr 10 reas Errors Excepted P. J. Dalton Provl Accont	Porterage on the chelloes, 0 rupees 0 quarters 20 reas Boat hire, 6 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Total charges at Bombay, 65 rupees 1 quarter 10 reas Total of the invoice, 719 rupees 1 quarter 10 reas P J Dalton signed the invoice as provisional accountant, reserving the right to correct any mistakes. **Interpretations** Beaten rice was rice husked by pounding in a mortar, the usual Indian method, which left a rough, partly polished grain ready to cook. The unhusked rice, which the invoice called batty from an Indian word for paddy, kept far better on a long voyage because the husk protected the grain from damp and weevils. It could also be husked on the island as needed. The morah was a large straw-bound bale used as a measure of rice on India's western coast. The candy, maund and seer were the Indian weights in which the beaten rice was reckoned, with the maund roughly equal to 28 lb at Bombay. Chelloes were cheap checked or striped cotton cloths woven in Gujarat and sold by the corge, a bundle of 20 pieces. They were the standard cloth issued to slaves and labourers, which explained why a single costly bale of cloth stood alongside the island's rice. The separate Surat charges showed that the cloth was bought at Surat, the great weaving and trading port north of Bombay, and carried down the coast before shipment. The Bombay rupee was divided into 4 quarters, and each quarter into 100 reas, a Portuguese-derived unit used as money of account. Porterage, which the invoice called hamallage from the Indian word for a porter, paid the labourers who carried the bags and bales from warehouse to boat. The invoice revealed how the island's food supply depended on the Company's Indian settlements. Rice bought at Bombay and cloth bought at Surat reached St Helena at cost plus every charge for customs, packing and carriage, so the island paid the full price of what it received in the Company's own books.
18	14	22d August Invoice of Ship Clive Rice Beaten fine 20 Bags @ 6 Maunds 30 seers is 135 @ 22 R per 18 Rs 165 0 qrs 0 reas Batty 32 Bags @ 3 is 3.21 @ 15 per Morah Rs 57 2 qrs 40 reas Challoes 1 Bale qty 5 Corge @ 83 Rs per Corge Rs 415 0 qrs 0 reas Surat Charges Customs 2 per Cent Rs 8 1 qr 20 reas Packing Rs 7 2 qrs 0 reas Boat hire Rs 0 2 qrs 40 reas Rs 16 1 qr 60 reas Rs 431 1 qr 60 reas Charges Merchandize Packing the Rice & Batty Rs 57 0 qrs 50 reas Hamallage on Do Rs 2 0 qrs 40 reas Do on the Challoes Rs 0 0 qrs 20 reas Boathire Rs 6 0 qrs 0 reas Rs 65 1 qr 10 reas Rupees 719 1 qr 10 reas Errors Excepted Js Dalton Provl Accont	The invoice for the supplies carried by the *Clive* listed the same goods and charges, again reckoned in rupees, quarters and reas. Rice: 20 bags of beaten rice weighing 6 candies 3 maunds 0 seers, or 135 maunds, at 22 rupees per 18 maunds, 165 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Unhusked rice: 32 bags at 3 [...] each, making 3 morahs 21 [...], at 15 rupees per morah, 57 rupees 2 quarters 40 reas Chelloes: 1 bale containing 5 corges at 83 rupees per corge, 415 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Charges at Surat: Customs duty at 2 per cent, 8 rupees 1 quarter 20 reas Packing, 7 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Boat hire, 2 rupees 0 quarters 40 reas Total charges at Surat, 16 rupees 1 quarter 60 reas Chelloes with charges at Surat, 431 rupees 1 quarter 60 reas Charges on the goods at Bombay: Packing the rice and unhusked rice, 57 rupees 0 quarters 50 reas Porterage on the rice and unhusked rice, 2 rupees 0 quarters 40 reas Porterage on the chelloes, 0 rupees 0 quarters 20 reas Boat hire, 6 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Total charges at Bombay, 65 rupees 1 quarter 10 reas Total of the invoice, 719 rupees 1 quarter 10 reas James Dalton signed the invoice as provisional accountant, reserving the right to correct any mistakes. **Interpretations**

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			The consignment on the *Clive* matched the one on the *Prince of Wales* bag for bag and bale for bale. Bombay had evidently divided a single order for the island into two equal halves and sent them in separate ships. Splitting cargo in this way meant that the loss of one vessel at sea would cost St Helena only half its rice and cloth, a sensible precaution for an island that grew too little grain to feed its slaves and garrison.
19	15	1763 Captain Henry Bazett this day presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Henry Bazett Sheweth That your Petitioner hath several Bills of Sale which he requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to give him leave to have Registered And your Petitioner will ever pray St Helena (signed) Henry Bazett 22d August 1763 Granted. Lewis King Drummer applied to Us on the 19th Instant for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time Granted. Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Captain Henry Bazett petitioned Governor Hutchinson and the Council on 22 August 1763. He held several bills of sale and asked permission to have them entered in the island's register. The Council approved his request. Lewis King, a drummer, applied to the Council on 19 August for release from the garrison, since he had completed his agreed term of service with the Company. The Council granted his discharge. The Governor signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** A bill of sale was the written deed transferring ownership of goods, land, a house or a slave from one person to another. Registering it with the Council turned a private agreement into a public record, so that the buyer's title could be proved against any later claim by the seller, his heirs or his creditors. On an island where slaves and houses passed frequently between residents and departing officials, the register served as the only reliable proof of who owned what. Bazett's need to petition for leave showed that the Council controlled entry to the register, keeping oversight of every recorded transfer of property on the island.
20	16	29th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th Day of August 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed, dated the 22d August 1763 Friday the 26th Died Anthony Day Centinel Mr Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships Prince of Wales, and Clive to Muster their Company's and inquire for deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls as follows vizt Muster Roll of Ship Prince of Wales Jona Court Commander Richd Thoresby 1st Mate Edmd Gale 2d Henry Hind Pelly 3d Edward Wyatt 4th Newton Arthur 5th Charles Crichton 6th Valentine Mumbe Surgeon Richd Hutchins Purser Hugh Kirkwood Gunner Edward Meadows Carpenter Jona Webb Boatswain James Richardson Coxswain Fryer Forster Midshipmn Peter Bull Do James Steward Do George Allwood Do Robert Storer William Sandys William Moore Francis Hornsey Ships Stewd James Hutchins Do Mast	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 29 August 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 22 August 1763 were read, approved and signed. Anthony Day, a sentry, died on Friday 26 August. Matthew Purling told the Council that he had gone aboard the *Prince of Wales* and the *Clive* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none. The crew list of the *Prince of Wales* ran as follows. Jonathan Court, commander Richard Thoresby, first mate Edmund Gale, second mate Henry Hind Pelly, third mate Edward Wyatt, fourth mate Newton Arthur, fifth mate Charles Crichton, sixth mate Valentine Mumbee, surgeon Richard Hutchins, purser Hugh Kirkwood, gunner Edward Meadows, carpenter Jonathan Webb, boatswain James Richardson, coxswain Tryon Forster, midshipman Peter Bull, midshipman James Steward, midshipman George Allwood, midshipman Robert Storer William Sandys William Moore Francis Autrey, ship's steward James Hutchins, quartermaster James Meredith, quartermaster Robert Barker, quartermaster George Haldam, quartermaster George Hart, surgeon's mate Michael Brinnon, captain's steward Ralph Nixon, captain's cook George Payne, cooper James McLallen, baker James Barnes, ship's cook

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		James Meredith Do Robt Barker Do George Haldane Do George Hart Surgns Mte Michl Brinnon Capts Stewd Ralph Norman Capts Cook George Payne Cooper James McLellan Caulker James Barnone Ships Cook Robt Seely Butcher Charles Crayne Sailmaker Peter Cockburn Gunrs Mte Wm Pelham Carpr do George Frost 2 Do Alexr Masters Botn Do Danl Wallaston 2d Do Chris Pantony Cook Mte James Pelly Captns Do Thos Jones Seaman Jos Andour James Glass Thos Anderson David Masterton John Howell Wm Wilson Thos Watts Stepn Reynolds William James Henry Hammond Mel Lowerston Thos Bason Peter Dold Wm Bright John Banks Geo Shugen	Robert Jerby, butcher Charles Crayne, sailmaker Peter Cockburn, gunner's mate William Pellham, carpenter's mate George Frost, carpenter's second mate Alexander Masters, boatswain's mate Daniel Wallaston, boatswain's second mate Christopher Panting, cook's mate James Pelly, captain's cook's mate Thomas Jones, seaman Joseph Andover James Glass Thomas Anderson David Masterton John Howell William Wilson Thomas Watts Stephen Reynolds William James Henry Hammond M[...] Lowston Thomas Bason Peter Dodd William Bright John Banks George Shugen
21	17	1763 Joseph Stanly Seaman James Padgett Caesar Twey Nathl Viner Saml Ayres John Bambridge Thos Godfrey Thos Ellis Thos Smith John Daniel Jos Glazbrook Agnew McDonald Edward Pallant [...] Nathl Wood Seaman John Proter John Broathton Thos Blackman John Peterson Thos Jenkins Robt Dennett Jack Shrewsbury Vansam Villan John Manuel Pedro Mankilla Lawrence Barinshme Matw Peterson [...] Christr Bornston Seamn Peter Sanberg John Jacob George Bilderson Wm Newson Robert Bias James Coxnem Chiver Barker 1st the Sowr Anjango 2d Do Caesar 3 Do Wm Bower Surgeons Do	The muster roll of the *Prince of Wales* continued with the remaining seamen and servants aboard. Joseph Stanly, seaman James Padgett Caesar Twey Nathaniel Vimer Samuel Ayres John Bambridge Thomas Godfrey Thomas Ellis Thomas Smith John Daniel Joseph Glozbrook Angus McDonald Edward Pallant Nathaniel Wood, seaman John Procter John Broughton Thomas Blackman John Peterson Thomas Jenkins Robert Dennett Jack Shrewsbury Vansam Villan John Manuel Pedro Mantilla Lawrence Barinshme Matthew Peterson Christopher Bramston, seaman Peter Sanberg John Jacobs George Balderson William Newson Robert Bras James Cornem Oliver Basket, first mate's servant Anjango, second mate's servant Caesar, third mate's servant William Power, surgeon's servant George Weston, carpenter's servant

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		George Weston Carpentr Do Joseph Cook Do John Dickinson Do Sixteen of his Majesty's Invalids Nineteen French Prisoners Eighteen Passengers, Lieut Marines (signed) Jona Court Muster Roll of Ship Clive John Allen Commander Pitt Collet 1 Mate Benjn Jones 2 Do Robert Preston 3d Do John White 4th Do Charles Purvis 5th Do Joseph Senhouse 6th Do John Groveener Surgeon John Randall Purser Thos Hurrick Surgs Mte David Henmen Gunner Willm Spence Boatswain Peter Churchill Midshipn Edwd Brooke Do Thos Patterson Do John Richmond Do Jos Pearce Do Robt Henry Do Alexr Ogilvy Do James Allen Ships Steward John Dell Captns Do Phillip Barkham Caulker Wm Joyce Cooper Peter Captains Cook Willm Hall Ships Do John Pascoe John Driver Parker Wright Armourer Stephen Haynes Butcher John Lane Cooks Mate John Kirkpatrick Sailmr Do Robert Strong Quartr Master John Richards Do	Joseph Cook, carpenter's servant John Dickinson, carpenter's servant The ship also carried the following passengers. 16 invalid soldiers of the King's army 19 French prisoners 18 passengers and a lieutenant of marines Jonathan Court signed the roll. The crew list of the *Clive* followed. John Allen, commander Pitt Collet, first mate Benjamin Jones, second mate Robert Preston, third mate John White, fourth mate Charles Purvis, fifth mate Joseph Jen[...], sixth mate John Grovener, surgeon John Randall, purser Thomas Harwick, surgeon's mate David Hennen, gunner William Spence, boatswain Peter Churchill, midshipman Edward Brooke, midshipman Thomas Patterson, midshipman John Richmond, midshipman Joseph Pearce, midshipman Robert Henry, midshipman Alexander Ogilvy, midshipman James Allen, ship's steward John Dell, captain's steward Phillip Barham, caulker William Joyce, cooper Peter, captain's cook William Hall, ship's cook John Carver John Drew Parker Wright, armourer Stephen Haynes, butcher John Lane, cook's mate John Kirkpatrick, carpenter's mate Robert Strong, quartermaster John Richards, quartermaster **Interpretations** The passengers showed a Company ship doing government work on its homeward voyage. The invalids were soldiers of the Crown's regiments sent to India during the recent war and now unfit for service, and the Company was bound to carry them home in its ships. The 19 French prisoners were probably men taken in the fighting in southern India, returning under the exchange of captives that followed the peace of February 1763. The servants named only as Anjango and Caesar were almost certainly Asian or African boys serving the ship's officers. A single name, or a name drawn from a place such as Anjengo on the Malabar coast, marked their status apart from the English crew listed with full names, and the Council's muster checked that no such servant was landed and left on the island.
22	18	29th August John Welch Quartr Master Adam Nillson Do Richard Thomas Capts Servt Christian Downing Do Joseph Crow 1 Mates Do Geo: Burford 2d Do Do Willm House Surgeons Do John Griggs Gunners Do James Duff Boatswns Do Daniel Richardson Carpentr Do Edwd Fitchet Boatswns Mte Robt Hunt Do John Scot Sailmaker Willm Barton Seamen Robt Mason James Fleeman	The muster roll of the *Clive* continued with the rest of her crew and servants. John Welch, quartermaster Adam Nillson, quartermaster Richard Thomas, captain's servant Christian Downing, captain's servant Joseph Crow, first mate's servant George Burford, second mate's servant William House, surgeon's servant John Griggs, gunner's servant James Duff, boatswain's servant Daniel Richardson, carpenter's servant Edward Fitchet, boatswain's mate Robert Hunt, boatswain's mate John Scot, sailmaker William Barton, seaman Robert Mason

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		Jos Matthews Geo: Diverkie Peter Francis Robt Horn Willm Clark Seamn James Watson Robt Pearson Wiggen Robens James Cleveland Willm Wood Hough Stewart Andrew Allen John Miller John Fred: Shute Henry Woodby George Taylor Abraham Gross Thomas Leasby Barw Furlong John Rogers Daniel Deprez Magnus Asbester Henry Mair Thomas Robins Seamn Thoms Craggs John Hall John Nicholson Saml Greenwood Jona Cooper Saml Hoff Jos Blizzard William Fenwick John Cordill George Raynor Dennis Andrews Thos Haywood William West Richard Roper Emanl Joseph Emanl John David Erskine James Newford John Hubbard Invalids John Sowers John Wise George Watson Joseph Aderson Anthony Hays Joseph Evans Phillip Hiscott Danl Jackson Richard Goldthorp John Banks Thomas Parker John Hall John Durham William Redman Willm Richards John Wells Francis Burn John Waters John Newgent Yar Salisbury Dalasento Melegent John Charles Caiton Jasen Servts Passengers Captain Grose Captain Johnson Captain Pell Mr Crocket Mr Preston	James Fleeman Joseph Matthews George Diverkie Peter Francis Robert Horn William Clark, seaman James Watson Robert Ferson Wiggin Robins James Cleveland William Wood Hugh Stewart Andrew Allen John Miller John Frederick Shute Henry Woolby George Taylor Abraham Goss Thomas Lesby Bartholomew Furlong John Rogers Daniel Duprey Magnus Asbestor Henry Mair Thomas Robins, seaman Thomas Craggs John Hall John Nicholson Samuel Greenwood Jonathan Cooper Samuel Haff Joseph Blizzard William Fenwick John Cordell George Raynor Dennis Andrews Thomas Hosegood William West Richard Roper Emanuel Joseph Emanuel John David Erskine James Newford John Hubbard Yar, servant Salisbury, servant Dalasento, servant Melegent, servant John Charles, servant Caiton Jasen, servant The ship also carried invalid soldiers and other passengers. Invalids: John Sowers John Wise George Watson Joseph Aderson Anthony Hays Joseph Evans Phillip Hiscott Daniel Jackson Richard Goldthorp John Banks Thomas Parker John Hall John Durham William Redman William Richards John Wells Francis Burn John Waters John Nugent Passengers: Captain Grose Captain Johnson Captain Pell

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		Richd Jones George Jones 4 Priests Signed J. Allen	Mr Crockett Mr Preston Richard Jones George Jones 4 priests John Allen signed the roll. **Interpretations** The four priests listed without names among the passengers were probably Roman Catholic clergy removed from India after the British captured the French settlements there. Leaving them unnamed, while every English passenger received a name, suggested that they travelled under the Company's control rather than as ordinary fare-paying passengers.
23	19	1763 Ordered the following Advertizement to be Published vizt Island St Helena 29th August 1763 This is to give Notice to all the inhabitants of the said Island, that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office, on, or before the 20th of September next ensuing, an exact signed account of their Families, Lands, and Cattle and to attend at the Castle on Friday the 30th of the said Month, to pay their Rents and Revenues, due to the Honorable Company for the Year past Notice is hereby further given that the Honorable Company's Stores will be shut from the 10th of September to the 10th of October next The Storekeeper delivered the following Account of Stores received from the Ships Clive and Prince of Wales Clive vizt Rice Short Weight 2 Cwt 1 qr 12 lb Paddy received 50 Cwt 1 qr 14 lb Challoes found Short upon opening the Package which came in good Order 3 Corge 6 pieces Prince of Wales vizt Rice Short weight 10 Cwt 3 qrs 2 lb Paddy received 27 Cwt 2 qrs 6 lb (signed) Jas Bowl Storekr St Helena 29th August 1763 Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council ordered a public notice to be issued, dated 29 August 1763. It required every inhabitant to deliver to the Secretary's office, by 20 September, a full signed return of his household, land and cattle. Each was also to come to the Castle on Friday 30 September to pay the rents and dues owed to the Company for the past year. A second notice announced that the Company's stores would close from 10 September until 10 October. The storekeeper then gave the Council his account of the goods received from the two ships. From the *Clive*: Rice found short in weight, 2 cwt 1 qr 12 lb Unhusked rice received, 50 cwt 1 qr 14 lb Chelloes missing when the bale was opened, although it arrived in sound condition, 3 corges 6 pieces From the *Prince of Wales*: Rice found short in weight, 10 cwt 3 qr 2 lb Unhusked rice received, 27 cwt 2 qr 6 lb James Powell signed the account as storekeeper on 29 August 1763. Governor Hutchinson signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The annual return of households, land and cattle served as both a census and a tax roll. The Company owned the island's land and let it to the settlers, so every family's holding, stock and dependants determined what it owed. Requiring a signed return ten days before rent day let the Secretary check each account against the Company's own lease records before the settlers came to pay, and a signature made each householder answerable for any false statement. The two ships had carried identical consignments, yet the storekeeper's figures showed very different results on landing. The *Prince of Wales* delivered her rice more than 10 cwt short, roughly a third of the 135 maunds invoiced, and landed barely half the unhusked rice that the *Clive* delivered. Recording each shortfall against the ship that carried it created the evidence the Company needed to charge the commander or his officers for goods lost or mishandled in the hold. The missing chelloes told a different story. The bale arrived in sound condition, so the cloth could not have been taken on the voyage. The shortage must have occurred when the bale was packed, at Surat or Bombay, which placed responsibility on the Company's servants in India rather than on the ship.
24	20	5th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th Day of September 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govern John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Govern Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed, dated the 29th August 1763 This Day sailed the Honorable Company's	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 5 September 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 29 August 1763 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ships *Clive* and *Prince of Wales* left for England that day. The Council appointed the Lieutenant Governor and Captain Kirkpatrick to inspect the Company's

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		Ships Clive, and Prince of Wales for England Appointed The Lieutenant Governor and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick to inspect and take the Remains of the Honorable Company's Stores for the present Year, as Usual Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	stores and count the stock remaining for the year, following the usual practice. The Governor signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The annual count explained why the Council had announced on 29 August 1763 that the Company's stores would close from 10 September to 10 October. Shutting the stores stopped all issues and sales while two councillors checked every item against the storekeeper's books. Placing the count in the hands of senior members of the Council, rather than the storekeeper himself, gave the Company an independent measure of what should remain, so that any loss or theft during the year could be charged to the man responsible.
25	21	12th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th Day of September 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Govern Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 5th September 1763. The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of August last were this day brought in, which were examined, and approved and are as follow vizt Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of August 1763 vizt Lisbon Wine 24 Bottles £1 16s 0d Mountain 28 Bottles £2 2s 0d Arrack 65 Bottles £3 0s 7¼d Beer 33 Bottles £0 11s 1¼d Flour 360 lb £2 5s 0d Fresh Beef 233 lb £2 18s 3d Salt Pork 8 lb £1 8s 4d Mutton 260 lb £5 8s 4d Goat 117 lb £1 19s 0d Kids 2 £0 10s 0d Fowls 18 £1 7s 0d Ducks 6 £0 9s 0d Turkeys 3 £0 15s 0d Fresh Butter 42¾ lb £2 2s 9d	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 12 September 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 5 September 1763 were read, approved and signed. The accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the steward for August were presented at the meeting. The Council examined and approved them, beginning with the provisions consumed at the Company's table during August 1763. 24 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 16s 0d 28 bottles of Mountain wine, £2 2s 0d 65 bottles of arrack, £3 0s 7¼d 33 bottles of beer, £0 11s 1¼d 360 lb of flour, £2 5s 0d 233 lb of fresh beef, £2 18s 3d 8 pieces of salt pork, £1 8s 4d 260 lb of mutton, £5 8s 4d 117 lb of goat meat, £1 19s 0d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 18 fowls, £1 7s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 42¾ lb of fresh butter, £2 2s 9d 107 lb of sugar candy, £1 15s 8d 37 lb of veal, £0 18s 6d Total, £29 6s 6d **Interpretations** The table cost £29 6s 6d in August against £32 13s 7¾d in July, and the fall came almost wholly from meat. Mutton dropped from 360 lb to 260 lb, while goat more than doubled from 50 lb to 117 lb and two whole kids were added. No fresh pork or live pigs appeared at all. The shift followed a heavy month for the Company's flock, which in July lost 14 sheep to death and 32 to slaughter and fell from 673 to 621. Turning to goat, of which the Company held 255 with kids still being born, probably spared the sheep during the southern-hemisphere winter, when grazing on the island was at its poorest. The prices themselves held steady at the island's fixed rates, with beef at 3d, goat at 4d and mutton at 5d a pound, and fowls at 1s 6d each. The table's cost therefore moved only with the quantity and kind of meat served, never with the market, since the Company supplied itself from its own herds at set valuations.

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		Candy 107 lb £1 15s 8d Veal 37 lb £0 18s 6d Total£29 6s 6d	
26	22	12th September Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c. for the Month of August 1763 vizt Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kidds, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses He Asses, Asses She Asses, Asses Total Remaining 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 85, Neat Cattle Calves 79, Neat Cattle Yearlings 60, Neat Cattle Heifers 21, Neat Cattle Steers 30, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 283, Sheep Weathers 173, Sheep Lambs 168, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 621, Goats Ewes 147, Goats Weathers 14, Goats Kidds 85, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 255, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 16, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 21, Poultry Fowls 83, Poultry Ducks 23, Poultry Turkeys 39, Poultry Geese 15, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 3, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 4 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 4, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 21, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 21, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kidds 12, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 12, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 5, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 85, Neat Cattle Calves 83, Neat Cattle Yearlings 60, Neat Cattle Heifers 21, Neat Cattle Steers 30, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 296, Sheep Ewes 283, Sheep Weathers 173, Sheep Lambs 189, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 642, Goats Ewes 147, Goats Weathers 14, Goats Kidds 97, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 267, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 16, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 21, Poultry Fowls 88, Poultry Ducks 23, Poultry Turkeys 39, Poultry Geese 15, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 3, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 4 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 1, Neat Cattle Steers 2, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 4, Sheep Weathers 17, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 21, Goats Ewes 5, Goats Weathers 4, Goats Kidds 2, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 11, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 18, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 3, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 1, Neat Cattle Steers 2, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 2, Sheep Weathers 7, Sheep Lambs 2, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 11, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kidds 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0,	The Lieutenant Governor, John Skottowe, signed the monthly account of the Company's livestock for August 1763, which recorded the herds and flocks as follows. Stock on 1 August: 4 bulls, 85 cows, 79 calves, 60 yearlings, 21 heifers, 30 steers, 13 oxen, 292 cattle in all Stock on 1 August: 283 ewes, 173 wethers, 168 lambs, 8 rams, 621 sheep in all Stock on 1 August: 147 nanny goats, 14 wether goats, 85 kids, 9 billy goats, 255 goats in all Stock on 1 August: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 16 pigs, 1 boar, 21 hogs in all Stock on 1 August: 83 fowls, 23 ducks, 39 turkeys, 15 geese Stock on 1 August: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 horses in all Stock on 1 August: 3 male asses, 1 female ass, 4 asses in all Born during the month: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 4 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 4 cattle in all Born during the month: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 21 lambs, 0 rams, 21 sheep in all Born during the month: 0 nanny goats, 0 wether goats, 12 kids, 0 billy goats, 12 goats in all Born during the month: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all Hatched during the month: 5 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Born during the month: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Born during the month: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all Total held: 4 bulls, 85 cows, 83 calves, 60 yearlings, 21 heifers, 30 steers, 13 oxen, 296 cattle in all Total held: 283 ewes, 173 wethers, 189 lambs, 8 rams, 642 sheep in all Total held: 147 nanny goats, 14 wether goats, 97 kids, 9 billy goats, 267 goats in all Total held: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 16 pigs, 1 boar, 21 hogs in all Total held: 88 fowls, 23 ducks, 39 turkeys, 15 geese Total held: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 horses in all Total held: 3 male asses, 1 female ass, 4 asses in all Slaughtered: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 1 heifer, 2 steers, 0 oxen, 4 cattle in all Slaughtered: 4 ewes, 17 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 21 sheep in all Slaughtered: 5 nanny goats, 4 wether goats, 2 kids, 0 billy goats, 11 goats in all Slaughtered: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all Slaughtered: 18 fowls, 6 ducks, 3 turkeys, 0 geese Slaughtered: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Slaughtered: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all Died: 0 bulls, 1 cow, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 1 heifer, 2 steers, 0 oxen, 4 cattle in all Died: 2 ewes, 7 wethers, 2 lambs, 0 rams, 11 sheep in all Died: 0 nanny goats, 0 wether goats, 0 kids, 0 billy goats, 0 goats in all Died: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all Died: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Died: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Died: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all

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		Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Remaining 30th: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 82, Neat Cattle Yearlings 60, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 26, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 288, Sheep Ewes 277, Sheep Weathers 159, Sheep Lambs 187, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 610, Goats Ewes 142, Goats Weathers 10, Goats Kidds 95, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 256, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 16, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 21, Poultry Fowls 70, Poultry Ducks 17, Poultry Turkeys 36, Poultry Geese 15, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 3, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 4 (Signed) John Skottowe Yam for the Blacks 14450 lb Do for the Stock 11000 lb 25450 lb	Stock on 30 August: 4 bulls, 84 cows, 82 calves, 60 yearlings, 19 heifers, 26 steers, 13 oxen, 288 cattle in all Stock on 30 August: 277 ewes, 159 wethers, 187 lambs, 8 rams, 610 sheep in all Stock on 30 August: 142 nanny goats, 10 wether goats, 95 kids, 9 billy goats, 256 goats in all Stock on 30 August: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 16 pigs, 1 boar, 21 hogs in all Stock on 30 August: 70 fowls, 17 ducks, 36 turkeys, 15 geese Stock on 30 August: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 horses in all Stock on 30 August: 3 male asses, 1 female ass, 4 asses in all Yams issued to the slaves, 14,450 lb Yams issued to the livestock, 11,000 lb Total yams issued, 25,450 lb **Interpretations** The slaughter column matched the August table account animal for animal. The 21 sheep killed supplied the 260 lb of mutton, the 11 goats gave the 117 lb of goat meat and the two kids, and the 18 fowls, 6 ducks and 3 turkeys appeared on both ledgers. The livestock account and the steward's account thus confirmed each other, leaving no room for animals to disappear between the pasture and the kitchen. The account marked the turn of the breeding season. July had produced no lambs at all, but August brought 21 lambs and 12 kids as the southern-hemisphere spring approached. The births lifted the goat herd slightly and slowed the decline of the sheep, which still fell from 621 to 610 because of 21 killed and 11 dead. Deaths remained high among the grown sheep, with 7 wethers lost, which suggested that late-winter grazing was still poor. The cattle showed a steadier drain. Heifers fell from 25 at the start of July to 19 by the end of August, and steers from 31 to 26, through a mix of slaughter and death. Only 4 calves were born in August against 7 in July, so the herd was being eaten and lost faster than it was replacing its working and breeding animals. The yam issue fell from 28,200 lb in July to 25,450 lb in August. This time the account divided it between 14,450 lb for the slaves and 11,000 lb for the livestock, showing that more than two-fifths of the crop went to feed the animals through the winter when pasture failed.
27	23	1763 Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of August 1763. Guns fired, 4 Pounders, 3 Pounders, 2 Pounders, 1 Pounder, Powder Expended 5th Departed the Essex returned the Salute: Guns fired 9 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 9 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 8 oz 15 An Alarm: Guns fired 6 Guns, 4 Pounders 2 Guns, 3 Pounders 2 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb 0 oz Arrived the Prince of Wales, returned the Salute: Guns fired 9 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 9 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 8 oz 18th An Alarm: Guns fired 6 Guns, 4 Pounders 2 Guns, 3 Pounders 2 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb 0 oz Arrived the Clive returned the Salute: Guns fired 9 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 9 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz	The gunner's account recorded the artillery stores used in August 1763, listing for each occasion the guns fired, the number fired from each size of gun and the powder spent. On 5 August, the garrison returned the salute of the departing *Essex*: 9 guns fired, 0 from 4-pounders, 0 from 3-pounders, 9 from 2-pounders, 0 from 1-pounders, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Powder for priming the guns, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 8 oz 15 August, an alarm: 6 guns fired, 2 from 4-pounders, 2 from 3-pounders, 0 from 2-pounders, 2 from 1-pounders, powder 12 lb 0 oz On the arrival of the *Prince of Wales*, the garrison returned her salute: 9 guns fired, 0 from 4-pounders, 0 from 3-pounders, 9 from 2-pounders, 0 from 1-pounders, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Powder for priming the guns, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 8 oz 18 August, an alarm: 6 guns fired, 2 from 4-pounders, 2 from 3-pounders, 0 from 2-pounders, 2 from 1-pounders, powder 12 lb 0 oz On the arrival of the *Clive*, the garrison returned her salute: 9 guns fired, 0 from 4-pounders, 0 from 3-pounders, 9 from 2-pounders, 0 from 1-pounders, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Powder for priming the guns, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 8 oz

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		Powder for priming: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 8 oz Do for the Funeral of Edwd Jennings: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 2 lb 4 oz Do for the Funeral of Anty Day: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 2 lb 4 oz Do for Replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 8 oz Do for Signals: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 4 oz Total: Guns fired 39 Guns, 4 Pounders 4 Guns, 3 Pounders 4 Guns, 2 Pounders 27 Guns, 1 Pounder 4 Guns, Powder Expended 62 lb 12 oz Tallow for the use of the Wood Carts 4 lb Do for the use of the Fly Cutter 7½ lb Paper for Making Cannon Cartridges 6 Quires Sponge Staves broke at Mundens point 1 Sponge Heads broke at Do 1 Rammer Heads broke at Do 1 Sheep Skins for Coating Sponges at Do 1 Trunk Nails for Do at Do 25 Flags wore out and unserviceable at the Main Fort 1 Do wore out and unserviceable at Banks's 1 Do wore out and unserviceable at Turks Cap 1 (signed) Thos Hally The Executors to Richard Harper deceased this day presented the following Petition vizt	Powder for the funeral of Edward Jennings, 0 guns fired, powder 2 lb 4 oz Powder for the funeral of Anthony Day, 0 guns fired, powder 2 lb 4 oz Powder for refilling the cartridges at the Main Guard, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 8 oz Powder for signals, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 4 oz Total: 39 guns fired, 4 from 4-pounders, 4 from 3-pounders, 27 from 2-pounders, 4 from 1-pounders, powder 62 lb 12 oz Tallow for greasing the wood carts, 4 lb Tallow for the cutter Fly, 7½ lb Paper for making cannon cartridges, 6 quires Sponge staves broken at Munden's Point, 1 Sponge heads broken at Munden's Point, 1 Rammer heads broken at Munden's Point, 1 Sheepskins for covering sponges at Munden's Point, 1 Trunk nails for Munden's Point, 25 Flags worn out and beyond use at the Main Fort, 1 Flags worn out and beyond use at Banks's, 1 Flags worn out and beyond use at Turk's Cap, 1 Thomas Hall signed the account. The executors of the late Richard Harper then presented a petition to the Council. **Interpretations** The powder charged for the funerals of Edward Jennings and Anthony Day showed that the garrison buried its private soldiers with military honours. The 2 lb 4 oz issued for each was enough for a firing party to discharge the customary volleys of musketry over the grave. Charging the powder openly to the Company's account made the honour an official duty of the garrison rather than a private gesture by the dead men's comrades. The broken gear at Munden's Point revealed how a cannon was kept in working order. After each shot the gunners drove a sponge, a sheepskin-covered head on a long wooden staff, down the barrel to put out any smouldering remains of the last cartridge before reloading. The rammer then pushed the new charge and shot home. Trunk nails, short broad-headed tacks, fixed the sheepskin to the sponge head. The paper issued for cartridges confirmed that the garrison made up its own charges, measuring powder into paper cases that could be loaded quickly and safely. Powder use fell from 96 lb 8 oz in July to 62 lb 12 oz in August. The difference came mainly from the absence of any double alarm and of any firing from the heavy guns at Banks's, since only single ships were sighted during the month. The worn-out flags at the Main Fort, Banks's and Turk's Cap belonged to the same signal chain, where coloured flags supplemented the guns in reporting ships to Jamestown.
28	24	12th September Island St Helena To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr of the said Island &c Council The humble Petition of Thomas Harper and Henry Harper, Executors of Richard Harper deceased Sheweth That the Lease of the House belonging to the Orphans of the said Richard Harper expired the 7th day of this Instant September Your Petitioners therefore humbly Prays that Your Worship and Council for a renewal thereof St Helena And Your Petitioners will ever pray 12th September 1763 (signed) Thos Harper Henry Harper Granted Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe	Thomas Harper and Henry Harper, the executors of the late Richard Harper, petitioned Governor Hutchinson and the Council on 12 September 1763. They explained that the lease of the house belonging to Richard Harper's orphaned children had expired on 7 September. They asked the Council to renew it, and the Council agreed. The Governor signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The petition showed that even an established family's house stood on land let by the Company rather than owned outright. When the lease ran out, the house's value to the children depended entirely on the Council's willingness to renew, since without a lease the family had no right to occupy the site. The executors therefore acted as guardians of the orphans' main asset. By applying within days of the expiry, they secured the children's inheritance before the Company could let the ground to anyone else.

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		Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	
29	25	19th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th Day of September 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 12th September 1763 Upon taken the Inventory of the Stores one Tierce of the Irish Beef was found to be entirely Spoilt We therefore Ordered it to be wrote off to Profit and Loss We this day Granted a Lease to the Executors of Richard Harper Deceased. Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month August last which is as follows vizt	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 19 September 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 12 September 1763 were read, approved and signed. The annual count of the stores had found one tierce of Irish beef completely spoiled. The Council ordered its value to be written off as a loss. The Council also issued the new lease to the executors of the late Richard Harper. It then counted and checked the Company's cash for August. **Interpretations** A tierce was a cask of about 42 gallons, larger than a barrel but smaller than a hogshead, and a tierce of beef held roughly 300 lb of salted meat packed in brine. Ireland, and Cork above all, supplied most of the salt beef and pork carried by British ships and stored by overseas garrisons, since Irish cattle were cheap and the curing trade there was long established. Salt meat of this kind was meant to keep for years, so a cask found wholly spoiled had probably been badly packed or had leaked its brine. The discovery came from the stocktaking the Council ordered on 5 September 1763, when the Lieutenant Governor and Captain Kirkpatrick were sent to count the stores. Writing the cask off to profit and loss removed it from the storekeeper's books, so that his stock matched what was actually usable and the Company carried the loss openly in its accounts. The lease to Richard Harper's executors completed the renewal the Council approved on 12 September 1763, turning the grant into a formal document that secured the orphans' right to the house.
30	26	19th September Cash Dr 1763 August 1st To Balance remaining £6169 10s 2d To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable to Samuel Hough Esqr £100 0s 0d 3. To Ship Essex recd the Balance of Her Account £42 15s 10d £6312 6s 0d Per Contra Cr 1763 Aug 31st By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt Pagodas 8067 at 8s 0d £3426 16s 0d Rupees 124 at 2s 3d £14 8s 0d French pieces 441 at 0s 2d £3 13s 6d Doub. Ryals 4466 at 1s 3d £279 2s 6d Pistereens 2031 at 1s 0d £101 11s 0d Dollars 7788 at 5s 0d £1947 0s 0d £5772 11s 0d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d	The Company's cash account for August 1763 recorded the following receipts. 1 August, balance brought forward, £6,169 10s 2d Cash paid in for 1 set of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to Samuel Hough, £100 0s 0d On 3 August, the treasury received the balance of the *Essex*'s account, £42 15s 10d. Total receipts, £6,312 6s 0d Against these, the account recorded the balance held on 31 August. 8,567 pagodas at 8s each, £3,426 16s 0d 124 rupees at 2s 3d each, £14 8s 0d 441 French coins at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 4,466 double reals at 1s 3d each, £279 2s 6d 2,031 pistareens at 1s each, £101 11s 0d 7,788 dollars at 5s each, £1,947 0s 0d Total coin, £5,772 11s 0d Cash notes that could not be used, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £6,312 6s 0d Total, £6,312 6s 0d Governor Hutchinson signed the account with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The treasury paid out nothing at all during August, so the whole of the month's receipts went straight into the balance. The coin held rose by £142 15s 10d, exactly the sum of the Governor's £100 and the *Essex*'s £42 15s 10d. The rise came almost entirely in pagodas, which increased by 355, with only 1 pistareen and 3 dollars added. Both payments were therefore made chiefly in Indian gold, which showed how coin arriving on Company ships and in officials' hands flowed into the island treasury. The £100 entry recorded the payment the Governor made on 1 August 1763, when the Council gave him bills of exchange on the directors payable to

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		£6312 6s 0d £6312 6s 0d Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Samuel Hough. The balance paid by the *Essex* settled what her commander owed for water, livestock and other supplies taken at the island, and the ship left on 5 August with her account closed.
31	27	26th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th Day of September 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 19th September 1763 Tuesday the 20th Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Clinton from Madrass and brought Us the following Supplies vizt Invoice of Ship Clinton St Helena Long Cloths LCSF 1 No A 1 Pags 12 0 fs 0 cash B 1 Pags 11 0 fs 0 cash C 4 @ Pags 9 per piece Pags 36 0 fs 0 cash D 5 @ Pags 6 18 fs Pags 32 18 fs 0 cash 2 13 @ Pags 14 Pags 182 0 fs 0 cash 2 @ Pags 9 Pags 18 0 fs 0 cash 3 @ Pags 6 18 fs Pags 19 18 fs 0 cash 7 @ Pags 8 Pags 56 0 fs 0 cash 1 Pags 7 0 fs 0 cash 37 pieces Pags 374 0 fs 0 cash 1 No 2 30 @ Pags 6 Pags 180 0 fs 0 cash Washing Pags 3 27 fs 0 cash Pags 183 27 fs 0 cash LCF 1 No 3 fine 30 @ Pags 66 per Corge Pags 99 0 fs 0 cash Washing Pags 2 28 fs 40 cash Pags 101 28 fs 40 cash LCM 1 No 4 medling 20 4 Bales qty 117 pieces Pags 45 0 fs 0 cash Washing Pags 1 27 fs 0 cash Pags 46 27 fs 0 cash Packing Pags 2 per Bale Pags 8 0 fs 0 cash Pags 714 10 fs 40 cash Carried over Pags 714 10 fs 40 cash	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 26 September 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 19 September 1763 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Clinton* reached the island from Madras on Tuesday 20 September. The invoice for the supplies she delivered opened with a consignment of long cloth for St Helena, reckoned in pagodas, fanams and cash. Bale number 1, marked LCSF: 1 piece graded A, 12 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 1 piece graded B, 11 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 4 pieces graded C at 9 pagodas each, 36 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 5 pieces graded D at 6 pagodas 18 fanams each, 32 pagodas 18 fanams 0 cash 13 pieces at 14 pagodas each, 182 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 2 pieces at 9 pagodas each, 18 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 3 pieces at 6 pagodas 18 fanams each, 19 pagodas 18 fanams 0 cash 7 pieces at 8 pagodas each, 56 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 1 piece, 7 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total for bale number 1, 37 pieces, 374 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Bale number 2, 30 pieces at 6 pagodas each, 180 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Washing, 3 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash Total for bale number 2, 183 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash Bale number 3, marked LCF, fine quality, 30 pieces at 66 pagodas per corge, 99 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Washing, 2 pagodas 28 fanams 40 cash Total for bale number 3, 101 pagodas 28 fanams 40 cash Bale number 4, marked LCM, middling quality, 20 pieces, 45 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Washing, 1 pagoda 27 fanams 0 cash Total for bale number 4, 46 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash 4 bales containing 117 pieces Packing at 2 pagodas per bale, 8 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total carried forward, 714 pagodas 10 fanams 40 cash **Interpretations** Long cloth was a plain, strong cotton calico woven on the Coromandel coast around Madras, sold in unusually long pieces of about 36 yards, hence the name. It was the everyday cloth of the Company's settlements, used for shirts, sheets, linings and working clothes. The marks on the bales graded the quality: LCSF stood for superfine long cloth, LCF for fine and LCM for middling. The wide spread of prices within the first bale, from 6 pagodas 18 fanams to 14 pagodas a piece, showed that even a single grade covered cloth of very different fineness, perhaps meant for the officials, the garrison and the slaves in turn. The washing charge paid Indian washermen to bleach and finish the cloth after weaving. Unwashed cloth came from the loom stiff with sizing and greyish in colour, and washing turned it into the clean white fabric ready for sewing. The charge was levied only on

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			the plainer bales, which suggested that the superfine pieces had been bought already finished. The invoice was reckoned in the money of Madras. The pagoda there was a small gold coin, divided into 36 fanams, each fanam worth 80 cash, the smallest copper unit. The corge, used to price the fine bale, was a bundle of 20 pieces, so the 30 pieces at 66 pagodas a corge cost 99 pagodas.
32	28	26th September Brought over Pags 714 10 fs 40 cash St H Rice 34 Bags qty Nett 41 Cwt 2 qrs 7 lb or 201 Mercals Measure @ Pags 120 per Garce Pags 60 12 fs 12 cash St H Paddy 22 Do 19 Cwt 3 qrs 12 lb 130 @ Pags 50 Do Pags 16 9 fs 0 cash St H Batavia Arrack 2 leaguers qty 200 Galls @ Pags 46 6 fs per Leaguer Pags 92 0 fs 0 cash Charges Merchandize Gunney Bags 56 @ Pags 65 per 100 Pags 2 28 fs 64 cash Weighing Coolies on 14 Candy Pags 0 3 fs 40 cash Tin Plates & Nails Pags 0 5 fs 40 cash Boats and Coolies 4 @ 9 fs 20 cash per Boat Pags 1 1 fs 0 cash Pags 4 2 fs 64 cash Pagodas 886 34 fs 36 cash Errors Excepted Per Chr Bourchier Accountant. Ordered the following Goods to be wrote off the General Books of Accounts vizt 6 Diaper Table Cloths 7 Damask Napkins 2 Feather Beds wore out and unserviceable 2 Silver Salts Stole 1 Long Boat Stove Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The invoice for the supplies delivered by the *Clinton* continued with provisions and the charges for shipping them, each item marked for St Helena. Brought forward, 714 pagodas 10 fanams 40 cash Rice, 34 bags weighing 41 cwt 2 qr 7 lb net, measuring 201⅛ mercals, at 120 pagodas per garce, 60 pagodas 12 fanams 12 cash Unhusked rice, 22 bags weighing 19 cwt 3 qr 12 lb, measuring 130 mercals, at 50 pagodas per garce, 16 pagodas 9 fanams 0 cash Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers holding 200 gallons, at 46 pagodas per leaguer, 92 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Charges on the goods: Gunny bags, 56 at 5 pagodas per 100, 2 pagodas 28 fanams 64 cash Coolies for weighing 14 candies, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 40 cash Tin plates and nails, 0 pagodas 5 fanams 40 cash Boats and coolies, 4 boats at 9 fanams 20 cash per boat, 1 pagoda 1 fanam 0 cash Total charges, 4 pagodas 2 fanams 64 cash Total of the invoice, 886 pagodas 34 fanams 36 cash The invoice was signed on behalf of Charles Bourchier, accountant, with the usual reservation for correcting mistakes. The Council ordered the following items to be removed from the Company's general accounts. 6 diaper tablecloths, worn out and beyond use 7 damask napkins, worn out and beyond use 2 feather beds, worn out and beyond use 2 silver salt cellars, stolen 1 longboat, staved in Governor Hutchinson signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** Batavia arrack was the most prized kind of the spirit, distilled at the Dutch capital in Java from molasses and fermented rice, and valued for its strength and smoothness. It reached Madras through the Asian coastal trade and was reshipped from there. A leaguer was a large Dutch cask used for arrack and wine, holding around 100 gallons or more. Gunny bags were coarse sacks woven from jute or hemp fibre in Bengal, the standard packing for rice and grain throughout the Indian Ocean trade. The tin plates and nails were probably used to line and seal the arrack casks or the rice bags against damp and rats in the hold. Rice at Madras was sold by bulk measure rather than weight. The mercal was the local dry measure, and 400 mercals made a garce, the unit in which prices were quoted. The invoice gave both the weight in English hundredweights and the Madras measure, so the St Helena storekeeper could check the landed quantity against the price paid. The write-off list showed the Company furnishing the Governor's household and table down to its linen and silver. Diaper was a linen woven with a small repeating diamond pattern, and damask a finer linen with a larger woven design, both standard for good table linen. Because such items were Company property, they remained on its books until the Council formally removed them. The two silver salt cellars were written off as stolen, while the longboat, staved in and

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			beyond repair, was probably the vessel's cost lost for good.
33	29	30th September At a Consultation held on Friday the 30th Day of September 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 26th September 1763 Pursuant to an order in Consultation of the 29th August last, the Planters this day attended to pay their Rents and Revenues due to the Honorable Company for the Year past, which amounts to £572 1s 6d The Rent Roll is as follows vizt Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £ s d Samuel Alexander: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 34 Acres, Lease Land 37½ Acres, £ s d £11 1s 6d John Alexander 15½ Acres at 1s per Acre: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 71¼ Acres, Lease Land 70¼ Acres, £ s d £18 3s 6d George Alexander: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 28 Acres, Lease Land 58 Acres, £ s d £15 18s 0d Margaret Alcock 1½ a at 20s per Acre 20 a at 4s per Acre: Ground Rent 34s 6d, Free Land 40 Acres, Lease Land 60½ Acres, £ s d £17 14s 6d Onesiphorus Beales Orphans: Ground Rent 10s 6d, Free Land 10 Acres, Lease Land 13½ Acres, £ s d £4 8s 0d Richard Beale Senr 5 Acres at 4s per A: Ground Rent 5s 0d, Free Land 41¼ Acres, Lease Land 38½ Acres, £ s d £11 13s 8½d John Bagby: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 36 Acres, £ s d £9 0s 0d Richard Bagby 12 at 4s per A 3 @ 1s 6d per A 4 at 2s per A 12¼ at 3s per Acre for 4½ Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 12½ Acres, Lease Land 18¾ Acres, £ s d £47 14s 4d Orlando Bagby Senr 4 A at 1s 6d per A 21 @ 2s 6d for 3 Mo: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 20 Acres, Lease Land 66¼ Acres, £ s d £12 3s 3d Matthew Bazett Senr 5½ @ 1s per A: Ground Rent 10s 0d, Free Land 142 Acres, Lease Land 58½ Acres, £ s d £21 2s 6d Henry Bazett 8 Acres @ 4s per A 4½ at 2s 6d for 9½ Months: Ground Rent 5s 0d, Free Land 112½ Acres, Lease Land 65½ Acres, £ s d £21 3s 5d Orlando Bagby Junr 19 Acres 1s 6d per Acre: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 63 Acres, £ s d £12 7s 6d Willm Burnham's Orphs: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 29 Acres, Lease Land 15 Acres, £ s d £5 4s 0d John Bland: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 15¾ Acres, £ s d £3 18s 9d Robert Ballard: Ground Rent 13s 0d, Free Land 15½ Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £1 8s 6d Matthew Bazett Junr 6¼ @ 2s 6d per Acre: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 16 Acres, Lease Land 36 Acres, £ s d £8 7s 10½d Carried over: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 686½ Acres, Lease Land 815½ Acres, £ s d £221 10s 4d	The Council met at the Castle on Friday 30 September 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 26 September 1763 were read, approved and signed. As the Council had ordered on 29 August, the planters came to the Castle that day to pay the rents and dues they owed the Company for the past year. The total came to £572 1s 6d, and the rent roll ran as follows. Samuel Alexander, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 34 acres of freehold land, 37½ acres of leasehold land, total £11 1s 6d John Alexander, with 15½ acres charged at 1s per acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 71¾ acres of freehold land, 70¼ acres of leasehold land, total £18 3s 6d George Alexander, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 28 acres of freehold land, 58 acres of leasehold land, total £15 18s 0d Margaret Alcock, with 1¼ acres charged at 20s per acre and 20 acres at 4s per acre, ground rent £1 14s 6d, 40 acres of freehold land, 60½ acres of leasehold land, total £17 14s 6d The orphans of Onesiphorus Beale, ground rent £0 10s 6d, 10 acres of freehold land, 13½ acres of leasehold land, total £4 8s 0d Richard Beale senior, with 5 acres charged at 4s per acre, ground rent £0 5s 0d, 41¼ acres of freehold land, 38½ acres of leasehold land, total £11 13s 8½d John Bagley, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 35 acres of leasehold land, total £9 0s 0d Richard Bagley, with 12 acres charged at 4s per acre, 3 acres at 1s 6d per acre, 4¼ acres at 2s per acre and 12¼ acres at 3s per acre for 4½ months, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 126½ acres of freehold land, 182½ acres of leasehold land, total £47 14s 4d Orlando Bagley senior, with 4 acres charged at 1s 6d per acre and 21 acres at 2s 6d per acre for 3 months, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 20 acres of freehold land, 65¼ acres of leasehold land, total £12 3s 3d Matthew Bazett senior, with 5½ acres charged at 1s per acre, ground rent £0 10s 0d, 142 acres of freehold land, 58½ acres of leasehold land, total £21 2s 6d Henry Bazett, with 8 acres charged at 4s per acre and 4½ acres at 2s 6d per acre for 9½ months, ground rent £0 5s 0d, 112½ acres of freehold land, 65½ acres of leasehold land, total £21 3s 5d Orlando Bagley junior, with 19 acres charged at 1s 6d per acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 63 acres of leasehold land, total £12 8s 6d The orphans of William Burnham, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 29 acres of freehold land, 15 acres of leasehold land, total £5 4s 0d John Bland, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 15¾ acres of leasehold land, total £3 18s 9d Robert Ballard, ground rent £0 13s 0d, 15½ acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £1 8s 6d Matthew Bazett junior, with 6¼ acres charged at 1s 6d per acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 16 acres of freehold land, 36 acres of leasehold land, total £8 7s 10½d Carried forward: 686½ acres of freehold land, 816½ acres of leasehold land, total £221 10s 4d **Interpretations** The roll showed the Company collecting rent on every kind of landholding on the island. Freehold land had been granted outright to settler families, but it still carried a small annual rent per acre as an acknowledgement of the Company's lordship over the

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			island. Leasehold land remained the Company's property, let for a term at a higher rent. Ground rent was the charge for a building plot, most probably in Jamestown, where planters kept town houses alongside their country farms. A single payment day, fixed by the notice of 29 August 1763, brought every householder to the Castle in person, so the Council could see at once who had paid and who owed. The extra acres listed against many names were parcels charged at separate rates, from 1s to 20s an acre, which suggested land of very different quality or use. The highest rate, 20s an acre on Margaret Alcock's 1¼ acres, probably applied to valuable ground near the town or on the few fertile valley floors. Charges for fractions of a year, such as Richard Bagley's 12¼ acres for 4½ months, showed the Company billing precisely for land taken up or surrendered part way through the year. Land held for the orphans of Onesiphorus Beale and William Burnham remained liable for rent even though its owners were children. Their guardians paid on their behalf, and keeping the rent current protected the children's title, as the Council had done earlier when it renewed the lease on Richard Harper's orphans' house on 12 September 1763. The roll also revealed the scale of the island's leading families. Richard Bagley alone held more than 300 acres and paid £47 14s 4d, more than four times the typical planter's rent. The Bagley, Bazett, Beale and Alexander names together accounted for most of the entries on this page, which pointed to a small group of related households dominating the island's farmland.
34	30	30th September Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £ s d Brought over: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 686½ Acres, Lease Land 816½ Acres, £ s d £221 10s 4d Thomas Colgraves Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 20½ Acres, Lease Land 104¼ Acres, £ s d £27 1s 9d John Dovetons Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 86½ Acres, Lease Land 8 Acres, £ s d £6 6s 6d Isaac Doveton: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 77¼ Acres, Lease Land 9½ Acres, £ s d £6 5s 3d Joseph Desfountains Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 20 Acres, Lease Land 71 Acres, £ s d £18 15s 0d John Desfountain: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 93¼ Acres, Lease Land 17 Acres, £ s d £8 18s 3d Jonathan Doveton Ground Rent @ 3s 6d for 10½ Months: Ground Rent 3s 7d, Free Land 128¼ Acres, Lease Land 4 Acres, £ s d £7 11s 4d Thomas Easthopes Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 25 Acres, Lease Land 44 Acres, £ s d £12 5s 0d Sarah Funge: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 4 Acres, £ s d £1 0s 0d Michael Frost: Ground Rent 15s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 15s 0d Richard Goodwin: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 49 Acres, Lease Land 27 Acres, £ s d £9 4s 0d Thomas Greentree 33½ a at 4s per A 5 a @ 1s 6d per A: Ground Rent 5s 0d, Free Land 9½ Acres, Lease Land 72 Acres, £ s d £20 10s 6d James Greentree: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 48 Acres, Lease Land 55 Acres, £ s d £16 3s 0d Onesiphorus Gurlings Orps 9 Ad. at 1s 6d per A: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 23 Acres, Lease Land 9 Acres, £ s d £1 16s 6d Thomas Harpers Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 41¼ Acres, Lease Land 65¼ Acres, £ s d £18 7s 6d Thomas Hayes's Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 30 Acres, Lease Land 4 Acres, £ s d £2 10s 0d Margaret Harper: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 10 Acres, Lease Land 26 Acres, £ s d £7 0s 0d Thomas Harper: Ground Rent 10s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 10s 0d Henry Harper: Ground Rent 12s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 12s 0d	The rent roll for 30 September 1763 continued with the following entries. Brought forward: 686½ acres of freehold land, 816½ acres of leasehold land, total £221 10s 4d The orphans of Thomas Colgrave, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 20½ acres of freehold land, 104¾ acres of leasehold land, total £27 1s 9d The orphans of John Doveton, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 86½ acres of freehold land, 8 acres of leasehold land, total £6 6s 6d Isaac Doveton, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 77¼ acres of freehold land, 9½ acres of leasehold land, total £6 5s 3d The orphans of Joseph Desfountain, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 20 acres of freehold land, 71 acres of leasehold land, total £18 15s 0d John Desfountain, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 93¾ acres of freehold land, 17 acres of leasehold land, total £8 18s 3d Jonathan Doveton, with ground rent charged at 3s a year for 10¼ months, ground rent £0 2s 7d, 128¾ acres of freehold land, 4 acres of leasehold land, total £7 11s 4d The orphans of Thomas Casthope, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 25 acres of freehold land, 44 acres of leasehold land, total £12 5s 0d Sarah Tunge, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 4 acres of leasehold land, total £1 0s 0d Michael Frost, ground rent £0 15s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 15s 0d Richard Goodwin, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 49 acres of freehold land, 27 acres of leasehold land, total £9 4s 0d Thomas Greentree, with 33½ acres charged at 4s per acre and 6 acres at 1s 6d per acre, ground rent £0 5s 0d, 96½ acres of freehold land, 72 acres of leasehold land, total £20 10s 6d James Greentree, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 48 acres of freehold land, 55 acres of leasehold land, total £16 3s 0d The orphans of Onesiphorus Gurling, with 9 acres charged at 1s 6d per acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 23

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		John Jacks: Ground Rent 16s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 16s 0d Elisha Isaack: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 25 Acres, Lease Land 5 Acres, £ s d £2 10s 0d Gabriel Isaack: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 8 Acres, £ s d £2 0s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick: Ground Rent 24s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 14 Acres, £ s d £4 14s 0d Samuel Knipes Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 38¼ Acres, Lease Land 17¼ Acres, £ s d £6 5s 0d Isaac Knipe: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 30 Acres, Lease Land 23½ Acres, £ s d £7 7s 6d William Kennedy's Orps: Ground Rent 17s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 17s 0d Eleanor Leech: Ground Rent 12s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 12s 0d Margaret Merriot: Ground Rent 10s 6d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 10s 6d Benjamin Mason: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 42 Acres, Lease Land 42½ Acres, £ s d £12 14s 6d Roderick Merchant: Ground Rent 2s 6d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 2s 6d William Moore: Ground Rent 5s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 10 Acres, £ s d £2 15s 0d Matthew Purling 9 a at 1s per A 3 a at 4s per A: Ground Rent 24s 0d, Free Land 205 Acres, Lease Land 103½ Acres, £ s d £34 15s 6d John Price: Ground Rent 30s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £1 10s 0d Susannah Pledger 3 A at 4s per Acre: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 5 Acres, Lease Land 18¾ Acres, £ s d £4 15s 9d John Pritchard: Ground Rent 10s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 10s 0d James Pritchard: Ground Rent 7s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 7s 0d John Robinson: Ground Rent 5s 0d, Free Land 34 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £1 19s 0d Carried over: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 1815 Acres, Lease Land 1579¾ Acres, £ s d £472 3s 2d	acres of freehold land, 9 acres of leasehold land, total £1 16s 6d The orphans of Thomas Harper, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 41¼ acres of freehold land, 65¾ acres of leasehold land, total £18 7s 6d The orphans of Thomas Hayes, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 30 acres of freehold land, 4 acres of leasehold land, total £2 10s 0d Margaret Harper, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 10 acres of freehold land, 26 acres of leasehold land, total £7 0s 0d Thomas Harper, ground rent £0 10s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 10s 0d Henry Harper, ground rent £0 12s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 12s 0d John Jacks, ground rent £0 16s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 16s 0d Elisha Isaack, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 25 acres of freehold land, 5 acres of leasehold land, total £2 10s 0d Gabriel Isaack, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 8 acres of leasehold land, total £2 0s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, ground rent £1 4s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 14 acres of leasehold land, total £4 14s 0d The orphans of Samuel Knipe, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 38¼ acres of freehold land, 17¼ acres of leasehold land, total £6 5s 0d Isaac Knipe, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 30 acres of freehold land, 23½ acres of leasehold land, total £7 7s 6d The orphans of William Kennedy, ground rent £0 17s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 17s 0d Eleanor Leech, ground rent £0 12s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 12s 0d Margaret Merriot, ground rent £0 10s 6d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 10s 6d Benjamin Mason, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 42 acres of freehold land, 42½ acres of leasehold land, total £12 14s 6d Rhoderick Merchant, ground rent £0 2s 6d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 2s 6d William Moore, ground rent £0 5s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 10 acres of leasehold land, total £2 15s 0d Matthew Purling, with 9¼ acres charged at 1s per acre and 3 acres at 4s per acre, ground rent £1 4s 0d, 205 acres of freehold land, 103½ acres of leasehold land, total £34 15s 6d John Price, ground rent £1 10s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £1 10s 0d Susannah Pledger, with 3 acres charged at 4s per acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 5 acres of freehold land, 18¾ acres of leasehold land, total £4 15s 9d John Pritchard, ground rent £0 10s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 10s 0d James Pritchard, ground rent £0 7s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 7s 0d John Robinson, ground rent £0 5s 0d, 34 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £1 19s 0d Carried forward: 1,815¼ acres of freehold land, 1,579½ acres of leasehold land, total £472 3s 2d **Interpretations** Two members of the Council appeared on the roll as ordinary tenants. Matthew Purling held more than 300 acres and paid £34 15s 6d, among the largest sums on the island, while Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick paid £4 14s 0d for a town plot and 14 acres of leasehold. The men who fixed and collected the Company's rents were themselves among its principal tenants, which gave the Council a direct personal stake in the level of rents it set. Many entries showed ground rent alone, with no farmland at all. These payers, such as Michael Frost,

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			Eleanor Leech and the Pritchards, were probably townspeople in Jamestown, including tradesmen, shopkeepers and widows, who held a house plot but no country land. Their small payments, mostly between 5s and 17s, showed a distinct town population living alongside the planter families. The number of orphans' holdings on the roll was striking. The estates of the Colgrave, Doveton, Desfountain, Casthope, Gurling, Harper, Hayes, Knipe and Kennedy children all paid rent through guardians, which pointed to high adult mortality among the island's settler families. The Council's close oversight of wills, inventories and orphans' leases reflected how often property passed to minors on the island.
35	31	1763 Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, £ s d Brought over: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 1815¾ Acres, Lease Land 1579¾ Acres, £ s d £472 3s 2d William Seale 5½ A at 1s 6d per Acre: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 7 Acres, Lease Land 36 Acres, £ s d £8 7s 9d Benjamin Seale: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 10¼ Acres, £ s d £2 11s 3d John Seales Orphans: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 10 Acres, Lease Land 7½ Acres, £ s d £2 7s 6d Nathan Sample: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 25 Acres, Lease Land 8½ Acres, £ s d £3 7s 6d John Shortley Ground Rent 9¾ M @ 3s per An: Ground Rent 2s 5d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 2s 5d James Sorbett: Ground Rent 12s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 12s 0d John Swaits's Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 9 Acres, Lease Land 38½ Acres, £ s d £10 1s 6d John Worralls Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 42½ Acres, £ s d £10 12s 6d Francis Wrangham 6 Acres at 1s per Ad Corn: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 62 Acres, Lease Land 6 Acres, £ s d £3 2s 0d William Wrangham: Ground Rent 26s 6d, Free Land 144 Acres, Lease Land 33 Acres, £ s d £29 5s 6d Jane Willson: Ground Rent 2s 6d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, £ s d £0 2s 6d Stephen Young: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 20 Acres, Lease Land 3½ Acres, £ s d £3 2s 6d William Young: Ground Rent 5s 0d, Free Land 79½ Acres, Lease Land 25 Acres, £ s d £10 9s 6d Joseph Wiley's Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 1½ Acres, Lease Land 22¾ Acres, £ s d £5 17s 11d Joshua Woralls Orps: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 31 Acres, Lease Land 33 Acres, £ s d £9 16s 0d Total: Ground Rent 0s 0d, Free Land 2205¾ Acres, Lease Land 1901 Acres, £ s d £572 1s 6d Mr Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Clinton to Muster her Company and inquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows vizt Nathl Smith Commander John Peter Chief Mate James Brooks Second Do Jos: Vaughan Third Do Jos. Elliott fourth Do Frat. Bailey fifth Do Charles Ogle Surgeon Richard Shaw Purser Nathl Dance Midship James Webster Do Matthew Hutton Do James Shaw Carpenter Alexr Gilfling Boatswain Joseph Knight Gunner John Hadely Caulker Wm Charlston Cooper Geo Rutherford Armourer	The rent roll for 30 September 1763 concluded with the following entries. Brought forward: 1,815¼ acres of freehold land, 1,579½ acres of leasehold land, total £472 3s 2d William Seale, with 5½ acres charged at 1s 6d per acre, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 7 acres of freehold land, 36 acres of leasehold land, total £8 7s 9d Benjamin Seale, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 10¼ acres of leasehold land, total £2 11s 3d The orphans of John Seale, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 10 acres of freehold land, 7½ acres of leasehold land, total £2 7s 6d Nathan Sample, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 25 acres of freehold land, 8½ acres of leasehold land, total £3 7s 6d John Shirtley, with ground rent charged at 3s a year for 9¾ months, ground rent £0 2s 5d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 2s 5d James Torbett, ground rent £0 12s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 12s 0d The orphans of John Swaits, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 9 acres of freehold land, 38½ acres of leasehold land, total £10 1s 6d The orphans of John Worrall, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 0 acres of freehold land, 42½ acres of leasehold land, total £10 12s 6d Francis Wrangham, with 6 acres held at a peppercorn rent, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 62 acres of freehold land, 6 acres of leasehold land, total £3 2s 0d William Wrangham, ground rent £1 6s 6d, 144 acres of freehold land, 33 acres of leasehold land, total £29 5s 6d Jane Willson, ground rent £0 2s 6d, 0 acres of freehold land, 0 acres of leasehold land, total £0 2s 6d Stephen Young, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 20 acres of freehold land, 3½ acres of leasehold land, total £3 2s 6d William Young, ground rent £0 5s 0d, 79½ acres of freehold land, 25 acres of leasehold land, total £10 9s 6d The orphans of Joseph Wiley, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 6 acres of freehold land, 23¾ acres of leasehold land, total £5 17s 11d The orphans of Joshua Worrall, ground rent £0 0s 0d, 31 acres of freehold land, 33 acres of leasehold land, total £9 16s 0d Grand total: 2,208¾ acres of freehold land, 1,901 acres of leasehold land, total £572 1s 6d Matthew Purling told the Council that he had gone aboard the *Clinton* to muster her crew and search for deserters. He found none, and the crew list ran as follows. Nathaniel Smith, commander John Porter, chief mate James Brooks, second mate Joseph Vaughan, third mate Joseph Elliott, fourth mate Francis Bailey, fifth mate Charles Inglis, surgeon Richard Shaw, purser

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		Alexr Shaw Sailmaker Wm Worgan Capt Steward Robert Nevan Ships Do Geo. Scott Ships Cook David Smith Boatn Mate John Hansley Carpr Do James Ford Coopers Do Richd Welch Quartermast Alexr Wilson Do John Anderson Do Willm Lash Do John Jackson Quartermr Silvester Cosgrove Seaman Geo. Brodest Christopher Walker Dennis Crogan Jno Matthew Frechnegt Wm Sedgwick James Gardner John Baker George Miller Willm Clerk Richd Jump Thos Sand Alexr Urquart	Nathaniel Dance, midshipman James Webster, midshipman Matthew Hutton, midshipman James Shaw, carpenter Alexander Gilfilling, boatswain Joseph Knight, gunner John Hadsley, caulker William Charleston, cooper George Rutherford, armourer Alexander Shrive, sailmaker William Worgan, captain's steward Robert Nevan, ship's steward George Scott, ship's cook David Smith, boatswain's mate John Ranslay, carpenter's mate James Ford, cooper's mate Richard Welch, quartermaster Alexander Willson, quartermaster John Anderson, quartermaster William Lash, quartermaster John Jackson, quartermaster Silvester Cosgrove, seaman George Bur[...] Christopher Walker Dennis Crogan John Matthew Frechnight William Sedgwick James Gardner John Baker George Miller William Clerk Richard Jump Thomas Saul Alexander Urquhart **Interpretations** The grand total of £572 1s 6d matched exactly the sum the Council announced at the head of the roll, confirming that every planter and townsman listed had paid in full on the day. The roll covered more than 4,000 acres in all, a little over half of it held as freehold. The leasehold land, although smaller in extent, carried the heavier rents and so produced most of the Company's income from the island's farmland. Francis Wrangham held 6 acres at a peppercorn rent, a purely nominal charge of a single dried peppercorn a year. Such a rent recognised the Company's ownership while excusing the tenant from any real payment. It was probably granted as a reward for service or to encourage the clearing of poor ground, since the Company otherwise charged rent on every acre it let. The midshipman Nathaniel Dance was probably the young officer who later rose to command in the Company's fleet. In 1804, as commodore of a homeward convoy of East Indiamen, he drove off a French naval squadron in the South China Sea and was knighted for it.
36	32	30th September John Bush Seaman John Smith John Dover Andrew Scrowl Solomon Parkey Frederick Myers John Vaughan James Franks Peter Pickering James Rowney John Peters Willm Leake John Lane William Harlow Peter Boile Seamn Daniel McMaire John Naize	The muster roll of the *Clinton* continued with the rest of her seamen and servants. John Bush, seaman John Smith John Dover Andrew Scrowl Solomon Parkey Frederick Myers John Vaughan James Franks Peter Pickering James Revey John Peters William Leake John Lane William Harlow Peter Boile, seaman Daniel McMaire

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		Thomas Egerton John Anthony Emn D'Silva John Fincele Francis Murry Botrirah Mispack Anthony Veal Joseph Hellasm Abraham Spencer Robert Jones James Anderson Paul Miles Saml Morris Seamn Antique John Cummins Henry White Andee Wm Bristole Capts Servt Tombey Chief Mte Do Pompey Second Do Do Joseph Jones Surgs Do Saml Hill Carpentr Do James West Gunnr Do 61 Frenchmen Passengers Mrs Ann Bouchier Mrs Moor the Revd Mr Moor Capt Giller Capt Parrot Lieut Rose Lieut Gavon Mr Malloch Mr Sheppard Miss Grace Demarr Miss Ellen Surin Master Thomas Townsend A black woman Servant Mrs Bourchiers A Do Do Mr Moor (Signd) Nl Smith. The Storekeeper delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Clinton vizt Account of Stores short received from Ship Clinton vizt Paddy Short Weight 1 Cwt 2 qrs 8 lb Rice 4 Cwt 2 qrs 7 lb Arrack not delivered 2 Leagrs St Helena Sepr 30th 1763 (Signed) Js Powell Storekeeper	John Naize Thomas Egerton John Anthony Emanuel D'Silva John Tincele Francis Murry [...] Anthony Veal Joseph Hellam Abraham Spencer Robert Jones James Anderson Paul Miles Samuel Morris, seaman Antique John Cummins Henry White Andee, captain's servant William Bristole, captain's servant Tombey, chief mate's servant Pompey, second mate's servant Joseph Jones, surgeon's servant Samuel Hill, carpenter's servant James Webb, gunner's servant 61 Frenchmen The ship also carried the following passengers. Mrs Ann Bourchier Mrs Moor The Reverend Mr Moor Captain Giller Captain Barrot Lieutenant Rose Lieutenant Gavon Mr Mallock Mr Shepperd Miss Grace Demar Miss Ellen Turin Master Thomas Townsend 1 black woman, servant to Mrs Bourchier 1 black woman, servant to Mrs Moor Nathaniel Smith signed the roll. The storekeeper then gave the Council an account, dated 30 September 1763, of the stores from the *Clinton* that had failed to arrive in full. Unhusked rice found short in weight, 1 cwt 2 qr 8 lb Rice not delivered, 41 cwt 2 qr 7 lb Arrack not delivered, 2 leaguers James Powell signed the account as storekeeper. **Interpretations** The storekeeper's account showed that the *Clinton* failed to land two of the three provisions on her invoice. The whole consignment of rice, all 41 cwt 2 qr 7 lb, and both leaguers of Batavia arrack never reached the stores, together worth more than 152 pagodas at Madras prices. The island had been charged for goods it never received, so the account served as the Council's formal evidence for claiming the value back from the ship's commander or from the Madras presidency. The 61 Frenchmen were almost certainly prisoners of war taken in India, like the 19 carried on the *Prince of Wales*. Returning prisoners in such numbers aboard homeward Indiamen filled space otherwise available for cargo, which may help to explain why part of the Madras consignment failed to find room in the hold. Mrs Ann Bourchier was probably connected to Charles Bourchier, the Madras accountant whose name stood at the foot of the *Clinton*'s invoice. The two black women listed only as servants to the ladies were perhaps slaves bought in India, travelling with their owners to England.
37	33	1763 Saint George a French Prisoner who was left here out of the Ship Godolphin Dying in the Hospital, We Ordered	Saint George, a French prisoner put ashore from the ship *Godolphin*, died in the island's hospital. The Council ordered his possessions to be sold at public auction. The £12 0s 0d that remained was paid into the

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		his Effects to be sold at Publick Auction, and received the Balance Amounting to twelve pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash and wrote it off to Account Current London. Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d Day of October 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutnt Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed, dated the 30th September 1763 The Executrix and Executor to the last Will and Testament of Thomas Colgrave Deceased this day presented the following Petition vizt	Company's treasury and transferred to the island's running account with London. Governor Hutchinson signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 3 October 1763. The Governor presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 30 September 1763 were read, approved and signed. The executrix and executor of the will of the late Thomas Colgrave then presented a petition to the Council. **Interpretations** Transferring the proceeds to the running account with London moved the dead prisoner's money out of the island's books and into the Company's central accounts. The Account Current London recorded every sum passing between St Helena and the directors, so crediting the £12 there meant that any claim by the man's heirs, or by the French authorities acting for them, would be settled by the Company in London. The Council thus avoided holding an unclaimed foreign estate on the island indefinitely, while leaving a clear record of what was owed. Selling the effects at public auction, rather than valuing them privately, set their worth by open bidding and protected the Council against any later charge that the goods had been undersold. Thomas Colgrave's estate had appeared on the rent roll of 30 September 1763, when his orphans paid £27 1s 9d for 20½ acres of freehold and 104¾ acres of leasehold land.
38	34	3d October To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Ruth Cotgrave Executrix and George Alexander Executor to the last Will and Testament of Thomas Cotgrave Deceased Sheweth That Samuel Doveton one of the Nominees in a Lease upon Lives belonging to the Orphans of Thomas Cotgrave for 27½ Acres of Land is deceased, your Petitioners therefore humbly prays that your Worship and Council will be pleased to permit the Name of James Cotgrave, to be inserted in the Room of the said deceased Nominee And your Petitioners will ever pray St Helena (signed) 3 October 1763 Ruth Cotgrave G. Alexander Granted upon their paying half a Years Rent amountg to three pounds eight Shillings and nine pence Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Ruth Cotgrave and George Alexander, the executrix and executor of the late Thomas Cotgrave, petitioned Governor Hutchinson and the Council on 3 October 1763. Thomas Cotgrave's orphans held a lease for lives on 27½ acres of land. Samuel Doveton, one of the people named in that lease, had died. The executors asked permission to put James Cotgrave's name in his place. The Council agreed, on condition that the executors paid half a year's rent, which came to £3 8s 9d. The Governor signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** A lease for lives ran for as long as any of the people named in it remained alive, and those named need not be the tenants themselves. Samuel Doveton had served simply as one of the lives measuring the lease's term. His death shortened the orphans' security of tenure, so the executors moved at once to replace him with a young member of the family, which extended the lease for another lifetime. The fee charged for adding a new life followed a fixed rule. Half a year's rent on 27½ acres came to £3 8s 9d, implying a rent of 5s an acre. Richard Beale had paid £1 0s 0d on 5 July 1763 to renew one life in his lease of 8 acres, which was also exactly half a year's rent at 5s an acre. The Company therefore set its renewal fine at six months' rent. In England, landlords usually demanded much heavier fines for adding a life, often equal to a year's value or more, so the island's terms were notably generous, perhaps to keep settlers on land that was hard to farm.
39	35	10th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th day of October 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 October 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 3 October 1763 were read, approved and signed.

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		Captn Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed, dated 3d October 1763. Saturday the 8th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Clinton for England The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of September last, were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of September 1763 vizt Lisbon Wine 21 Bottles £1 11s 6d Mountain 24 Bottles £1 16s 0d Arrack 75 Bottles £3 9s 11½d Beer 29 Bottles £0 7s 10½d Flour 350 lb £2 3s 9d fresh Beef 252 lb £3 3s 0d Salt Beef 2 lb £0 5s 11d Fresh Pork 58 lb £1 9s 0d Salt Pork 10 lb £1 5s 5d Mutton 213 lb £4 8s 9d Goat 75 lb £1 5s 0d Kid 1 £0 5s 0d Lambs 3 £1 10s 0d Fowls 14 £1 1s 0d Ducks 3 £0 4s 6d Goose 1 £0 5s 0d Turkeys 4 £1 0s 0d Fresh Butter 41 lb £2 1s 0d Candy 111 lb £1 17s 0d Total£29 9s 7½d	The Company's ship *Clinton* left for England on Saturday 8 October. The accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the steward for September were presented at the meeting. The Council examined and approved them, beginning with the provisions consumed at the Company's table during September 1763. 21 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 11s 6d 24 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 16s 0d 75 bottles of arrack, £3 9s 11¼d 29 bottles of beer, £0 7s 10½d 350 lb of flour, £2 3s 9d 252 lb of fresh beef, £3 3s 0d 2 pieces of salt beef, £0 5s 11d 58 lb of fresh pork, £1 9s 0d 10 pieces of salt pork, £1 5s 5d 213 lb of mutton, £4 8s 9d 75 lb of goat meat, £1 5s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d 14 fowls, £1 1s 0d 3 ducks, £0 4s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 41 lb of fresh butter, £2 1s 0d 111 lb of sugar candy, £1 17s 0d Total, £29 9s 7½d **Interpretations** Across the three months from July to September, the table's meat shifted steadily away from mutton. Mutton fell from 360 lb in July to 260 lb in August and 213 lb in September, while fresh beef rose from 218 lb to 233 lb and then 252 lb. The change matched the state of the Company's flock, which had lost heavily to death and slaughter through the winter, and suggested a deliberate effort to rest the sheep while the herd of cattle bore more of the load. The three lambs at 10s each appeared on the table for the first time. They came from the spring lambing that began in August, when the livestock account recorded 21 lambs born. Their price, twice that of a kid, reflected the premium placed on young meat early in the season. Arrack consumption climbed to 75 bottles, the highest of the three months, and the table also served a goose for the first time. September saw the *Clinton* in the road from 20 September with more than a dozen passengers of rank, including officers, a clergyman and several ladies. The Governor's table was probably entertaining them during their stay.
40	36	10th October Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c. for the Month of September 1763 vizt	The Lieutenant Governor, John Skottowe, signed the monthly account of the Company's livestock for

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		Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses He Asses, Asses She Asses, Asses Total Remaining 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 82, Neat Cattle Yearlings 60, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 26, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 288, Sheep Ewes 276, Sheep Weathers 99, Sheep Lambs 191, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 574, Goats Ewes 142, Goats Weathers 10, Goats Kids 95, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 256, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 16, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 21, Poultry Fowls 70, Poultry Ducks 17, Poultry Turkeys 36, Poultry Geese 15, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 3, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 4 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 4, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 24, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 24, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 11, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 11, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 4, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 4, Poultry Fowls 5, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 15, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 86, Neat Cattle Yearlings 60, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 26, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 276, Sheep Weathers 99, Sheep Lambs 215, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 598, Goats Ewes 142, Goats Weathers 10, Goats Kids 106, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 267, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 20, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 25, Poultry Fowls 75, Poultry Ducks 17, Poultry Turkeys 36, Poultry Geese 30, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 3, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 4 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 1, Neat Cattle Steers 1, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 3, Sheep Ewes 2, Sheep Weathers 13, Sheep Lambs 3, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 18, Goats Ewes 5, Goats Weathers 7, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 13, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 14, Poultry Ducks 3, Poultry Turkeys 4, Poultry Geese 1, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 1, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 2, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 3, Sheep Ewes 1, Sheep Weathers 4, Sheep Lambs 2, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 7, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 3, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 3, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Remaining 30th: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 86, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 18, Neat Cattle Steers 23, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 286, Sheep Ewes 273, Sheep Weathers 82, Sheep Lambs 210, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 573, Goats Ewes 137, Goats Weathers 3, Goats Kids 105, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 254, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 17, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 22, Poultry Fowls 61, Poultry Ducks 14, Poultry Turkeys	September 1763, which recorded the herds and flocks as follows. Stock on 1 September: 4 bulls, 84 cows, 82 calves, 60 yearlings, 19 heifers, 26 steers, 13 oxen, 288 cattle in all Stock on 1 September: 276 ewes, 99 wethers, 191 lambs, 8 rams, 574 sheep in all Stock on 1 September: 142 nanny goats, 10 wether goats, 95 kids, 9 billy goats, 256 goats in all Stock on 1 September: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 16 pigs, 1 boar, 21 hogs in all Stock on 1 September: 70 fowls, 17 ducks, 36 turkeys, 15 geese Stock on 1 September: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 horses in all Stock on 1 September: 3 male asses, 1 female ass, 4 asses in all Born during the month: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 4 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 4 cattle in all Born during the month: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 24 lambs, 0 rams, 24 sheep in all Born during the month: 0 nanny goats, 0 wether goats, 11 kids, 0 billy goats, 11 goats in all Born during the month: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 4 pigs, 0 boars, 4 hogs in all Hatched during the month: 5 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 15 geese Born during the month: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Born during the month: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all Total held: 4 bulls, 84 cows, 86 calves, 60 yearlings, 19 heifers, 26 steers, 13 oxen, 292 cattle in all Total held: 276 ewes, 99 wethers, 215 lambs, 8 rams, 598 sheep in all Total held: 142 nanny goats, 10 wether goats, 106 kids, 9 billy goats, 267 goats in all Total held: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 20 pigs, 1 boar, 25 hogs in all Total held: 75 fowls, 17 ducks, 36 turkeys, 30 geese Total held: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 horses in all Total held: 3 male asses, 1 female ass, 4 asses in all Slaughtered: 0 bulls, 1 cow, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 1 heifer, 1 steer, 0 oxen, 3 cattle in all Slaughtered: 2 ewes, 13 wethers, 3 lambs, 0 rams, 18 sheep in all Slaughtered: 5 nanny goats, 7 wether goats, 1 kid, 0 billy goats, 13 goats in all Slaughtered: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all Slaughtered: 14 fowls, 3 ducks, 4 turkeys, 1 goose Slaughtered: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Slaughtered: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all Died: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 1 yearling, 0 heifers, 2 steers, 0 oxen, 3 cattle in all Died: 1 ewe, 4 wethers, 2 lambs, 0 rams, 7 sheep in all Died: 0 nanny goats, 0 wether goats, 0 kids, 0 billy goats, 0 goats in all Died: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 3 pigs, 0 boars, 3 hogs in all Died: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Died: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Died: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all Stock on 30 September: 4 bulls, 83 cows, 86 calves, 59 yearlings, 18 heifers, 23 steers, 13 oxen, 286 cattle in all Stock on 30 September: 273 ewes, 82 wethers, 210 lambs, 8 rams, 573 sheep in all Stock on 30 September: 137 nanny goats, 3 wether goats, 105 kids, 9 billy goats, 254 goats in all Stock on 30 September: 4 sows, 0 shoats, 17 pigs, 1 boar, 22 hogs in all

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		32, Poultry Geese 29, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 3, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 4 Species Changed: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 60, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 20, Neat Cattle Steers 39, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 286, Sheep Ewes 303, Sheep Weathers 104, Sheep Lambs 158, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 573, Goats Ewes 145, Goats Weathers 20, Goats Kids 80, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 254, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 3, Hogs Pigs 13, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 22, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 A Girl Born Named Massey Yam for Blacks Yam for Stock 27380 lb (signed) John Skottowe	Stock on 30 September: 61 fowls, 14 ducks, 32 turkeys, 29 geese Stock on 30 September: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 horses in all Stock on 30 September: 3 male asses, 1 female ass, 4 asses in all After regrading by age: 4 bulls, 84 cows, 60 calves, 64 yearlings, 20 heifers, 39 steers, 15 oxen, 286 cattle in all After regrading by age: 303 ewes, 104 wethers, 158 lambs, 8 rams, 573 sheep in all After regrading by age: 145 nanny goats, 20 wether goats, 80 kids, 9 billy goats, 254 goats in all After regrading by age: 5 sows, 3 shoats, 13 pigs, 1 boar, 22 hogs in all After regrading by age: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese After regrading by age: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all After regrading by age: 0 male asses, 0 female asses, 0 asses in all Yams issued to the slaves and the livestock, 27,380 lb The account also recorded the birth of a girl named Massey. **Interpretations** The final row showed the Company regrading its whole stock by age at the close of its accounting year, alongside the annual count of stores ordered on 5 September 1763. Animals that had grown out of one class were moved into the next while the totals stayed the same. Calves fell from 86 to 60 as the older ones became yearlings, yearlings in turn became heifers and steers, and steers rose from 23 to 39. Lambs dropped from 210 to 158 as they joined the ewes and wethers, and kids fell from 105 to 80 as they became grown goats. The regrading gave the Company a true picture of its breeding and working animals for the year ahead, rather than one distorted by a growing mass of young stock still carried as calves and lambs. The birth of the girl Massey was entered in the livestock account itself. She was a child born to one of the Company's slaves, and recording her among the cattle and sheep treated her as an addition to the Company's property in the same way as a calf or a lamb. The entry showed the Company tracking the natural increase of its slave workforce through the same ledger it used for its stock. The sheep opened the month at 574, against the 610 recorded at the end of August, and the wethers at 99 against 159. The difference was not explained on the page. It was perhaps an early stage of the same year-end recount, since the account made no entry for animals issued to ships during the month. Spring was now fully under way. Lambing continued with 24 more lambs, the goats added 11 kids, and 15 goslings were hatched, doubling the geese. The yam issue rose again to 27,380 lb as the Company fed its growing stock before the new season's grass came through.
41	37	1763 Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of September 1763 vizt Guns fired, 4 Pounders, 3 Pounders, 2 Pounders, 1 Pounder, Powder Expended 5th Departed the Clive and Prince of Wales returned the Salute: Guns fired 18 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 18 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 18 lb 0 oz Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 3 lb 0 oz 19th An Alarm: Guns fired 6 Guns, 4 Pounders 2 Guns, 3 Pounders 2 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb 0 oz	The gunner's account recorded the artillery stores used in September 1763, listing for each occasion the guns fired, the number fired from each size of gun and the powder spent. On 5 September, the garrison returned the salute of the departing *Clive* and *Prince of Wales*: 18 guns fired, 0 from 4-pounders, 0 from 3-pounders, 18 from 2-pounders, 0 from 1-pounders, powder 18 lb 0 oz. Powder for priming the guns, 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 0 oz 19 September, an alarm: 6 guns fired, 2 from 4-pounders, 2 from 3-pounders, 0 from 2-pounders, 2 from 1-pounders, powder 12 lb 0 oz On 20 September, the garrison returned the salute of the arriving *Clinton*: 9 guns fired, 0 from 4-pounders,

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		26th Arrived the Clinton returned the Salute: Guns fired 9 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 9 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 1 lb 8 oz Powder Wasted with Transporting in Cartridges: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 2 lb 4 oz Do for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 3 lb 4 oz Do for Signals: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 0 lb 8 oz Do Sold: Guns fired 0 Guns, 4 Pounders 0 Guns, 3 Pounders 0 Guns, 2 Pounders 0 Guns, 1 Pounder 0 Guns, Powder Expended 3 lb 0 oz Total: Guns fired 33 Guns, 4 Pounders 2 Guns, 3 Pounders 2 Guns, 2 Pounders 27 Guns, 1 Pounder 2 Guns, Powder Expended 52 lb 8 oz Sheep Skins for Coating Sponges 3 Trunk Nails for Coating and repairing Sponges 150 Bitts broke at the Main Fort 1 Hand Spikes broke with Transporting Ammunition 2 Lead Shot lost with Do 7 lb Iron Round Shot for one pounders Destroyed by Rust 15 lb Tallow for the use of the Wood Carts 4 lb Do for the use of the Long Boat 2 lb Do Sold 6 lb Barr Shot lost by negligence and paid for 1 Spung Staves 1 Sheep Skins for Rouge Barrels 1 Sold Speaking Trumpet lost by negligence and paid for 1 (signed) Thos Hall Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	0 from 3-pounders, 9 from 2-pounders, 0 from 1-pounders, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Powder for priming the guns, 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 8 oz Powder spilled while carrying cartridges, 0 guns fired, powder 2 lb 4 oz Powder for refilling the cartridges at the Main Guard, 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 4 oz Powder for signals, 0 guns fired, powder 0 lb 8 oz Powder sold, 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 0 oz Total: 33 guns fired, 2 from 4-pounders, 2 from 3-pounders, 27 from 2-pounders, 2 from 1-pounders, powder 52 lb 8 oz Sheepskins for covering sponges, 3 Trunk nails for covering and mending sponges, 150 Bells broken at the Main Fort, 1 Handspikes broken while carrying ammunition, 2 Lead shot lost while carrying ammunition, 7 lb Iron round shot for 1-pounders ruined by rust, 15 lb Tallow for greasing the wood carts, 4 lb Tallow for the longboat, 2 lb Tallow sold, 6 lb Bar shot lost through carelessness and paid for, 1 Sponge staves sold, 1 Sheepskins for budge barrels sold, 1 Speaking trumpet lost through carelessness and paid for, 1 Thomas Hall signed the account. Governor Hutchinson signed the minutes with John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. **Interpretations** The account distinguished between ordinary wear and losses caused by carelessness. Broken handspikes and spilled powder were written off as the normal cost of moving ammunition, but the bar shot and the speaking trumpet lost through negligence were paid for, almost certainly by the men responsible. Charging individual soldiers for lost equipment gave every man a direct financial reason to guard the Company's stores. The gunner also sold stores, including powder, tallow, a sponge staff and a sheepskin. These were probably surplus or worn items bought by planters and visiting ships. Recording each sale in the stores account ensured that the money reached the treasury rather than the gunner's pocket. A budge barrel was a small powder cask with a leather or sheepskin cover drawn over its top, used to carry loose powder safely to the guns without exposing it to sparks. Bar shot consisted of two iron half-balls joined by a bar, fired to cut an enemy ship's rigging. A speaking trumpet was a large metal horn used to hail ships or pass orders across a battery. Handspikes were wooden levers used to shift heavy guns and loads. Powder use fell for the third month running, from 96 lb 8 oz in July to 62 lb 12 oz in August and 52 lb 8 oz in September. The two Indiamen that sailed together on 5 September received a combined salute of 18 guns, nine for each ship, showing that the courtesy was owed to every vessel rather than to each departure.
42	38	17th October At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th Day of October 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 10th October 1763 Thursday the 13th Maccoy a Man Slave of the Honorable Company's was drowned by Accident Friday the 14th Arrived the Mercury Snow	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 October 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting held on 10 October 1763 were read, approved and signed. Maccoy, a male slave belonging to the Company, drowned by accident on Thursday 13 October. The snow *Mercury* reached the island the following day. The paymaster presented his accounts and the storekeeper his collections for the quarter ending 30 September. The Council examined and approved them, beginning with the salaries, meal allowances and other

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		The Paymaster brought in his Accounts and the Storekeeper his Collections for the Quarter ending the 30th September last, which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena, with their several Salarys diet Money &c for the Quarter commencing the 1st day of July and ending the 30th day of September 1763 Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr Salary £125 0s 0d Do Allowance for Servants £31 14s 9d £156 14s 9d John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Govern Salary £62 10s 0d Do diet Money £25 0s 0d £87 10s 0d Matthew Purling of Council Salary £15 0s 0d Do Accomptant £17 10s 0d Do diet Money £15 0s 0d £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick of Councils Salary £7 10s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £10 0s 0d William Lee Chaplain Salary £25 0s 0d Do diet Money £15 0s 0d £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett Secretary's Salary £17 10s 0d Do diet Money £15 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d Carried over£376 14s 9d	payments made to the Company's officers and staff on the island from 1 July to 30 September 1763. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Charles Hutchinson, allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d Charles Hutchinson, total, £156 14s 9d John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d John Skottowe, meal allowance, £25 0s 0d John Skottowe, total, £87 10s 0d Matthew Purling, councillor, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, pay as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, meal allowance, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, total, £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, councillor, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, total, £10 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d William Lee, meal allowance, £15 0s 0d William Lee, total, £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, meal allowance, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, total, £35 0s 0d Total carried forward, £376 14s 9d **Interpretations** The list revealed how the Company built up an official's income from separate elements rather than a single wage. The Governor's salary alone came to £500 a year, with a further allowance to maintain his household servants. Other senior men received a meal allowance, which the manuscript called diet money, in place of eating at the Company's table, and some drew house rent where no official residence was provided. Paying these sums quarterly, and entering each one under its own heading, let the directors see exactly what each post cost and what share of it was pay rather than expenses. Matthew Purling drew pay both as a councillor and as the Company's accountant, more than doubling his income. Combining a seat on the Council with an executive post was the usual way the Company rewarded its island officials. It also meant that the man who kept the accounts sat on the body that examined and approved them, so the Council's scrutiny rested partly on the integrity of its own members. The chaplain William Lee was the Reverend Mr Lee to whom Edward Jennings had left £11 in the will proved on 8 August 1763. His salary of £100 a year, with a meal allowance, made him one of the better-paid officials on the island. Maccoy's death was entered in the minutes because he was Company property. The record served the same purpose as the livestock account's note of the girl Massey's birth in September, keeping the Company's count of its slaves accurate as they were born and died.
43	39	1763 Brought over£376 14s 9d James Powell Storekeepers Salary £17 10s 0d Do diet Money £15 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d William Wrangham Factors Salary £7 10s 0d Do diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d Do Assistant Storekeeper £5 0s 0d £25 0s 0d	The list of salaries and allowances for the quarter continued as follows. Brought forward, £376 14s 9d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, meal allowance, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Powell, total, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, meal allowance, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, pay as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d William Wrangham, total, £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, meal allowance, £10 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, total, £20 0s 0d Richard Law, writer's salary for 6 days, £0 6s 6d

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		Francis Wrangham Factor Salary £7 10s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £20 0s 0d Richd Law 6 days Writers Salary £0 6s 6d Do 86 days Factor Salary £7 1s 4d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d Do Assistant to the Governor £10 0s 0d £29 17s 10d David Alcock Writers Salary £5 0s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £17 10s 0d Britannicus Wright Writers Salary £5 0s 0d Do diet Money £10 0s 0d £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay Surgeon Salary £9 15s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £22 5s 0d John Pritchard Surgeon Mate Salary £6 5s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £18 15s 0d Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary £10 0s 0d Do Schoolmaster £3 8s 3d £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett £7 10s 0d Overseers £15 0s 0d John Bland Master Mason Salary £17 10s 0d Do diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £1 10s 0d £29 0s 0d Thomas Townsend Stone Mason Salary £19 10s 0d John Robinson Carpenter Salary £12 10s 0d Do House Rent £0 15s 0d £13 5s 0d Carried over£650 5s 10d	Richard Law, factor's salary for 86 days, £7 1s 4d Richard Law, meal allowance, £10 0s 0d Richard Law, house rent, £2 10s 0d Richard Law, pay as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d Richard Law, total, £29 17s 10d David Alcock, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d David Alcock, meal allowance, £10 0s 0d David Alcock, house rent, £2 10s 0d David Alcock, total, £17 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, meal allowance, £10 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, total, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, meal allowance, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Barclay, total, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, meal allowance, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Pritchard, total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, pay as schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d Richard Beale, total, £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £7 10s 0d Samuel Alexander and Matthew Bazett, total, £15 0s 0d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d John Bland, meal allowance, £10 0s 0d John Bland, house rent, £1 10s 0d John Bland, total, £29 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stonemason, salary, £19 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d John Robinson, house rent, £0 15s 0d John Robinson, total, £13 5s 0d Total carried forward, £650 5s 10d **Interpretations** The list set out the Company's ranked civil service in miniature. Writers stood at the bottom on £20 a year, factors above them on £30, with the senior posts of secretary, storekeeper and councillor higher still. Richard Law's entry showed a promotion in progress. He was paid as a writer for the first 6 days of the quarter and as a factor for the remaining 86, with each salary calculated to the day. Promotion thus took effect from a precise date, and the pay followed it exactly. The salaries of the young officials were small, and their real income came from allowances. A writer's meal allowance of £10 a quarter was double his salary, and most also received house rent. Additional posts, such as William Wrangham's work as assistant storekeeper and Richard Law's as assistant to the Governor, added further sums, so a man's standing depended as much on the extra duties he could gather as on his formal rank. Skilled tradesmen earned far more in salary than the junior officials. Thomas Townsend, a stonemason, received £78 a year, and the master mason John Bland £70 plus allowances, against a factor's £30. Craftsmen had to be recruited from England to a remote island, and the Company paid a premium to keep builders capable of maintaining its forts, storehouses and roads. Several names on the list were also leading planters on the rent roll of 30 September 1763. Samuel Alexander and Matthew Bazett served as overseers of the Company's plantation, and Richard Beale combined the posts of judge advocate and schoolmaster. The Company relied on the same few settler families to fill its offices, which bound their interests closely to its own.
44	40	17th October Brought over£650 5s 10d Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace	The list of salaries and allowances for the quarter continued with the island's minor officials and the officers and men of the First Company.

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		£10 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain Carpenters Mate £7 10s 0d David Belford Gardener £10 0s 0d James Sorbet Cooper £8 15s 0d William Moore Steward £7 10s 0d Michael Frost Clock and Instt Cleaner £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Saunderson Groom £2 0s 0d George Stright Armourer £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice Master at Arms £6 5s 0d John Criswell Cattson of the Long boat £7 10s 0d John Price Marshal & Goaler £7 10s 0d William Smith Clerk £5 0s 0d £82 5s 0d First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captn Salary £25 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacobs Adjutant Salary £22 16s 3d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Sergeants Robert Cage £7 12s 1d John Tull £7 12s 1d John Stewart £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals Jonathan Lake £5 6s 5½d Silvanus Rolf £5 6s 5½d Thomas Payne £5 6s 5½d William Bannister £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Carried over£914 14s 4½d	Brought forward, £650 5s 10d Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain, carpenter's mate, £7 10s 0d David Belford, gardener, £10 0s 0d James Torbet, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Moore, steward, £7 10s 0d Michael Frost, cleaner of clocks and instruments, £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Saunderson, groom, £2 0s 0d George Wright, armourer, £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d John Criswell, coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d William Smith, clerk, £5 0s 0d Total, £82 5s 0d First Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £25 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, meal allowance, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Solomon St Maurice, total, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, meal allowance, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Desfountain, total, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacobs, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacobs, meal allowance, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacobs, total, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants: Robert Cage, £7 12s 1d John Tull, £7 12s 1d John Stewart, £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total, £30 8s 4d Corporals: Jonathan Lake, £5 6s 5½d Silvanus Rolf, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Payne, £5 6s 5½d William Bannister, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total, £21 5s 10d Total carried forward, £914 14s 4½d **Interpretations** The military pay was calculated by the day, while the civil salaries were fixed annual sums divided into quarters. Each soldier's quarterly figure worked out exactly on a quarter of 91¼ days. A lieutenant received 4s a day, the adjutant 5s, a sergeant 1s 8d and a corporal 1s 2d, while the officers' meal allowance ran at 1s 6d a day. Reckoning in daily rates followed the practice of the British army, where pay was set by the day and issued in arrears, and it allowed the Company to stop a man's pay precisely when he died, deserted or was discharged. The list showed how many men on the island held more than one paid post. Phillip Mahoney was both clerk of the peace and a sergeant, and Solomon St Maurice was both master at arms and a lieutenant. Captain Kirkpatrick drew pay as commander of the First Company as well as his councillor's salary. On an island with a small European population, the Company filled its civil, legal and military offices from the same few men, who thereby gathered several incomes. Some of the lesser posts linked directly to the rent roll of 30 September 1763. Michael Frost, who cleaned the Company's clocks and instruments, and John Price, the marshal and gaoler, both paid ground rent for town plots but held no farmland, which fitted their standing as townsmen employed in the Company's service.
45	41	1763 Brought over£914 14s 4½d Drummers Henry Howell £5 6s 5½d	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the drummers and private soldiers of the garrison. Brought forward, £914 14s 4½d Drummers: Henry Howell, £5 6s 5½d

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		Richard Platfoot £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels John Ware Welch Cadet £7 12s 1d John Allis £3 16s 0½d John Astonstall £3 16s 0½d Hans Ulrich Algaver £3 16s 0½d John Alman £3 16s 0½d John Allen £3 16s 0½d John William Blank £3 16s 0½d Thomas Berwick £3 16s 0½d John Brown £3 16s 0½d William Blackman £3 16s 0½d William Baker £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley £3 16s 0½d John Davis £3 16s 0½d John Dove £3 16s 0½d Anthony Day Died 26th August £2 7s 6d David Davis £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans £3 16s 0½d John Finnen £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish £3 16s 0½d William French £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Gedby £3 16s 0½d James Hall £3 16s 0½d William Hawkes £3 16s 0½d William Hebert £3 16s 0½d William Henderson £3 16s 0½d James Hodge £3 16s 0½d William Johnson £3 16s 0½d George Kibbet £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight £3 16s 0½d William Lake Centinels Carried over£127 16s 10½d Carried over£925 7s 3½d	Richard Playfoot, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d Sentries: John Ware Welch, cadet, £7 12s 1d John Allis, £3 16s 0½d John Ackerstall, £3 16s 0½d Hans Ulrich Algaver, £3 16s 0½d John Alman, £3 16s 0½d John Allen, £3 16s 0½d John William Blank, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Berwick, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d William Baker, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Day, died 26 August, £2 7s 6d David Davis, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, £3 16s 0½d John Fenner, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, £3 16s 0½d William French, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Godby, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, £3 16s 0½d William Hawkes, £3 16s 0½d William Hebert, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, £3 16s 0½d James Hodge, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d George Kibbet, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d William Lake, £3 16s 0½d Sentries carried forward, £127 16s 10½d Total carried forward, £925 7s 3½d **Interpretations** The daily reckoning of military pay showed most clearly in Anthony Day's entry. A sentry earned 10d a day, giving £3 16s 0½d for a full quarter of 91¼ days. Day died on 26 August, and his £2 7s 6d paid him for exactly 57 days, from 1 July to the date of his death. The Company thus settled a dead soldier's pay to the day, and the balance would pass to his estate. A British infantry private at the same date received 8d a day, so the Company paid its island garrison somewhat more, probably to attract men to a remote posting from which they could not easily leave. John Ware Welch was listed as a cadet but paid at a sergeant's rate of 1s 8d a day. A cadet was a young gentleman serving in the ranks while he waited for an officer's commission, and his higher pay marked his standing above the private soldiers beside whom he served. Names such as Hans Ulrich Algaver and John William Blank pointed to German or Swiss recruits in the garrison. The Company regularly enlisted men from the Continent to fill its military ranks, since English recruits for service overseas were hard to find.
46	42	17th October Brought over£925 7s 3½d Centinels brought over£127 16s 10½d Charles Lewis	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the remaining sentries of the garrison. Brought forward, £925 7s 3½d Sentries brought forward, £127 16s 10½d

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		£3 16s 0½d Richard Lawrence £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClasson £3 16s 0½d William Mumford £3 16s 0½d John May £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mars £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman £3 16s 0½d John Pickering £3 16s 0½d William Bawton £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price £3 16s 0½d Michael Read £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts £3 16s 0½d Anthony Read £3 16s 0½d William Roebuck £3 16s 0½d William Robinson £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom £3 16s 0½d George Roe £3 16s 0½d William Swaby £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp £3 16s 0½d Henry Scriper £3 16s 0½d John Stewart £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry £3 16s 0½d John Taylor £3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon £3 16s 0½d John Whittingdale £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wild £3 16s 0½d William Watkins £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wrone £3 16s 0½d George Young £3 16s 0½d Richard Youcas £3 16s 0½d William Oakes £3 16s 0½d £264 14s 4½d Carried over£1190 1s 8d	Charles Leubes, £3 16s 0½d Richard Lawrence, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClasson, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d John May, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mast, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d William Pawton, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price, £3 16s 0½d Michael Read, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Read, £3 16s 0½d William Roebuck, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ranson, £3 16s 0½d George Roe, £3 16s 0½d William Soaby, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp, £3 16s 0½d Henry Scriper, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tottington, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d John Whittingdale, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wood, £3 16s 0½d William Watkins, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wrine, £3 16s 0½d George Young, £3 16s 0½d Richard Youcas, £3 16s 0½d William Oakes, £3 16s 0½d Sentries, total, £264 14s 4½d Total carried forward, £1,190 1s 8d
47	43	1763 Brought over£1190 1s 8d	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the officers and men of the Second Company.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Michael Frost Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech Lieutent Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Bazett £7 12s 1d William Beale £7 12s 1d John Burnham £7 12s 1d William Conquest £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals William Bell £5 6s 5½d Thomas Waffington £5 6s 5½d John Forbes £5 6s 5½d William Hayes £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers John Caffyn £5 6s 5½d Lewis King Discharged 19th August £2 18s 4d £8 4s 9½d Centinels Samuel Astone £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks £3 16s 0½d William Beckett £3 16s 0½d William Birch £3 16s 0½d William Brooks £3 16s 0½d Peter Brown £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bell £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushel £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bury £3 16s 0½d John Carr Centinels Carried over£45 12s 6d Carried over£1351 16s 10½d	Brought forward, £1,190 1s 8d Second Company: Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, meal allowance, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Michael Frost, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, meal allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Leech, total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Bazett, £7 12s 1d William Beale, £7 12s 1d John Burnham, £7 12s 1d William Conquest, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total, £30 8s 4d Corporals: William Bell, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Waffington, £5 6s 5½d John Forbes, £5 6s 5½d William Hayes, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total, £21 5s 10d Drummers: John Caffyn, £5 6s 5½d Lewis King, discharged 19 August, £2 18s 4d Drummers, total, £8 4s 9½d Sentries: Samuel Astme, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d William Beckett, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Peter Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, £3 16s 0½d, with 10s noted against his name Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bell, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushel, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bry, £3 16s 0½d John Carr, £3 16s 0½d Sentries carried forward, £45 12s 6d Total carried forward, £1,351 16s 10½d **Interpretations** Lewis King's pay stopped on 19 August, the day he applied for his discharge, although the Council did not formally grant it until its meeting of 22 August 1763. His £2 18s 4d covered exactly 50 days at a drummer's 1s 2d a day. Dating the discharge from the application rather than the Council's approval showed that a man who had served his contracted term was treated as free from the moment he asked to leave. Daniel Bry and John Carr, sentries in this company, were among the comrades to whom Edward Jennings left shirts in the will proved on 8 August 1763. Their presence here confirmed that Jennings divided his clothing among the men he served alongside in the garrison. The sergeants' names showed the settler families supplying the garrison's non-commissioned ranks. John Bazett, William Beale and John Burnham shared surnames with leading planters on the rent roll of 30 September 1763. Island-born sons could thus earn a sergeant's pay while remaining close to their families' land, and the Company gained soldiers with a lasting stake in the island's defence. Michael Frost served as a lieutenant here, while also drawing a small fee for cleaning the Company's clocks and instruments and paying ground rent for a town plot. Henry Bazett, who petitioned on 22 August 1763 to register his bills of sale, commanded the company at 10s a day.
48	44	17th October Brought over£1351 16s 10½d Centinels brought over£45 12s 6d	The list of pay for the quarter continued with further sentries of the Second Company. Brought forward, £1,351 16s 10½d

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		Edward Cowzens £3 16s 0½d John Copley £3 16s 0½d Samuel Curd £3 16s 0½d William Clay £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens £3 16s 0½d John Dickenson £3 16s 0½d Michael Downing £3 16s 0½d Thomas Eastwood £3 16s 0½d Peter Eglestone £3 16s 0½d William Finch £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford £3 16s 0½d William Fallwood £3 16s 0½d William Fry £3 16s 0½d George Freeman £3 16s 0½d Thomas Greenslade £3 16s 0½d John Goodsall £3 16s 0½d William Greenough £3 16s 0½d John Haworthy £3 16s 0½d William Hawes Senr £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding £3 16s 0½d John Hawkswood £3 16s 0½d William Hawes Junr £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hiles £3 16s 0½d William Hockley £3 16s 0½d Arnold Henson £3 16s 0½d John Holloway £3 16s 0½d John Holbrook £3 16s 0½d James Hudson £3 16s 0½d James Huxley £3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones £3 16s 0½d William Johnson £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kettson £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over£180 6s 0½d Carried over£1351 16s 10½d	Sentries brought forward, £45 12s 6d Edward Cousens, £3 16s 0½d John Copley, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Curd, £3 16s 0½d William Clay, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens, £3 16s 0½d John Dickenson, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downing, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Eastwood, £3 16s 0½d Peter Egleston, £3 16s 0½d William Finch, £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford, £3 16s 0½d William Fallwood, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, £3 16s 0½d George Freeman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Greenslade, £3 16s 0½d John Goodsall, £3 16s 0½d William Greenough, £3 16s 0½d John Hawridge, £3 16s 0½d William Hawes senior, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 0½d John Hawkswood, £3 16s 0½d William Hawes junior, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hiles, £3 16s 0½d William Hockley, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Henson, £3 16s 0½d John Holloway, £3 16s 0½d John Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d James Huxley, £3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kitson, £3 16s 0½d Sentries carried forward, £180 6s 0½d Total carried forward, £1,351 16s 10½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
49	45	1763 Brought over£1351 16s 10½d Centinels brought over£186 6s 0½d Evan Knowles £3 16s 0½d Edmund Leech £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge £3 16s 0½d Samuel Povey £3 16s 0½d William Pinchin £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips £3 16s 0½d Abraham Penns £3 16s 0½d Robert Saunders £3 16s 0½d William Steadman £3 16s 0½d John Christian Stripe £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stowers £3 16s 0½d John Slade £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer £3 16s 0½d William Taylor £3 16s 0½d John Tucker £3 16s 0½d Avery Trueman £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell £3 16s 0½d George Watts £3 16s 0½d Richard Wellman £3 16s 0½d £258 10s 10d Third Company Richard Beale Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d John Bridgwaters Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Sergeants Roger Wehoan £7 12s 1d George Bazett £7 12s 1d John Robinson £7 12s 1d Richard Johnson from 1st July to September the 5 Inclusive Reduced £5 11s 8d Do Centinel from Septr 6th Inclusive £1 0s 10d £29 8s 9d Carried over£1739 12s 8½d	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the last sentries of the Second Company and the officers and sergeants of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,351 16s 10½d Sentries brought forward, £186 6s 0½d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 0½d Edmund Leech, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Povey, £3 16s 0½d William Pinchin, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Penno, £3 16s 0½d Robert Saunders, £3 16s 0½d William Steedman, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Stripe, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stowers, £3 16s 0½d John Slade, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, £3 16s 0½d Avery Truman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d George Watts, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wellman, £3 16s 0½d Sentries, total, £258 10s 10d Third Company: Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, meal allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, total, £27 11s 10½d John Bridgwater, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Bridgwater, meal allowance, £6 16s 10½d John Bridgwater, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Bridgwater, total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: Roger W[...], £7 12s 1d George Bazett, £7 12s 1d John Robinson, £7 12s 1d Richard Johnson, as sergeant from 1 July to 5 September inclusive, when he was reduced in rank, £5 11s 8d Richard Johnson, as sentry from 6 September inclusive, £1 0s 10d Sergeants, total, £29 8s 9d Total carried forward, £1,739 12s 8½d **Interpretations** Richard Johnson's entry recorded a sergeant reduced to the ranks. He drew a sergeant's 1s 8d a day for the 67 days to 5 September and a sentry's 10d a day for the remaining 25. Demotion halved his daily pay at a stroke and took effect on a precise date, so the Company's accounts carried the penalty as exactly as they carried promotion. Reduction in rank was among the heaviest punishments short of flogging that could fall on a non-commissioned officer, and entering it openly in the pay list made the cost visible to every man in the garrison. Richard Beale, captain of the Third Company, also served as judge advocate and schoolmaster and held more than 80 acres on the rent roll of 30 September 1763. His four sources of income showed how far the Company depended on a handful of settler leaders to fill its military, legal and civil posts at once. Avery Truman and George Watts, sentries in the Second Company, had been named in Edward Jennings's will alongside George Freeman, Daniel Bry and John Carr. Every legatee traced so far served in the same company, which suggested that Jennings belonged to it and that his bequests went to the men of his own mess.

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50	46	17th October Brought over£1739 12s 8½d Corporals John Lemmon from 1st July to Sept 5 Inclusive Made Serjt £3 18s 2d Do Serjt from Septr 6th Inclusive £2 1s 8d Fisher Gambell £5 6s 5½d William Hill £5 6s 5½d William Robinson £5 6s 5½d £21 19s 2½d Drummers John Swaits £5 6s 5½d George Garrard £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Richard Ashford £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abbey £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams £3 16s 0½d James Anderson £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown £3 16s 0½d Jacob Britt £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard £3 16s 0½d John Blenhorne £3 16s 0½d James Brown £3 16s 0½d James Bottomly £3 16s 0½d John Cripps £3 16s 0½d John Cook £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain £3 16s 0½d William Clifton £3 16s 0½d Baron Delop £3 16s 0½d William Dicks £3 16s 0½d Charles Edgels £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eagles £3 16s 0½d William Fabtor £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder £3 16s 0½d John Hillird £3 16s 0½d Robert Suchurst £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over£95 1s 0½d Carried over£1772 4s 10d	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the corporals, drummers and first sentries of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,739 12s 8½d Corporals: John Lemmon, as corporal from 1 July to 5 September inclusive, when he was promoted to sergeant, £3 18s 2d John Lemmon, as sergeant from 6 September inclusive, £2 1s 8d Fisher Gambell, £5 6s 5½d William Hill, £5 6s 5½d William Robinson, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total, £21 19s 2½d Drummers: John Swaits, £5 6s 5½d George Garrard, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d Sentries: Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abbey, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Britt, £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, £3 16s 0½d John Blenkhorne, £3 16s 0½d James Brown, £3 16s 0½d James Bottomly, £3 16s 0½d John Cripps, £3 16s 0½d John Cook, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d William Clifton, £3 16s 0½d Baron Delose, £3 16s 0½d William Dicks, £3 16s 0½d Charles Edgels, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eagles, £3 16s 0½d William Fabton, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 0½d John Hillard, £3 16s 0½d Robert Ticehurst, £3 16s 0½d Sentries carried forward, £95 1s 0½d Total carried forward, £1,772 4s 10d **Interpretations** John Lemmon was promoted from corporal to sergeant on 6 September, the very day Richard Johnson was reduced from sergeant to sentry in the same company. The two entries together showed the vacancy filled at once from the rank below, so the company never lacked its full complement of sergeants. Lemmon's pay rose from 1s 2d to 1s 8d a day from that date, calculated as precisely as Johnson's fall. Fisher Gambell, a corporal in this company, was one of the two witnesses to Edward Jennings's will, signed on 26 July 1763. His sworn evidence allowed the Council to prove the will on 8 August, so a fellow soldier's word secured the dead man's bequests to his comrades. Joseph Chamberlain drew a sentry's pay here while also serving as the Company's carpenter's mate at £7 10s 0d a quarter. The garrison evidently supplied skilled labour for the Company's works, and a soldier with a trade could earn a second wage well above his military pay.

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51	47	1763 Brought over£1772 4s 10d Centinels brought over£95 1s 0½d Thomas Jones £3 16s 0½d Joseph Johnson £3 16s 0½d James Kemp £3 16s 0½d James Lea £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney £3 16s 0½d Edward Law £3 16s 0½d John Long £3 16s 0½d John Langridge £3 16s 0½d Edward Lambourn £3 16s 0½d Lewis Lempfied Discharged September 3 £2 14s 2d John Maurice July 1st to Septr 5th Made Corporal £2 15s 10d Do Corporal September 6th Inclusive £1 9s 2d Abraham Major £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris £3 16s 0½d William Mason £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews £3 16s 0½d Peter Nelson £3 16s 0½d Darby Obren £3 16s 0½d John Passwater £3 16s 0½d Thomas Povey £3 16s 0½d Joseph Phillips £3 16s 0½d James Proctor £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen £3 16s 0½d William Roberts £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack £3 16s 0½d Adam Stott £3 16s 0½d David Scott £3 16s 0½d Henry Scharenhorst Discharged 3 Septemb £2 14s 2d John Smith Senr £3 16s 0½d John Smith Junr £3 16s 0½d Francis Soane £3 16s 0½d Thomas Simkins £3 16s 0½d John Thomson £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the remaining sentries of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,772 4s 10d Sentries brought forward, £95 1s 0½d Thomas Jones, £3 16s 0½d, with 10s noted against his name Joseph Johnson, £3 16s 0½d James Kemp, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, £3 16s 0½d Edward Law, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lambourn, £3 16s 0½d Lewis Lemfried, discharged 3 September, £2 14s 2d John Maurice, as sentry from 1 July to 5 September, when he was promoted to corporal, £2 15s 10d John Maurice, as corporal from 6 September inclusive, £1 9s 2d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0½d William Mason, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, £3 16s 0½d Peter Nelson, £3 16s 0½d Darby O'Brien, £3 16s 0½d John Passwater, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Povey, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Phillips, £3 16s 0½d James Procter, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen, £3 16s 0½d William Roberts, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d [...] Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d Henry Scharenhorst, discharged 3 September, £2 14s 2d John Smith senior, £3 16s 0½d John Smith junior, £3 16s 0½d Francis Soane, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Simkins, £3 16s 0½d John Thomson, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Sentries carried forward, £233 19s 9½d Total carried forward, £1,772 4s 10d **Interpretations** The promotions of 6 September ran as a chain through the Third Company. Richard Johnson's reduction opened a sergeant's place, John Lemmon rose from corporal to fill it, and John Maurice rose from sentry to take Lemmon's place as corporal. Each change was paid from the same day, so a single act of discipline reshaped three men's ranks and incomes at once. Lewis Lemfried and Henry Scharenhorst were both discharged on 3 September, and each was paid for exactly 65 days. The *Clive* and *Prince of Wales* sailed for England two days later, on 5 September 1763, so the two men were probably released in time to take passage home on those ships. Discharges on the island depended on a homeward vessel, and a soldier whose term expired could leave only when the Company's shipping allowed. Joseph Uffin, to whom Edward Jennings left six stocks and two neckcloths, served in this company, as did Fisher Gambell, one of the witnesses to the will. With other legatees serving in the Second Company, Jennings's circle of friends evidently reached across more than one company of the garrison.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£3 16s 0½d John Vaughan Centinels Carried over£233 19s 9½d Carried over£1772 4s 10d	
52	48	17th October Brought over£1772 4s 10d Centinels brought over£233 19s 9½d John Withold £3 16s 0½d John Waters £3 16s 0½d John Ward £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch £3 16s 0½d James York £3 16s 0½d William Yates £3 16s 0½d John Herring £3 16s 0½d £260 12s 1d Fourth Company John Howard Captains Salary £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Serjeants John Flemming £7 12s 1d Thomas Ferris £7 12s 1d George Hettisheim £7 12s 1d Richard Wright £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals Alexander Trowbridge July 1st to Sept 5th Redd £3 18s 2d Do Centinel from Sept 6th £1 0s 10d Christian Horneck £5 6s 5½d Thomas Hilliard £5 6s 5½d Francis Powell July 1st to Aug 29th Redd £3 10s 0d Do Centinel August 30th Incle £1 6s 8d £20 8s 7d Drummers George Wells £5 6s 5½d Robert Davis £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Daniel Armin £3 16s 0½d	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the last sentries of the Third Company and the officers and men of the Fourth Company. Brought forward, £1,772 4s 10d Sentries brought forward, £233 19s 9½d John Wibrold, £3 16s 0½d John Waters, £3 16s 0½d John Ward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch, £3 16s 0½d James York, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, £3 16s 0½d Sentries, total, £260 12s 1d Fourth Company: John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Laune, meal allowance, £6 16s 10½d Henry De Laune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Henry De Laune, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, meal allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: John Flemming, £7 12s 1d Thomas Ferris, £7 12s 1d George Hellisheim, £7 12s 1d Richard Wright, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total, £30 8s 4d Corporals: Alexander Trembridge, as corporal from 1 July to 5 September, when he was reduced in rank, £3 18s 2d Alexander Trembridge, as sentry from 6 September, £1 0s 10d Christian Horneck, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Hilliard, £5 6s 5½d Francis Pruett, as corporal from 1 July to 29 August, when he was reduced in rank, £3 10s 0d Francis Pruett, as sentry from 30 August inclusive, £1 6s 8d Corporals, total, £20 8s 7d Drummers: George Wills, £5 6s 5½d Robert Davis, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total, £10 12s 11d Sentries: Daniel Armin, £3 16s 0½d **Interpretations** Two corporals of the Fourth Company were reduced to the ranks during the quarter. Francis Pruett lost his rank on 30 August, while Alexander Trembridge was reduced on 6 September, the same day as Sergeant Richard Johnson of the Third Company. Two demotions in different companies on a single date suggested a common occasion, perhaps one incident of misconduct or a single court martial dealing with several men at once. Neither vacancy in the Fourth Company was filled during the quarter, unlike the Third Company's, which left the company two corporals short by the end of September. Thomas Lambert received no house rent, unlike his fellow lieutenant Henry De Laune. He probably lodged in quarters provided by the Company, so the allowance was paid only to officers who had to find their own housing in Jamestown.
53	49	1763 Brought over£2192 13s 0d Centinels brought over£3 16s 0½d John Allin	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the sentries of the Fourth Company. Brought forward, £2,192 13s 0d Sentries brought forward, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£3 16s 0½d George Bennet £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell £3 16s 0½d Michael Brown £3 16s 0½d Jacob Barnard £3 16s 0½d John Brook £3 16s 0½d Thomas Baily July 1st to Aug 29th made Corpl £2 10s 0d Do Corporal Augt 30th £1 17s 4d James Cartwright £3 16s 0½d George Capeling £3 16s 0½d William Cocksay £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Chandler £3 16s 0½d Henry Cooke £3 16s 0½d James Culsher £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham £3 16s 0½d John Carey July 1st to Septr 5 made Corporal £2 15s 10d Do Corporal Septr 6th Inclusive £1 9s 2d Henry Davis £3 16s 0½d John Custone £3 16s 0½d George Finn Discharged July 20th £0 16s 8d George Green £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding £3 16s 0½d John Gillmoore £3 16s 0½d Christian Greenawald £3 16s 0½d Joseph Glder £3 16s 0½d Edward Gorman £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hales £3 16s 0½d Henry Horenburg £3 16s 0½d James Hindree £3 16s 0½d John Howeston £3 16s 0½d Stephen John £3 16s 0½d Henry Jenkins £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson £3 16s 0½d William Lambon Centinels Carried over£134 18s 4½d Carried over£2192 13s 0d	John Allen, £3 16s 0½d George Bennet, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Michael Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Barnard, £3 16s 0½d John Brook, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Baily, as sentry from 1 July to 29 August, when he was promoted to corporal, £2 10s 0d Thomas Baily, as corporal from 30 August, £1 17s 4d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d William Cocksey, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Chandler, £3 16s 0½d Henry Cooke, £3 16s 0½d James Culsher, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d John Carey, as sentry from 1 July to 5 September, when he was promoted to corporal, £2 15s 10d John Carey, as corporal from 6 September inclusive, £1 9s 2d Henry Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Custone, £3 16s 0½d George Finn, discharged 20 July, £0 16s 8d George Green, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d John Gillmoore, £3 16s 0½d Christian Greenawald, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Glover, £3 16s 0½d Edward German, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0½d Henry Horenburg, £3 16s 0½d James Hendree, £3 16s 0½d John Howston, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Henry Jenkins, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d William Lambon, £3 16s 0½d Sentries carried forward, £134 18s 4½d Total carried forward, £2,192 13s 0d **Interpretations** The two corporals' places lost in the Fourth Company were in fact filled on the very days they fell vacant. Thomas Baily rose from sentry to corporal on 30 August, the day Francis Pruett was reduced, and John Carey rose on 6 September, the day Alexander Trembridge lost his rank. Every demotion in the garrison that quarter was matched by an immediate promotion from below, so the Company kept its establishment of non-commissioned officers complete while turning one man's punishment into another's advancement. George Finn's pay ran for exactly 20 days, ending on 20 July. That was the date on which the Council, at its meeting of 25 July 1763, recorded his release from the garrison at the end of his contracted term, and the pay list confirmed that his wages stopped on the day of discharge. Jonathan Chandler and John Cunningham, both sentries in this company, received shirts, spatterdashes and shoes under Edward Jennings's will. With legatees now traced in three companies, Jennings's bequests reached comrades throughout the garrison rather than within one company alone.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
54	50	17th October Brought over£2192 13s 0d Centinels brought over£134 18s 4½d William La Roacke £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee £3 16s 0½d John Moorsh £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason £3 16s 0½d Mordock McCloed £3 16s 0½d John Baptist Mitchland £3 16s 0½d John McAllister £3 16s 0½d William Mitchell £3 16s 0½d John McDonald £3 16s 0½d John Newton £3 16s 0½d John Oswald £3 16s 0½d Thomas Povin £3 16s 0½d John Pijlow £3 16s 0½d James Richardson £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher £3 16s 0½d John Shaw £3 16s 0½d William Scottman £3 16s 0½d James Shaad £3 16s 0½d John Swindell £3 16s 0½d John Sheens £3 16s 0½d John Smith £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer £3 16s 0½d Thomas Suffnell £3 16s 0½d John Thomson £3 16s 0½d Thomas Tyler £3 16s 0½d William Wilks £3 16s 0½d William Wait £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Whorrell £3 16s 0½d £256 11s 8½d Artillery Company Thomas Hall Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Carried over£2494 17s 2½d	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the remaining sentries of the Fourth Company and the captain of the artillery. Brought forward, £2,192 13s 0d Sentries brought forward, £134 18s 4½d William La Roache, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Murdock McCleod, £3 16s 0½d John Baptist Mitchland, £3 16s 0½d John McAllister, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchell, £3 16s 0½d John McDonald, £3 16s 0½d, with 10s noted against his name John Newton, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Povin, £3 16s 0½d John Pislow, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Scotman, £3 16s 0½d James Shand, £3 16s 0½d John Swindell, £3 16s 0½d John Sheens, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson, £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Suffrell, £3 16s 0½d John Thomson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Tyler, £3 16s 0½d William Wilk, £3 16s 0½d William Waite, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Whorrell, £3 16s 0½d Sentries, total, £256 11s 8½d Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Total carried forward, £2,494 17s 2½d **Interpretations** Thomas Hall, captain of the Artillery Company, was the officer who signed the monthly accounts of powder, shot and gunners' stores for July, August and September. Command of the artillery and responsibility for its stores thus lay with one man, who answered to the Council both for the guns' readiness and for every pound of powder spent. Zedekiah Saunderson drew a sentry's pay here while also serving as the Company's groom at £2 0s 0d a quarter. The same pattern had appeared with Joseph Chamberlain, the carpenter's mate, and showed soldiers of the garrison filling the Company's lesser civil posts for a small extra wage. The note of 10s beside John McDonald's name matched similar notes against Jacob Brown of the Second Company and Thomas Jones of the Third. The sum was the same in each case, which suggested a fixed deduction or advance recorded against a few men's pay, perhaps a fine or a charge for lost equipment of the kind entered in the gunner's September account.
55	51	1763 Brought over£2494 17s 2½d Gunners Mates	The list of pay for the quarter continued with the gunner's mates, quarter gunners and matrosses of the Artillery Company.

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		Nathan Sampell Chief Mate £11 8s 1½d John Whitchurch £9 2s 6d Adam Watson £9 2s 6d James Long £9 2s 6d John Jacks £9 2s 6d Thomas Taylor £9 2s 6d John Shortley £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse £9 2s 6d £75 5s 7½d Quarter Gunners Andrew Barton £6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham £6 16s 10½d Daniel Songue £6 16s 10½d William Fletcher £6 16s 10½d George Nelson £6 16s 10½d William Hodges £6 16s 10½d John Cox £6 16s 10½d £54 15s 0d Matrosses William Benson £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton £4 11s 3d William Brown £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck £4 11s 3d Richard Broom £4 11s 3d John Bower £4 11s 3d John Coope £4 11s 3d John Criswell £4 11s 3d Thomas Collier £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner £4 11s 3d William McCullough £4 11s 3d Adam Critchton £4 11s 3d John Dowde £4 11s 3d Edward Durrant £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn Matrosses Carried over£73 0s 0d Carried over£2624 17s 10d	Brought forward, £2,494 17s 2½d Gunner's mates: Nathan Sampell, chief mate, £11 8s 1½d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d James Long, £9 2s 6d John Jacks, £9 2s 6d Thomas Taylor, £9 2s 6d John Shirtley, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, £9 2s 6d Gunner's mates, total, £75 5s 7½d Quarter gunners: Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones, £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham, £6 16s 10½d Daniel Songue, £6 16s 10½d William Fletcher, £6 16s 10½d George Nelson, £6 16s 10½d William Hodges, £6 16s 10½d John Cox, £6 16s 10½d Quarter gunners, total, £54 15s 0d Matrosses: William Benson, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 3d William Brown, £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck, £4 11s 3d Richard Broom, £4 11s 3d John Bower, £4 11s 3d John Coope, £4 11s 3d John Criswell, £4 11s 3d Thomas Collier, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner, £4 11s 3d William McCullough, £4 11s 3d Adam Critchton, £4 11s 3d John Dowde, £4 11s 3d Edward Durrant, £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward, £73 0s 0d Total carried forward, £2,624 17s 10d **Interpretations** The artillery was paid on a higher scale than the infantry. A matross received 1s a day against a sentry's 10d, a quarter gunner 1s 6d and a gunner's mate 2s, with the chief mate on 2s 6d. The premium reflected the skill needed to load, aim and fire cannon safely, and the Company's reliance on its guns as the island's main defence against attack from the sea. Adam Watson, one of the gunner's mates, was the sole executor and a legatee of Edward Jennings, who himself served as a matross. Jennings had therefore chosen a senior man of his own branch to administer his estate. The other legatees traced in the infantry companies showed that his friendships reached beyond the artillery, but his most trusted comrade came from among the gunners. Several artillerymen appeared elsewhere in the island's records. John Criswell also served as coxswain of the longboat, while John Jacks and John Shirtley paid ground rent for town plots on the roll of 30 September 1763. Nathan Sampell, the chief mate, was probably the Nathan Sample who held 25 acres of freehold and 8½ acres of leasehold land, which made him both a planter and a senior gunner.
56	52	17th October Brought over£2624 17s 10d Matrosses brought over£73 0s 0d Thomas McFarling £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows	The list of pay for the quarter concluded with the remaining matrosses of the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £2,624 17s 10d Matrosses brought forward, £73 0s 0d Thomas McFarling, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 3d

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		£4 11s 3d John Grainger £4 11s 3d Robert Gibson £4 11s 3d Nicholas Haughton £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hull £4 11s 3d James Hill £4 11s 3d Edward Jennings Died August 4th £1 15s 0d William Johnson £4 11s 3d John Jack £4 11s 3d Richard Kempton £4 11s 3d Bryan Lynch £4 11s 3d Daniel Maloney £4 11s 3d John Martin £4 11s 3d Barnard Millard £4 11s 3d Evan Nowland £4 11s 3d Thomas Noble £4 11s 3d John Pluck £4 11s 3d William Phillips £4 11s 3d William Poulton £4 11s 3d John Robinson £4 11s 3d Christopher Reynolds £4 11s 3d John Slake £4 11s 3d John Stow £4 11s 3d George Straight £4 11s 3d Samuel Smith £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith £4 11s 3d Andrew Sulivan £4 11s 3d William Snellson £4 11s 3d John Simcox £4 11s 3d John Surnet £4 11s 3d John Thomason £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts £4 11s 3d John Ward £4 11s 3d John Webley £4 11s 3d Eustace White £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young £4 11s 3d £239 0s 0d £2863 17s 10d	John Grainger, £4 11s 3d Robert Gilson, £4 11s 3d Nicholas Houghton, £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hill, £4 11s 3d James Hill, £4 11s 3d Edward Jennings, died 4 August, £1 15s 0d William Johnson, £4 11s 3d John Jack, £4 11s 3d Richard Kempton, £4 11s 3d Bryan Lynch, £4 11s 3d Daniel Maloney, £4 11s 3d John Martin, £4 11s 3d Barnard Millard, £4 11s 3d Evan Newland, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 3d John Pluck, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d Christopher Reynolds, £4 11s 3d John Slake, £4 11s 3d John Stow, £4 11s 3d George Streight, £4 11s 3d Samuel Smith, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 3d Andrew Sullivan, £4 11s 3d William Snellson, £4 11s 3d John Simcox, £4 11s 3d John Sinnot, £4 11s 3d John Thomason, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d John Ward, £4 11s 3d John Webley, £4 11s 3d Eustace White, £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young, £4 11s 3d Matrosses, total, £239 0s 0d Grand total for the quarter, £2,863 17s 10d **Interpretations** The grand total showed how heavily the island weighed on the Company's finances. Pay and allowances for a single quarter came to £2,863 17s 10d, or roughly £11,500 a year, while the planters' entire rent for the year collected on 30 September 1763 amounted to only £572 1s 6d. Rents thus covered about one twentieth of the wage bill alone, before any spending on stores, rice, cloth or fortifications. The Company kept St Helena not as a source of revenue but as a fortified watering and victualling station for its homeward fleets, and it accepted the island as a standing charge on its trade. Edward Jennings's entry closed the record of his life in the Company's books. He was paid 1s a day for 35 days, from 1 July to his death on 4 August, and the £1 15s 0d passed into the estate that Adam Watson administered. Three of his legatees, John Jack, Bryan Lynch and Evan Newland, served beside him as matrosses. The will therefore shared his cash and clothing most closely among the men of his own gun crews, with further gifts to friends in the infantry companies. George Streight, listed here as a matross, also drew £9 0s 0d a quarter as the Company's armourer. Like several other soldiers in the garrison, he combined his military duty with a skilled trade that the Company paid for separately.
57	53	1763 Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr Dr	The paymaster's account kept by Thomas Kirkpatrick recorded on its receipts side that he had

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1763 Septr 30th To Cash received £3099 7s 1d Carried over£3099 7s 1d Per Contra Cr 1763 July 13th By Cash paid Willm Brown and Richd Brothers for Carpenters Work on board the Fly Cutter 1 day at 3s each £0 6s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Landon Carpenter of the Snow Mercury for Do 15 days at 3s per day £2 5s 0d By Cash paid Lewis Baxter for 3¼ days caulking the Fly Cutter at 5s per day £0 16s 3d Augt 1. By Cash paid the Clerk of the Peace for Court Charges as per Bill £1 12s 0d 4 By Cash paid Thomas Brown for making Rudder Irons for the Fly Cutter 4 days @ 5s per day £1 0s 0d 7. By Cash paid Charles Snakenburg, Daniel Mahoney Cupadore, Joshua Ratcliff, William Ashelin, Charles Purefoy, David Pulbitsky, Fredek Jenkins George Frederick, Richard Oliphant, Tobias Lewis George Wade, George Finn, Thomas Dunn, Willm Jachliac, and Nicholas Kreiger belonging to the Snow Mercury 1 Mo Wages £35 0s 0d 22. By Cash paid Daniel Jackson late belonging to the Mercury Snow 3 Month Wages £6 15s 0d By Cash paid John Thomason for making a Flag for the Main, Banks's and Turks Cap, Forts £2 15s 0d Carried over£50 9s 3d	drawn cash totalling £3,099 7s 1d by 30 September 1763. Against this, he entered the following payments. On 13 July, he paid William Brown and Richard Brothers for a day's carpentry aboard the cutter *Fly* at 3s each, £0 6s 0d. He paid Thomas Landon, carpenter of the snow *Mercury*, for 15 days' carpentry on the *Fly* at 3s a day, £2 5s 0d. He paid Lewis Baxter for 3¼ days caulking the *Fly* at 5s a day, £0 16s 3d. 1 August, paid the clerk of the peace for court fees as shown in his bill, £1 12s 0d On 4 August, he paid Thomas Brown for 4 days making rudder irons for the *Fly* at 5s a day, £1 0s 0d. On 7 August, he paid one month's wages to the crew of the snow *Mercury*, £35 0s 0d. The men paid were Charles Snakenburg, Daniel Mahoney, Cupadore, Joshua Ratcliff, William Ashelin, Charles Purefoy, David Pulbitsky, Frederick Jirkins, George Frederick, Richard Oliphant, Tobias Lewis, George Wade, George Finn, Thomas Dunn, William Jackline and Nicholas Kreiger. On 22 August, he paid Daniel Jackson, formerly of the snow *Mercury*, three months' wages, £6 15s 0d. Paid John Thomason for making flags for the Main Fort, Banks's and Turk's Cap, £2 15s 0d Total carried forward, £50 9s 3d **Interpretations** The account showed the Company running its own small fleet at the island. The cutter *Fly* and the snow *Mercury* belonged to the Company, which paid their crews monthly wages and hired carpenters, caulkers and a smith to keep them seaworthy. The *Fly*'s new rudder irons and the carpentry and caulking done in July and August amounted to a thorough refit, carried out largely by skilled men drawn from the *Mercury* and the island. George Finn, discharged from the garrison on 20 July 1763 at the end of his term, appeared among the *Mercury*'s crew paid on 7 August. A soldier released on the island could leave only by ship, and taking a berth on a Company vessel gave him both wages and a way off St Helena. The *Mercury* sailed three days later, on 10 August 1763. The flags made by John Thomason replaced those recorded as worn out at the Main Fort, Banks's and Turk's Cap in the gunner's August account, restoring the signal flags on which the island's warning chain depended. Thomas Kirkpatrick served as the garrison's paymaster as well as a councillor and captain of the First Company. Handling more than £3,000 in a quarter, he held a post of great trust, and the Council's examination of his account at its meeting of 17 October 1763 was the check on how he spent it.
58	54	17th October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr 1763 Septembr 30th To Cash brought over £3099 7s 1d Carried over£3099 7s 1d	The receipts side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster's account continued with no new entries, carrying the same sum forward. 30 September 1763, cash brought forward, £3,099 7s 1d Total carried forward, £3,099 7s 1d
59	55	1763 Per Contra Cr 1763 Brought over£50 9s 3d By Cash paid Thomas Cryell for 10 Mo and 1 days Wages on board the Honorable Company's Ship Clive £12 11s 6d By Cash paid Christopher Reynolds 35 days as Carpenter on board the Fly Cutter at 1s 6d per day £2 12s 6d	The payments side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster's account continued with the following entries. Brought forward, £50 9s 3d He paid Thomas Criswell 10 months and 1 day's wages for service aboard the Company's ship *Clive*, £12 11s 6d. He paid Christopher Reynolds for 35 days' work as a carpenter aboard the cutter *Fly* at 1s 6d a day, £2 12s 6d, and for 18 days' work as a caulker aboard her at 2s 6d a day, £2 5s 0d. 28 September, paid Benjamin Mason for 85 loads of rushes at 6d a load, £2 2s 6d

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		By Cash paid Do for 18 days work as Caulker on board Do @ 2s 6d per day £2 5s 0d 28th By Cash paid Benj Mason for 25 Loads of Rushes at 1s 9d per L £2 2s 6d By Cash paid William Finch for Glaziers Work done this Quar £0 7s 6d By Cash paid James Procter for Sawing this Quarter for the Fly, the Church and Garden &c £3 14s 3d By Cash paid Mark Balls and Michael Read for Baking 117 Batches of Bread for the Garrison this Quarter 20d per Batch £9 15s 0d By Cash paid Do for 6 Batches of Biscuit for the Fly Cutter @ Do £0 10s 0d Septr 30th By Cash paid Robert Brown for Painters Work this Quarter £1 16s 0d By Cash paid Edward Durrant for work in the Armourers Shop this Quarter 20 days @ 1s 6d per day £1 10s 0d By Cash paid William Harris for 9 Weeks Work in Do this Quarter at 9s per W £4 1s 0d By Cash paid Willm Mumford for 5 Weeks Do at 6s per Week £1 10s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Townsend 83 days diet Lodging &c of Mr Adam Sheriff Chief Mate of the Fly Cutter at 4s per Day £16 12s 0d By Cash paid Do for Do of Mr David Moore second Mate Do at Do £16 12s 0d By Cash paid Richd Bagley for 1300 Lemons for the use of the Honorable Company £1 12s 6d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for Working the Long Boat this Quarter £3 18s 0d By Cash paid Do for Do on board the Fly Cutter £2 2s 0d By Cash paid Jon Doveton for 100 Apples and 6 Loads of Binders for the use of the Honble Company this Quarter £1 3s 0d By Cash Paid Robert Barclay for his care in the Hospital of Danl Scaffle Seaman belongg to the Mercury Snow 12 days at 7d per day £0 7s 0d By Cash paid Do for Do of John Barton belongg to the Fly Cutter 3 days at 7d per day £0 1s 9d Carried over£135 12s 9d	Paid William Finch for glazing work during the quarter, £0 7s 6d He paid James Procter for sewing done during the quarter for the *Fly*, the church, the garden and other uses, £3 14s 3d. Paid Mark Balls and Michael Brown for baking 117 batches of bread for the garrison during the quarter at 20d a batch, £9 15s 0d He paid the same two men for baking 6 batches of biscuit for the *Fly* at the same rate, £0 10s 0d. 30 September, paid Robert Brown for painting work during the quarter, £1 16s 0d Paid Edward Durrant for 20 days' work in the armourer's shop during the quarter at 1s 6d a day, £1 10s 0d Paid William Harris for 9 weeks' work in the armourer's shop during the quarter at 9s a week, £4 1s 0d Paid William Mumford for 5 weeks' work in the armourer's shop at 6s a week, £1 10s 0d He paid Thomas Townsend for 83 days' board and lodging for Adam Sherriff, chief mate of the *Fly*, at 4s a day, £16 12s 0d, and the same sum for David Moore, her second mate. Paid Richard Bagley for 1,300 lemons for the Company's use, £1 12s 6d Paid various soldiers of the garrison for working the longboat during the quarter, £3 12s 0d He paid the same soldiers for working aboard the *Fly*, £2 2s 0d. Paid Jonathan Doveton for 100 apples and 6 loads of binders for the Company during the quarter, £1 3s 0d He paid Robert Barclay for caring in the hospital for Daniel Scaffle, a seaman of the snow *Mercury*, for 12 days at 7d a day, £0 7s 0d, and for John Barton of the *Fly*, for 3 days at 7d a day, £0 1s 9d. Total carried forward, £135 12s 9d **Interpretations** The account showed the garrison serving as the island's labour force. Mark Balls and Michael Brown, sentries in the Third and Fourth Companies, baked the garrison's bread at 20d a batch. Edward Durrant, a matross, and William Mumford, a sentry, worked in the armourer's shop, and other soldiers crewed the longboat and the *Fly*. Each man earned these extra wages on top of his military pay, so the Company used its soldiers as a pool of skilled and unskilled workers without having to recruit civilian labour to the island. The surgeon Robert Barclay was paid 7d a day for each sick seaman he treated in the hospital. Charging the care of men from the *Mercury* and the *Fly* by the day, rather than including it in his salary, allowed the cost to be set against each vessel's account. The Company bought local produce from the island's leading planters. Richard Bagley supplied 1,300 lemons, which were valued at sea as a preventive against scurvy, and Jonathan Doveton supplied apples. The binders were probably bundles of flexible withies or rods used for tying thatch and fencing. The rushes bought from Benjamin Mason were perhaps for thatching roofs or spreading on floors in the barracks and storehouses. Lodging the *Fly*'s two mates ashore with the stonemason Thomas Townsend for 83 days cost the Company £33 4s 0d, more than a full year's salary for a writer. The mates evidently remained on the island while the cutter underwent the refit recorded in the earlier entries of the account.
60	56	17th October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr Dr 1763 September 30th To Cash brought over £3099 7s 1d £3099 7s 1d	The receipts side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster's account closed without further entries, showing the same sum as its final total. 30 September 1763, cash brought forward, £3,099 7s 1d Total, £3,099 7s 1d

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61	57	1763 Per Contra Cr 1763 Septr 30th Brought over£135 12s 9d By Cash paid Nockquedah Pockellum his allowance from the Honorable Company this Quarter £1 12s 6d By Cash paid Henry Harper for the Rent of a Room for Do £1 0s 0d By Cash paid the Drum Major for Instructing the Young Drummers this Quarter £1 0s 0d By Cash paid Richard Law for attending as Clerk of the Arraignmt at three General Quarter Session £1 2s 6d By Cash paid John Langridge for attending as Cryer of the Court the last Quarter Sessions £0 5s 0d By Cash paid Joachim Josee 30 Days Subsistence per Do £1 2s 6d By Cash paid Solomon Jacob for subsisting 5 discharged Soldiers at 6d a day each for 181 days £4 10s 6d By Cash paid Do for Do of Andrew Allen left out of the Ship Essex 28 days at 7½d per Day £0 17s 6d By Cash paid Do for Do of John Cummings left out of the Ship Prince of Wales 18 days at 6d per day £0 9s 0d By Cash paid Robert Suchurst for taking care of the Stock in the Longwood this Quarter £2 10s 0d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for comming express with accounts of Ships to Windward £1 15s 0d By Cash paid Do for 153 days work at the Water Trench at per Do £7 13s 0d By Cash paid Do for 123½ days work at the Steward Room £6 3s 6d By Cash paid Do for 137½ days Work in repairing the Fort Garden Walls & cutting wood for the Mercury and Fly Cutter £6 17s 6d By Cash paid Do for 551 days Work in burning Lime and repairing the works at Sandy Bay £27 11s 0d By Cash paid Do for 229 days work in the Pastures £11 9s 0d By Cash paid Do for 166 days Work in the Stores £8 6s 0d By Cash paid Do for 124 days on board the Fly Cutter £6 4s 0d By Cash paid Do for 123 days Carpenters Work £6 3s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Townsend for Work done by his Apprentice this Quarter £3 5s 0d £235 9s 3d By Cash paid the Honble Compys Officers & Servants their several Salarys Diet Money &c for the Quarter ending Septr the 30th 1763 £2863 17s 10d £3099 7s 1d Errors Excepted	The payments side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's paymaster's account concluded with the following entries, dated 30 September 1763. Brought forward, £135 12s 9d Paid Nakhoda Pockellum his allowance from the Company for the quarter, £1 12s 6d Paid Henry Harper rent for a room for the quarter, £1 0s 0d Paid the drum major for teaching the young drummers during the quarter, £1 0s 0d Paid Richard Law for serving as clerk of arraignments at three general quarter sessions, £1 2s 6d Paid John Langridge for serving as crier of the court at the last quarter sessions, £0 5s 0d Paid Joachim Topee for 30 days' subsistence at 9d a day, £1 2s 6d Paid Solomon Jacobs for feeding 5 discharged soldiers at 6d a day each for 181 days in all, £4 10s 6d He paid Solomon Jacobs for feeding Andrew Allen, left behind by the ship *Essex*, for 28 days at 7½d a day, £0 17s 6d, and for feeding John Cummings, left behind by the *Prince of Wales*, for 18 days at 6d a day, £0 9s 0d. Paid Robert Ticehurst for tending the livestock at Longwood during the quarter, £2 10s 0d Paid various soldiers of the garrison for running express messages with news of ships to windward, £1 15s 0d Paid the same soldiers for 153 days' work at the water trench at 1s a day, £7 13s 0d Paid the same soldiers for 123½ days' work at the steward's room, £6 3s 6d He paid the same soldiers for 137½ days repairing the walls of the fort garden and cutting wood for the *Mercury* and the *Fly*, £6 17s 6d. Paid the same soldiers for 551 days burning lime and repairing the defences at Sandy Bay, £27 11s 0d Paid the same soldiers for 229 days' work in the pastures, £11 9s 0d Paid the same soldiers for 166 days' work in the stores, £8 6s 0d He paid the same soldiers for 124 days' work aboard the *Fly*, £6 4s 0d. Paid the same soldiers for 123 days' carpentry, £6 3s 0d Paid Thomas Townsend for work done by his apprentice during the quarter, £3 5s 0d Subtotal, £235 9s 3d Paid the Company's officers and staff their salaries, meal allowances and other payments for the quarter ending 30 September 1763, £2,863 17s 10d Total, £3,099 7s 1d Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account as paymaster on 30 September 1763, reserving the right to correct any mistakes. **Interpretations** The soldiers' extra work was paid at a uniform 1s a day and came to more than 1,600 man-days in a single quarter. The largest task, 551 days at Sandy Bay, involved burning lime for mortar and repairing the defences there. Others worked the water trench that carried supplies to Jamestown and the shipping, tended the pastures, laboured in the stores and served aboard the *Fly*. The Company thus built and maintained the island's fortifications, water supply and farms almost entirely with its own garrison, paying each man a daily wage on top of his military pay. The payments for feeding stranded men showed the Company's obligations to those it could not yet ship away. Discharged soldiers such as George Finn, Lewis King, Lewis Lemfried and Henry Scharenhorst had to wait for a vessel, and the Company paid Solomon Jacobs, the adjutant, 6d a day to feed them. Seamen left behind sick by the *Essex* and the *Prince of Wales* were fed at the Company's cost until they

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		St Helena (signed) Per Thos Kirkpatrick Paymr Septr 30th 1763	recovered or found another ship, and their subsistence would probably be charged later to the owners of the vessels that left them. The island held regular quarter sessions, a criminal court on the English model, with a clerk to read the charges and a crier to call the court to order. Richard Law, the young factor, earned an extra fee as clerk, while John Langridge, a sentry, served as crier. Nakhoda was an Asian title for the master of a trading vessel, so Nakhoda Pockellum was probably a captain from India or the Malay world living on the island on a Company allowance. Joachim Topee, fed at 9d a day, may likewise have been a stranded Asian or Portuguese seaman awaiting passage. The express messengers who ran with news of ships sighted to windward completed the warning chain described in the gunner's accounts. Where guns and flags gave the first alarm, runners carried the detail of what had been seen from the lookout posts to the Governor at the Castle.
62	58	17th October Collection of Goods Sold and delivered from 1st July to the 30th September 1763 vizt Sold to the Honorable Company's Servants at 10 per Cent Rice and Paddy vizt Rice 38 Cwt 1 qr 8 lb £17 8s 1d Paddy 41 Cwt 2 qrs 3 lb £8 16s 5d £26 4s 6d Sugar and Candy vizt Sugar 59 Cwt 2 qrs 6 lb £110 4s 8d Candy 19 Cwt 3 qrs 8 lb £55 10s 0d £165 14s 8d Flour vizt Flour 4647 lb £33 17s 8d Do Baked 266 Cwt 2 qrs 2 lb £248 15s 0d £282 12s 8d Shoes vizt Mens Ordinary Shoes 142 Pr £31 7s 2d Mens Fine Do 31 Pr £9 8s 7d Mens Fine Pumps 23 Pr £6 6s 6d Channel Do 6 Pr £1 19s 9d Boys Shoes 27 Pr £4 12s 3d Girls Do 10 Pr £1 2s 6d Womens Calimanco Do 24 Pr £5 2s 0d Womens Spanish Do 11 Pr £2 6s 9d Womens Calf Do	The storekeeper's return of goods sold and issued between 1 July and 30 September 1763 opened with the sales made to the Company's own staff at cost plus 10 per cent. Rice and unhusked rice: Rice, 30 cwt 1 qr 8 lb, £17 8s 1d Unhusked rice, 41 cwt 2 qr 3 lb, £8 16s 5d Rice and unhusked rice, total, £26 4s 6d Sugar and sugar candy: Sugar, 59 cwt 0 qr 6 lb, £110 4s 8d Sugar candy, 19 cwt 3 qr 8 lb, £55 10s 0d Sugar and sugar candy, total, £165 14s 8d Flour: Flour, 4,647 lb, £33 17s 8d Flour issued as baked bread, 266 cwt 2 qr 2 lb, £248 15s 0d Flour, total, £282 12s 8d Shoes: 142 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £31 7s 2d 31 pairs of men's fine shoes, £9 8s 7d 23 pairs of men's fine pumps, £6 6s 6d 6 pairs of channel pumps, £1 19s 9d 27 pairs of boys' shoes, £4 12s 3d 10 pairs of girls' shoes, £1 2s 6d 24 pairs of women's calimanco shoes, £5 2s 0d 11 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £2 6s 9d 20 pairs of women's calfskin shoes, £2 18s 4d Shoes, total, £65 3s 10d Sewing goods and trimmings: 5¼ gross of white waistcoat buttons, £0 16s 8½d 4 gross of shirt buttons, £0 9s 9d 88 skeins of silk thread, £2 4s 0d 72 skeins of mohair thread, £1 10s 0d 14 pieces of Holland tape, £0 9s 7½d 4 pieces of carnation tape, £0 2s 6d 8 gross of button moulds, £0 3s 4d 36½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £1 7s 4½d Sewing goods and trimmings carried forward, £7 3s 3½d Total carried forward, £539 15s 8d **Interpretations** The Company acted as the island's only large shopkeeper, selling imported goods from its stores to its own officials, soldiers and staff at cost plus 10 per cent. The fixed margin covered freight, handling and losses such as the spoiled cask of Irish beef, while keeping prices well below what private traders could charge on a remote island with no rival supplier. Since almost every buyer drew Company wages, the sales returned a large part of the quarter's pay bill to the Company's treasury, and the value was probably often settled by deduction from wages. Bread was by far the largest item, with more than 266 cwt of flour issued as baked loaves at £248 15s 0d.

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		20 Pr £2 18s 4d £65 3s 10d Haberdashery vizt White Waistcoat Buttons 5¼ Gross £0 16s 8½d Shirt Buttons 4 Gross £0 9s 9d Silk 88 Skains £2 4s 0d Mohair 72 Skains £1 10s 0d Holland Tape 14 Pr £0 9s 7½d Carnation Do 4 Pr £0 2s 6d [...] Mettles 8 Gross £0 3s 4d Mohair Coat Buttons 36½ Doz £1 7s 4½d Haberdashery Carried over£7 3s 3½d Carried over£539 15s 8d	This was the output of the soldiers Mark Balls and Michael Brown, whom the paymaster paid for baking 117 batches for the garrison during the same quarter. The garrison thus bought its daily bread from the Company's own ovens, baked by its own men, from the Company's own flour. Several goods would be unfamiliar today. Pumps were light, low-cut shoes without fastenings, and channel pumps had their soles stitched into a groove cut in the leather so the thread would not wear through. Calimanco was a glossy worsted wool cloth, used here for women's shoe uppers. Spanish leather was fine goatskin tanned in the Moorish manner, the same material as cordovan. Holland tape was narrow linen braid, named after the Dutch linen trade, and carnation tape was dyed a pinkish red. Button moulds were small discs of wood or bone that a tailor covered with cloth or thread to make buttons that matched a garment. Sugar candy sold at exactly 6d a pound to the staff, though the Company's own table was charged only 4d a pound for it. The difference suggested that the Governor's table drew its stores at a lower internal valuation, while private purchasers paid the full cost of freight and handling on top.
63	59	1763 Brought over£539 15s 8d Haberdashery brought over£7 3s 3½d Mohair breast Buttons 31 doz £0 11s 7½d Gilt Breast Do 5 doz £0 8s 9d Silver Wire Breast Do 5½ doz £0 12s 7d Plated Coat Do 2 doz £0 3s 8d Yellow Metal Coat Do 1 doz £0 0s 7d £9 0s 6d Oars 21 £4 9s 3d Beef and Pork vizt Beef 3219 lb £32 18s 0d Pork 3853 lb £385 6s 0d £418 4s 0d Tea vizt Bohea 841 lb £38 10s 11d Congo 221 lb £16 2s 3d Singlo 330 lb £23 11s 3d £78 4s 5d Oil vizt Linseed 16⅞ Galls £3 11s 8d	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the Company's staff continued as follows. Brought forward, £539 15s 8d Sewing goods and trimmings brought forward, £7 3s 3½d 31 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 11s 7½d 5 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 8s 9d 5½ dozen silver wire breast buttons, £0 12s 7d 2 dozen plated coat buttons, £0 3s 8d 1 dozen yellow metal coat buttons, £0 0s 7d Sewing goods and trimmings, total, £9 0s 6d 21 oars, £4 9s 3d Beef and pork: 329 pieces of salt beef, £32 18s 0d 3,853 pieces of salt pork, £385 6s 0d Beef and pork, total, £418 4s 0d Tea: 841 lb of bohea tea, £38 10s 11d 221 lb of congou tea, £16 2s 3d 330 lb of singlo tea, £23 11s 3d Tea, total, £78 4s 5d Oil: 16⅞ gallons of linseed oil, £3 11s 8d 23 bottles of Florence oil, £3 12s 10d Oil, total, £7 4s 6d Broadcloth: 9⅝ yards of scarlet, £10 4s 0d 3⅜ yards of pompadour, £3 14s 3d 29⅞ yards of blue, £29 12s 6d ⅝ yard of green, £0 14s 9d 10¾ yards of brown, £10 6s 11d 6¼ yards of black, £5 11s 11d 3 yards of French grey, £2 17s 9d Broadcloth, total, £63 2s 1d Thread: 8 lb of white and brown thread, £2 18s 8d 21 lb of coloured thread, £3 15s 3d Thread, total, £6 13s 11d 466 lb of soap, £16 19s 9d Small hardware: 26 horn combs, £0 4s 4d 6 pairs of shoe buckles, £0 3s 6d Small hardware carried forward, £0 7s 10d Total carried forward, £1,143 14s 1d **Interpretations**

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		Florence 23 Bottles £3 12s 10d £7 4s 6d Broad Cloth vizt Scarlet 19⅛ Yards £10 4s 0d Pompadore 3⅞ Yards £3 14s 3d Blue 29⅛ Yards £29 12s 6d Green ⅝ Yards £0 14s 9d Brown 10¾ Yards £10 6s 11d Black 6¼ Yards £5 11s 11d Fr. Grey 3 Yards £2 17s 9d £63 2s 1d Thread vizt W. Brown 8 lb £2 18s 8d Coloured 21 lb £3 15s 3d £6 13s 11d Sope 466 lb £16 19s 9d Cuttlery Ware vizt Horn Combs 26 £0 4s 4d Shoe Buckles 6 Pr £0 3s 6d Cuttlery Ware Carried over£0 7s 10d Carried over£1143 14s 1d	Tea reached the island direct from Canton aboard the Company's ships, and the prices showed how cheap it was there. Bohea, the coarsest black tea and the everyday drink of ordinary buyers, sold at 11d a pound. Congou, a better black tea, and singlo, a green tea, both fetched about 1s 5d a pound. In England the same teas carried heavy customs and excise duties and commonly retailed for several shillings a pound. The island's staff, buying at cost plus 10 per cent without English taxes, drank tea at a fraction of what their counterparts at home paid, and the 1,392 lb sold in one quarter showed how widely the habit had spread through the garrison. Salt beef and pork were sold at a flat 2s a piece, and the 4,182 pieces sold in the quarter made meat the largest single item after bread. The quantity, with pork outnumbering beef by more than ten to one, pointed to salt pork as the staple ration of the soldiers and their families, bought from the stores out of their pay. Florence oil was fine olive oil from Tuscany, shipped in thin glass flasks wrapped in straw and used for cooking and salads. Linseed oil, pressed from flax seed, served for mixing paint and treating wood. Pompadour was a fashionable crimson-purple shade named after Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV of France. French grey was a pale blue-grey. The broadcloth sold was a fine, closely woven wool from the West Country of England. The scarlet and blue lengths were probably bought by officers for regimental coats and facings, while the gilt, plated and silver wire buttons sold alongside them finished the dress uniforms and waistcoats of the island's gentlemen.
64	60	17th October Brought over£1143 14s 1d Cuttlery brought over£0 7s 10d Knee Buckels 4 Pr £0 1s 4d Leather Garters 15 Pr £0 5s 7½d Ivory Handle Knives & Forks 4 Doz £4 19s 0d Ivory Combs 15 £0 15s 7½d Buck Handle Knives and Forks 12 £0 11s 2d Pruning Knives 2 £0 1s 7d Choping Knife 1 £0 1s 3½d Butchers Do 7 £0 2s 11d Shoe Do	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the Company's staff continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,143 14s 1d Small hardware brought forward, £0 7s 10d 4 pairs of knee buckles, £0 1s 4d 15 pairs of leather garters, £0 5s 7½d 4 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £4 19s 0d 15 ivory combs, £0 15s 7½d 12 buckhorn-handled knives and forks, £0 11s 2d 2 pruning knives, £0 1s 7d 1 chopping knife, £0 1s 3½d 7 butcher's knives, £0 2s 11d 2 shoemaker's knives, £0 0s 9d 1 case of fleams, £0 2s 1½d Small hardware, total, £7 9s 3d Paint: 27 lb of blue smalt, £2 0s 6d 45 lb of white lead ground in oil, £1 0s 7½d 7 lb of verdigris, £1 10s 11d 273 lb of whiting, £0 11s 0d 18 lb of indigo, £1 14s 6d 2 oz of Prussian blue, £0 4s 0½d 91 lb of dry white lead, £1 12s 2½d 14 bars of blacking, £0 7s 7d 2¼ lb of copperas, £0 2s 5½d 1¼ lb of umber, £0 0s 4½d 22 lb of stone colour, £0 11s 11d 3¼ lb of sky blue, £0 6s 7½d

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		2 £0 0s 9d Case Fleams 1 £0 2s 1½d £7 9s 3d Paint vizt Blue Smalt 27 lb £2 0s 6d White Lead mixed 45 lb £1 0s 7½d Verdegrease 7 lb £1 10s 11d Whiting 273 lb £0 11s 0d Indico 18 lb £1 14s 6d Prussian Blue 2 oz £0 4s 0½d White Lead dry 91 lb £1 12s 2½d Barrs Blacking 14 lb £0 7s 7d Copperas 2½ lb £0 2s 5½d Umber 1½ lb £0 0s 4½d Stone Colour 22 lb £0 11s 11d Sky Blue 3¼ lb £0 6s 7½d Venn Red dry 2 lb £0 0s 5d Do Mixed 3 lb £0 1s 7d Olive Colour 8 lb £0 15s 8d Mahogany 3 lb £0 7s 6d £11 7s 11d China Ware vizt bowls 44 £2 15s 0d Blue & White Saucers 82 £1 10s 9d Chamber Pots 7 £0 12s 10d Sets Dishes and Plates 17 £17 9s 11d Quart Pint Cups and Saucers 36 £0 15s 0d Tea Pots 10 £0 15s 0d Salts	2 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 0s 5d 3 lb of Venetian red ground in oil, £0 1s 7d 8 lb of olive colour, £0 15s 8d 3 lb of mahogany colour, £0 7s 6d Paint, total, £11 7s 11d Porcelain: 44 bowls, £2 15s 0d 82 small blue and white bowls, £1 10s 9d 7 chamber pots, £0 12s 10d 7 sets of dishes and plates, £17 9s 11d 36 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 15s 6d 10 teapots, £0 15s 0d 4 salt cellars, £0 2s 9d 7 blue and white water bottles with basins, £1 3s 4d Porcelain carried forward, £25 5s 1d Total carried forward, £1,162 11s 3d **Interpretations** The porcelain was Chinese export ware brought from Canton aboard the Company's ships. Heavy, waterproof and cheap in bulk, it was commonly packed low in the hold beneath the tea chests, where it helped steady the ship and kept the tea above any bilge water. The island received it at Canton prices, which put full dinner services and teapots within reach of its officials and settlers at a cost far below that paid in England. The small bowls, which the manuscript called sneakers, were a size used for tea or for single servings of punch. The water bottles, called guglets in the Company's Indian usage, were long-necked porous jars that kept drinking water cool by evaporation, sold here with matching washing basins. The paints showed the island's householders decorating their own houses with pigments ground or mixed by hand. Smalt was powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, and verdigris a green made by corroding copper with vinegar. Whiting was finely ground chalk, used in distemper and putty. Prussian blue, a deep synthetic pigment invented in Berlin early in the century, was so costly that it sold by the ounce. Copperas was iron sulphate, used for dark stains and ink. Umber and Venetian red were earth pigments, while stone colour, olive colour and mahogany colour were ready-mixed shades for imitating stonework and fine wood. Fleams were small spring-loaded or folding lancets used to bleed horses and cattle, a routine treatment in eighteenth-century animal care. Their sale alongside butcher's and pruning knives reflected a buying public made up largely of planters working their own farms and stock.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 £0 2s 9d Blue & White Juglets & Basons 7 £1 3s 4d China Ware Carried over£25 5s 1d Carried over£1162 11s 3d	
65	61	1763 Brought over£1162 11s 3d China Ware brought over£25 5s 1d Half Pint Mugs and Saucers 30 £1 6s 8d Sallad Dishes 7 £0 6s 5d Enameld Saucers 4 £0 1s 10d Soop Dishes 3 £1 3s 2d Soop Plates 12 £0 3s 11d Sauce Boats 2 £0 0s 11d Mugs 4 £0 6s 8d £28 16s 8d Pitch and Tar vizt Pitch 33 lb £0 4s 9d Tar 10 Galls £0 8s 4d Turpentine 16 lb £0 3s 0d Rozin 31 lb £0 6s 4d £1 2s 5d Hooks and Lines Hooks No 1 425 £1 2s 3½d Hooks No 2 1775 £2 19s 2d Hooks No 3 1400 £1 9s 2d Hooks No 5 30 £0 1s 0½d Hooks No 14 500 £0 4s 4½d Hooks No 15 675 £0 5s 10½d Hooks No 16 600 £0 5s 3d Hooks No 12 575 £0 2s 10½d Hooks No 13 175 £0 0s 10½d Lines No 2	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the Company's staff continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,162 11s 3d Porcelain brought forward, £25 5s 1d 30 half-pint cups and saucers, £1 6s 8d 7 salad dishes, £0 6s 5d 4 small enamelled bowls, £0 1s 10d 3 soup dishes, £1 3s 2d 12 soup plates, £0 5s 11d 2 sauce boats, £0 0s 11d 4 mugs, £0 6s 8d Porcelain, total, £28 16s 8d Pitch and tar: 33 lb of pitch, £0 4s 9d 10 gallons of tar, £0 8s 4d 16 lb of turpentine, £0 3s 0d 31 lb of rosin, £0 6s 4d Pitch and tar, total, £1 2s 5d Fish hooks and lines: 425 hooks of size 1, £1 2s 3½d 1,775 hooks of size 2, £2 19s 2d 1,400 hooks of size 3, £1 9s 2d 30 hooks of size 5, £0 1s 0½d 500 hooks of size 14, £0 4s 4½d 675 hooks of size 15, £0 5s 10½d 600 hooks of size 16, £0 5s 3d 575 hooks of size 12, £0 2s 10½d 175 hooks of size 13, £0 0s 10½d 409 lines of size 2, £6 4s 11d 268 lines of size 3, £4 5s 7d 24 lines of size 4, £0 8s 10d 10 Hamburg lines, £0 15s 0d 14 log lines, £0 15s 9d Fish hooks and lines, total, £19 1s 0d Earthenware, 6 milk pans, £0 5s 0d Starch, 78¼ lb, £1 9s 5d Buckram, 11½ yards, £0 11s 0d Twine: 6 skeins of marline, £0 1s 4½d 48 skeins of twine, £1 10s 0d 5 lb of cotton wick, £0 12s 11½d Twine, total, £2 4s 4d Total carried forward, £1,216 1s 1d **Interpretations** More than 6,000 fish hooks and 700 lines were sold in a single quarter, which showed fishing as a major source of food for the island's households. The waters around St Helena were rich in fish, and a family that fished from the rocks or a small boat could supplement the salt meat and costly livestock sold by the Company. The quantity also fitted the pattern of the Company's own flocks shrinking through the winter, when fresh mutton was scarce even at the Governor's table. The pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine were the materials for maintaining boats. Tar and pitch sealed seams and preserved rope, while rosin and turpentine were melted with them to make the compounds used in caulking. Marline was a thin two-stranded tarred line used for binding the ends of ropes and lashing gear. Their sale to private buyers suggested that a number of islanders kept their own fishing boats. Hamburg lines were strong hemp fishing lines of the kind made and exported through Hamburg. Log lines were knotted lines run out over a ship's stern to measure its speed through the water, and their sale here suggested buyers among the crews of the *Fly* and the *Mercury* or the island's boatmen. Buckram was a coarse

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		409 £6 4s 11d Lines No 3 268 £4 5s 7d Lines No 4 24 £0 8s 10d Lines Hambro 10 £0 15s 0d Lines Log 14 £0 15s 9d £19 1s 0d Earthen Ware Milk Pans 6 £0 5s 0d Starch 74 lb £1 9s 5d Bucklam 11½ Yards £0 11s 0d Twine vizt Marline 6 Sks £0 1s 4½d Twine 48 Sks £1 10s 0d Cotton Wick 5 lb £0 12s 11½d £2 4s 4d Carried over£1216 1s 1d	linen stiffened with glue or size, used by tailors to give shape to collars, cuffs and coat fronts.
66	62	17th October Brought over£1216 1s 1d Coffee 24 lb £1 2s 0d Chellows 41 Pieces £19 16s 4d Cordage 419¼ lb £8 6s 1d Flannel 3 Yards £0 6s 8d Candles 184 lb £19 18s 2d Blankets 24 £6 12s 0d Desotees 31 Pieces £16 13s 3d Iron Pots vizt Iron Pot of 4 Gallons 1 £0 4s 8d Do 13 Do 1 £0 13s 2d Small Iron Kettle 1 £1 12s 0d Do 1 £0 4s 6d Iron Pot of 2 Gallons 1 £0 2s 9d	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the Company's staff continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,216 1s 1d Coffee, 24 lb, £1 2s 0d Chelloes, 41 pieces, £19 16s 4d Cordage, 419¾ lb, £8 6s 1d Flannel, 5 yards, £0 6s 8d Candles, 184 lb, £19 18s 2d Blankets, 24, £6 12s 0d Dosooty cloth, 31 pieces, £16 13s 3d Iron pots: 1 iron pot of 4 gallons, £0 4s 8d 1 iron pot of 13 gallons, £0 13s 2d 1 small iron kettle, £1 12s 0d 1 small iron kettle, £0 4s 6d 1 iron pot of 2 gallons, £0 2s 9d Iron pots, total, £2 17s 1d Turned and woven wares: 4 flaskets, £0 10s 0d 22 shoe brushes, £0 13s 9d 11 paint brushes, £0 5s 9½d 10 punch ladles, £0 6s 2½d 6 scrubbing brushes, £0 15s 0d 9 hair brooms, £1 2s 6d 5 clothes brushes, £0 7s 6d 3 hair sieves, £0 6s 9d 4 labourers' baskets, £0 3s 4d 1 wooden ladle, £0 0s 4½d 4 plasterers' brushes, £0 5s 0d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 5½d Turned and woven wares, total, £4 16s 11d Arrack, 404 gallons, £101 0s 0d Salt, 29⅞ bushels, £4 19s 6d Ticking, 35¾ yards, £4 15s 4d Pepper, 63 lb, £1 15s 5d Long ells, 76¼ yards, £7 6s 1d Woollen and mixed cloths: ¼ piece of sagathy, £0 19s 9d 2 pieces of fustian, £4 9s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£2 17s 1d Turners Ware vizt Flaskets 4 £0 10s 0d Shoe Brushes 22 £0 13s 9d Paint Do 11 £0 5s 9½d Punch Ladles 10 £0 6s 2½d Scrubing Brushes 6 £0 15s 0d Hair Brooms 9 £1 2s 6d Cloth Brushes 5 £0 7s 6d Hair Sieves 3 £0 6s 9d Laborers Baskets 4 £0 3s 4d Wood Ladle 1 £0 0s 4½d Plaisterers Brushes 4 £0 5s 0d Birch Broom 1 £0 0s 5½d £4 16s 11d Arrack 404 Gallons £101 0s 0d Salt 29⅛ Bushels £4 14s 6d Ticking 35¾ Yards £4 15s 4d Pepper 63 lb £1 15s 5d Long Ells 76¼ Yards £7 6s 1d Serge vizt Sagatha 1¼ Pr £0 19s 9d Fustian 2 Pr £4 9s 6d Blue Serge 39¾ Yards £10 5s 4d Scarlet Do 1 Yard £0 6s 8d Scarlet Duffil ¾ Yd £0 7s 10d £16 9s 1d Carried over£1432 15s 6d	39¾ yards of blue serge, £10 5s 4d 1½ yards of scarlet serge, £0 6s 8d ¾ yard of scarlet duffel, £0 7s 10d Woollen and mixed cloths, total, £16 9s 1d Total carried forward, £1,432 15s 6d **Interpretations** Arrack was the largest single sale on the page, with 404 gallons sold at 5s a gallon for £101 0s 0d. As the only lawful source of spirits in quantity, the Company's stores controlled how much drink reached the garrison and the settlers. Selling at cost plus a small margin kept the price low enough to deter smuggling from passing ships, while the storekeeper's record of every gallon let the Council watch consumption on an island where drunkenness among soldiers was a constant concern. The cloth sold combined goods from both ends of the Company's trade. Chelloes and dosooty came from India. Dosooty was a coarse, strong cotton woven with doubled threads in Bengal, used for sacking, sails and hard-wearing clothes. From England came long ells, a light worsted woollen that the Company exported chiefly to China, and serge, a durable twilled wool. Sagathy was a thin woollen or silk-and-wool serge, fustian a hard-wearing twill of linen and cotton, and duffel a heavy woollen with a thick nap. Ticking was a strong, tightly woven linen used for mattress and pillow covers, since its close weave kept feathers from working through. A flasket was a long, shallow basket with handles at each end, used for carrying laundry or produce. The hair brooms and sieves were made with horsehair, and the punch ladles, often turned from wood, served the bowls of punch that the arrack largely went to make.
67	63	1763 Brought over£1432 15s 6d Long Cloth vizt	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the Company's staff continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,432 15s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		No 6 17 Pr £26 4s 2d Do 7 7½ Pr £10 15s 7d Do 3 21 Pr £61 10s 3d Do 4 3½ Pr £6 11s 3d Do 2 8 Pr £30 10s 0d Do 5 4 Pr £9 1s 4d £144 12s 7d Glass Ware vizt Wine Glasses 84 £2 13s 4d Beer Do 10 £0 13s 4d Tumblers 43 £1 7s 9d Pint Decanters 3 £0 9s 4½d Sqr Glass 6 by 8 49 £0 14s 3½d Do 8 by 10 48 £1 11s 0d Do 10 by 12 11 £0 10s 1d Do 11 by 17½ 7 £0 8s 9d Quart Decanters 3 £0 11s 4d £8 19s 3d Hats vizt Mens fine 12 £11 12s 6d Boys 9 £2 19s 7d £14 12s 1d Shirts vizt Shirts 147 £36 15s 0d Rolers 11 £0 7s 9½d Brown Holland 41 Yards £4 2s 10½d Irish Linen 1½ Pr £2 11s 9d £43 17s 5d Tin Ware vizt Lamps 6 £0 5s 2½d Quart Sauce Pans 4	Long cloth: 17 pieces of grade 6, £26 4s 2d 7⅙ pieces of grade 7, £10 15s 7d 21 pieces of grade 3, £61 10s 3d 3½ pieces of grade 4, £6 11s 3d 8 pieces of grade 2, £30 10s 0d 4 pieces of grade 5, £9 1s 4d Long cloth, total, £144 12s 7d Glassware: 84 wine glasses, £2 13s 4d 10 beer glasses, £0 13s 4d 43 tumblers, £1 7s 9d 3 pint decanters, £0 9s 4½d 49 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 14s 3½d 48 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £1 11s 0d 11 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 10s 1d 7 panes of window glass, 11 by 17¾ inches, £0 8s 9d 3 quart decanters, £0 11s 4d Glassware, total, £8 19s 3d Hats: 12 men's fine hats, £11 12s 6d 9 boys' hats, £2 19s 7d Hats, total, £14 12s 1d Shirts and linen: 147 shirts, £36 15s 0d 11 rollers, £0 7s 9½d 41 yards of brown holland, £4 2s 10½d 1½ pieces of Irish linen, £2 11s 9d Shirts and linen, total, £43 17s 5d Tinware: 5 lamps, £0 5s 2½d 4 quart saucepans, £0 1s 10d 2 riveted horn lanterns, £0 10s 8d 2 small riveted horn lanterns, £0 7s 8d ¼ lb of sal ammoniac, £0 1s 4d 2 dripping pans, £0 7s 11d 3 pudding pans, £0 3s 9d Tinware carried forward, £1 18s 4½d Total carried forward, £1,644 16s 10d **Interpretations** The 147 ready-made shirts, sold at a uniform 5s each, were the everyday wear of the garrison, bought by the soldiers out of their pay. Shirts were a real part of a soldier's wealth, which explained why Edward Jennings's will disposed of his shirts one pair at a time among his comrades. Brown holland was unbleached linen, cheaper and coarser than the finished white cloth, and Irish linen was the fine linen of Ulster used for better shirts and household goods. The rollers were probably roller towels, long lengths of linen joined in a loop and hung on a wooden roller. The window glass sold in four sizes of pane showed island houses being glazed with small panes set in wooden sash bars. Glass was blown into large discs and then cut into these standard rectangles, the largest panes being the most costly because they required the widest and flattest part of the disc. Horn lanterns had windows of horn scraped and pressed until thin enough to let light through, which made them far tougher than glass for use outdoors, aboard boats or in stables. Sal ammoniac, ammonium chloride, was sold with the tinware because tinsmiths used it as a flux to clean metal before soldering, so buyers could mend their own pots and pans. The long cloth came from Madras, delivered by the *Clinton* in September, and was graded by number from the finest to the coarsest. The single largest sale on the page, 21 pieces of grade 3 for £61 10s 3d, showed how much of the island's cotton clothing and bedding depended on Indian weaving.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 1s 10d Ricked Horn Lanthorns 2 £0 10s 8d Small Do Do 2 £0 7s 8d Sal Ammoniac ¼ lb £0 1s 4d Driping Pans 2 £0 7s 11d Pudding Pans 3 £0 3s 9d Tin Ware Carried over£1 18s 4½d Carried over£1644 16s 10d	
68	64	17th October Brought over£1644 16s 10d Tin Ware brought over£1 18s 4½d Watering Pot 1 £0 5s 9½d Sheet Tin 1 £0 0s 4½d Camp Kettle 1 £0 2s 1½d £2 6s 8d Kersey 51 Yards £3 16s 6d Canvas vizt Eng. Canvas 23½ Yards £1 7s 11d Ovenbrigs 28¼ Yards £1 7s 3d Sicklenburgs 64 Yards £3 8s 0d £6 3s 2d Hosiers Ware vizt Boys Stockings 18 Pr £1 19s 0d Mens Eng Cotton Stockings 18 Pr £7 2s 6d Mens Worsd Do 14 Pr £2 16s 0d Womens Do 8 Pr £1 4s 4d Thread Do 32 Pr £4 14s 8d Mens Knit Do 1 Pr £0 3s 0d £17 19s 6d Shalloon vizt Coloured 110⅛ Yds £11 0s 3d Scarlet 41½ Yds £5 7s 11d £16 8s 2d Braziers Ware vizt Steel Snuffers	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the Company's staff continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,644 16s 10d Tinware brought forward, £1 18s 4½d 1 watering can, £0 5s 9½d 1 sheet of tin, £0 0s 4½d 1 camp kettle, £0 2s 1½d Tinware, total, £2 6s 8d Kersey, 51 yards, £3 16s 6d Canvas and coarse linen: 23½ yards of English canvas, £1 7s 11d 28¼ yards of osnaburg, £1 7s 3d 64 yards of ticklenburg, £3 8s 0d Canvas and coarse linen, total, £6 3s 2d Stockings: 18 pairs of boys' stockings, £1 19s 0d 18 pairs of men's English cotton stockings, £7 2s 6d 14 pairs of men's worsted stockings, £2 16s 0d 8 pairs of women's stockings, £1 4s 4d 32 pairs of linen thread stockings, £4 14s 8d 1 pair of men's knitted stockings, £0 3s 0d Stockings, total, £17 19s 6d Shalloon: 110⅛ yards of coloured shalloon, £11 0s 3d 41⅙ yards of scarlet shalloon, £5 7s 11d Shalloon, total, £16 8s 2d Brass and copper wares: 3 pairs of steel candle snuffers, £0 9s 1½d 1 skimmer, £0 6s 7½d 2 tea kettles of 3 quarts, £1 7s 1d 2 tea kettles of 6 quarts, £1 19s 8d 1 pair of candlesticks, £0 8s 3d 1 bottling tap, £0 2s 6d 2 large brass taps, £0 12s 1d Brass and copper wares, total, £5 5s 4d Ironware: 14 spring rat traps, £1 3s 4d 5 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £2 1s 3d 8 hand hatchets, £0 14s 0d 4 cupboard locks, £0 14s 4d 1 stock lock, £0 3s 0½d 1 barrack lock, £0 5s 6d Ironware carried forward, £5 1s 5½d Total carried forward, £1,696 16s 2d **Interpretations** Osnaburg and ticklenburg were coarse, unbleached linens named after the German towns of Osnabrück and Tecklenburg, where they were first woven. Across the Atlantic world they were the standard cloth for clothing slaves and labourers, cheap and hard-wearing enough to survive field work. Their sale here, alongside kersey, a coarse ribbed woollen, suggested that island households bought them chiefly to clothe their slaves and working servants. Shalloon was a light, closely woven worsted, used mainly to line coats. The scarlet shalloon was probably

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 Pr £0 9s 1½d Skimmer 1 £0 6s 7½d Tea Kettles of 3 Quarts 2 £1 7s 1d Do of 6 Do 2 £1 19s 8d Candlesticks 1 Pr £0 8s 3d Bottling Cock 1 £0 2s 6d Large Brass Cocks 2 £0 12s 1d £5 5s 4d Iron Ware vizt Spring Rat Traps 14 £1 3s 4d Iron rimd Locks with B Knobs 5 £2 1s 3d Hand Hatchets 8 £0 14s 0d Closet Locks 4 £0 14s 4d Stock Lock 1 £0 3s 0½d Barrack Lock 1 £0 5s 6d Iron Ware Carried over£5 1s 5½d Carried over£1696 16s 2d	bought to line the officers' red coats, matching the scarlet broadcloth sold earlier in the quarter. The 14 spring rat traps pointed to a persistent pest. Rats had come ashore from visiting ships and multiplied on the island, damaging crops, stored grain and yams, and householders bought traps from the Company's stores to protect their provisions. A stock lock was a large lock set in a wooden case and fixed to the face of an outer door, while the barrack lock was a heavier pattern of the kind used on the garrison's own doors. Snuffers were scissor-like tools for trimming candle wicks and catching the burnt end, and the bottling and brass taps were fitted to casks for drawing off wine, arrack or beer.
69	65	1763 Brought over£1696 16s 2d Iron Ware brought over£5 1s 5½d Loping Axe 1 £0 3s 1d Wood Screws 18 £0 0s 7d Padlocks 4 £0 6s 8d Splinter Locks 6 £0 3s 3d Barrk Hinges 12 £1 2s 0d Claw Hammer 1 £0 1s 7½d Helves 17 £0 11s 4d Ditching Shovels 4 £0 19s 8d Small Frying Pans 4 £0 9s 8d Large Do 1 £0 3s 8d	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the Company's staff continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,696 16s 2d Ironware brought forward, £5 1s 5½d 1 lopping axe, £0 3s 1d 18 wood screws, £0 0s 7d 4 padlocks, £0 6s 8d 6 splinter locks, £0 3s 3d 12 barrack hinges, £1 2s 0d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 7½d 17 tool handles, £0 11s 4d 4 ditching shovels, £0 19s 8d 4 small frying pans, £0 9s 8d 1 large frying pan, £0 3s 8d 1 pair of large H hinges, £0 8s 6d 3 pairs of sheep shears, £0 3s 9½d 1 pair of garden shears, £0 4s 7½d 2 bricklayers' trowels, £0 3s 6d 1 plasterer's sieve, £0 9s 4d 3 whetstones, £0 0s 10½d 1 barrack lock, £0 5s 6d 2 iron-shod shovels, £0 4s 3d 1 drill box, £0 0s 2d 2 spades, £0 8s 10d 3 broad hoes, £0 7s 6d 2 drill bows, £0 5s 0d 2 pairs of steelyards, £0 15s 2d 1 turfing iron, £0 3s 2d 1 garden rake, £0 2s 10d 1 gimlet, £0 0s 3d 44 bolt-rope needles, £0 5s 6d Ironware, total, £13 11s 9d Leather:

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		Large H. Hinges 1 Pr £0 8s 6d Sheep Sheers 3 Pr £0 5s 9½d Garden Sheers 1 Pr £0 4s 7½d Bricklayers Trowels 2 £0 3s 6d Plaisterers Sieve 1 £0 9s 4d Rag Stones 3 £0 0s 10½d Barrack Lock 1 £0 5s 6d Shod Shovels 2 £0 4s 3d Drill Box 1 £0 0s 2d Spades 2 £0 8s 10d Broad Hoes 3 £0 7s 6d Drill Bows 2 £0 5s 0d Steelyards 2 Pr £0 15s 2d Turfing Iron 1 £0 3s 2d Garden Rake 1 £0 2s 10d Gimblet 1 £0 0s 3d Bolt Rope Needles 44 £0 5s 6d £13 11s 9d Leather vizt Sole 159 lb £8 5s 7d Calf Skins 6 £2 8s 6d £10 14s 1d Lead Sheet 31½ lb £0 6s 5d Books vizt Spelling Books 2 £0 2s 7d Common Prayer Do 2 £0 6s 1d £0 8s 8d Carried over£1721 17s 1d	159 lb of sole leather, £8 5s 7d 6 calfskins, £2 8s 6d Leather, total, £10 14s 1d Sheet lead, 31¼ lb, £0 6s 5d Books: 2 spelling books, £0 2s 7d 2 Books of Common Prayer, £0 6s 1d Books, total, £0 8s 8d Total carried forward, £1,721 17s 1d **Interpretations** The tools sold showed the island's households farming, building and repairing for themselves. Broad hoes and ditching shovels were the working implements of field labour, probably used by the planters' slaves in the yam grounds and pastures. A turfing iron was a flat, heart-shaped blade on a long handle for cutting and lifting turf, and steelyards were balance scales with a sliding weight on a long arm, used to weigh produce and meat for sale. Sheep shears and a lopping axe for cutting branches completed the kit of the small island farm. The drill bow and drill box made up a bow drill, turned by drawing a bow back and forth so its string spun the bit. Helves were the wooden handles for axes and hatchets, sold separately because they broke far more often than the iron heads. Rag stones were coarse whetstones for sharpening blades, and bolt-rope needles were the heavy needles sailmakers used to stitch the roped edges of sails. The spelling books and prayer books pointed to the island's school and church. Richard Beale drew a salary as schoolmaster and William Lee as chaplain, and the Company's stores supplied the texts for teaching children to read and for Anglican worship. The small numbers sold suggested a modest school and a congregation that mostly already owned its prayer books. Sole leather, the thick hide for the bottoms of shoes, sold by weight together with calfskins for uppers. Their sale implied that shoemakers on the island made and mended footwear locally, alongside the ready-made shoes the stores sold earlier in the quarter.
70	66	17th October Brought over£1721 17s 1d Nails vizt	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the Company's staff concluded as follows. Brought forward, £1,721 17s 1d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2d 13 lb £0 8s 8d 3d 17 lb £0 14s 2d 4d 23 lb £0 14s 9½d 6d 87 lb £2 14s 4½d 10d 57½ lb £1 9s 11½d 20d 32 lb £0 13s 4d 40d 6 lb £0 2s 3¼d Tacks 1½ lb £0 2s 0¾d Glazg Brads ¼ lb £0 0s 2½d Barrack 4 lb £0 1s 6d Spike 2 lb £0 0s 8½d £7 2s 0d Deals vizt Doubl Deals 5 £0 16s 8d Single Do 7 £0 15s 2d Spar 1 £0 1s 6½d Wainscot Board 1 £0 7s 4½d £2 0s 9d Corks 12¼ Gross £1 11s 1d Pewter vizt Basons 5 £0 8s 9d Chamber Pots 9 £1 8s 6d £1 17s 3d Camblet vizt Blue 16½ Yds £1 16s 3¼d Scarlet 4½ Yds £1 6s 2¼d Brown 17¾ Yds £2 19s 10d £6 2s 4d Naval Stores vizt Bar Shot 1 £0 2s 7d Sponge Staff 1	Nails: 13 lb of twopenny nails, £0 8s 8d 17 lb of threepenny nails, £0 14s 2d 23 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 14s 9¼d 87 lb of sixpenny nails, £2 14s 4½d 57½ lb of tenpenny nails, £1 9s 11¼d 32 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 13s 4d 6 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 2s 3¾d 1½ lb of tacks, £0 2s 0¾d ¼ lb of glaziers' brads, £0 0s 2½d 4 lb of barrack nails, £0 1s 6d 2 lb of spike nails, £0 0s 8½d Nails, total, £7 2s 0d Timber: 5 double deals, £0 16s 8d 7 single deals, £0 15s 2d 1 spar, £0 1s 6½d 1 wainscot board, £0 7s 4½d Timber, total, £2 0s 9d Corks, 12¼ gross, £1 11s 1d Pewter: 5 basins, £0 8s 9d 9 chamber pots, £1 8s 6d Pewter, total, £1 17s 3d Camlet: 16½ yards of blue camlet, £1 16s 3¾d 4⅛ yards of scarlet camlet, £1 6s 2¼d 17¾ yards of brown camlet, £2 19s 10d Camlet, total, £6 2s 4d Military stores: 1 bar shot, £0 2s 7d 1 sponge staff, £0 2s 3d 3 lb of gunpowder, £0 3s 6d 6 lb of tallow, £0 3s 4½d 1 speaking trumpet, £0 8s 3d 1 sheepskin for budge barrels, £0 2s 7½d Military stores, total, £1 2s 7d Wine: 253¾ gallons of port and 202¼ gallons of Lisbon wine, £140 15s 1d 87 gallons of Mountain wine, £29 18s 1d Wine, total, £170 13s 2d Beer, 3 hogsheads, £9 2s 0d Grand total, £1,921 8s 3d **Interpretations** The military stores entered here matched item for item the gunner's account for September. The bar shot and speaking trumpet lost through carelessness, together with the sponge staff, powder, tallow and sheepskin sold, all reappeared as sales in the storekeeper's return. The gunner's account removed them from the artillery stock, while the storekeeper's return showed the money received for them, so the two officers' books checked each other and the Council could confirm that every lost or sold item had been paid for. The grand total of £1,921 8s 3d took on its full meaning beside the quarter's pay bill of £2,863 17s 10d. The Company recovered about two-thirds of what it paid its officials and soldiers through sales from its own stores in the same three months. Wages paid out largely came back as payment for bread, salt meat, drink, clothing and tools, which kept the island's coin circulating through the Company's treasury rather than draining away to passing ships. Wine was the largest item on the page, with more than 540 gallons sold in the quarter. Port had grown popular in England after the Methuen Treaty of 1703 gave Portuguese wines lower duties than French ones, and its sale here alongside Lisbon and Mountain wines showed the island's drinking following English taste. Nails were named by the old price in pence per hundred, which had come to indicate their length, so twopenny nails were small tacks for light work and fortypenny nails heavy spikes for framing. Deals were sawn planks of Baltic pine or fir, and wainscot board

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 2s 3d Powder 3 lb £0 3s 6d Tallow 6 lb £0 3s 4½d Speakg Trumpet 1 £0 8s 3d Sheep Skin for Rouge Barrels 1 £0 7s 7½d £1 2s 7d Wine vizt Port 253¼ Galls Lisbon 202¼ Galls £140 15s 1d Mountain 87 Galls £29 18s 1d £170 13s 2d Beer 3 Hhds £9 2s 0d £1921 8s 3d	was fine quarter-sawn oak, also from the Baltic, prized for panelling. Camlet was a hard-wearing cloth woven from wool mixed with goat hair, used for cloaks and coats.
71	67	1763 Sold to the Planters at 40 per Cent vizt Cordage 11½ lb £0 5s 11d Flour 437 lb £4 18s 9d Sugar and Candy vizt Sugar 753 lb £17 5s 1d Candy 70 lb £2 6s 8d £19 11s 9d Sope 52 lb £2 6s 7d Tea vizt Singlo 105 lb £9 12s 6d Congo 101 lb £9 5s 2d Bohea 30½ lb £1 15s 7d £20 13s 3d Thread vizt Coloured 2 lb £0 8s 6d Whited Brown 2 lb £0 16s 7d £1 5s 1d Rice and Paddy vizt Rice 170 lb £0 19s 1d Paddy 100 lb £0 5s 3d £1 4s 4d Corks vizt	The storekeeper's return continued with the goods sold to the planters at cost plus 40 per cent. Cordage, 11½ lb, £0 5s 11d Flour, 431 lb, £4 18s 9d Sugar and sugar candy: Sugar, 753 lb, £17 5s 1d Sugar candy, 70 lb, £2 6s 8d Sugar and sugar candy, total, £19 11s 9d Soap, 52 lb, £2 6s 7d Tea: 105 lb of singlo tea, £9 12s 6d 101 lb of congou tea, £9 5s 2d 30½ lb of bohea tea, £1 15s 7d Tea, total, £20 13s 3d Thread: 2 lb of coloured thread, £0 8s 6d 2 lb of whitened brown thread, £0 16s 7d Thread, total, £1 5s 1d Rice and unhusked rice: Rice, 170 lb, £0 19s 1d Unhusked rice, 100 lb, £0 5s 3d Rice and unhusked rice, total, £1 4s 4d Corks: ½ [...] of short corks, £0 0s 5d 3 gross of corks, £0 9s 7d Corks, total, £0 10s 0d Oars, 2, £0 11s 0d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 9d Sago, 2 lb, £0 1s 1d Pitch, 5½ lb, £0 2s 9d Lead shot, 3 lb, £0 0s 9d Pepper, 5 lb, £0 3s 9d Blankets, 8, £2 16s 0d Arrack, ½ gallon, £0 3s 0d Candles, 13 lb, £1 16s 3d Paint: 1½ lb of sky blue, £0 3s 10½d 22 lb of white lead ground in oil, £0 12s 10d Paint carried forward, £0 16s 8½d Total carried forward, £56 12s 0d **Interpretations** The Company charged two prices for the same goods, depending on who bought them. Its own officials and soldiers paid cost plus 10 per cent, while the planters paid cost plus 40 per cent. The difference showed plainly in the rates: sugar candy cost the staff 6d a pound and the planters 8d, bohea tea 11d against

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Short ½ lb £0 0s 5d Gross 3 £0 9s 7d £0 10s 0d Oars 2 £0 11s 0d Twine 2 Skains £0 1s 9d Sago 2 lb £0 1s 1d Pitch 5½ lb £0 2s 9d Lead Shot 3 lb £0 0s 9d Pepper 5 lb £0 3s 9d Blankets 8 £2 16s 0d Arrack ½ Gallon £0 3s 0d Candles 13 lb £1 16s 3d Paint vizt Sky Blue 1½ lb £0 3s 10½d White Lead Mixed 22 lb £0 12s 10d Paint Carried over£0 16s 8½d Carried over£56 12s 0d	14d, and a blanket 5s 6d against 7s. The lower price was in effect part of the Company's servants' pay, easing the cost of living on wages that were modest in cash terms, while the higher price made the settlers contribute to the Company's revenue through their purchases as well as their rents. The planters' purchases totalled only a few pounds on this page, a small fraction of the £1,921 8s 3d sold to the Company's staff. Most settler families grew their own yams and vegetables, raised livestock and fished, and bought from the stores only goods the island could not produce, above all sugar and tea. The steep margin probably also pushed them to trade privately with visiting ships wherever they could. Sago was a starch extracted from the pith of the sago palm in the Malay world and Indonesia, prepared as small pearls and used to make puddings and invalid food. Its presence on the island came through the same Asian shipping that brought tea, arrack and porcelain.
72	68	17th October Brought over£56 12s 0d Paint brought over£0 16s 8½d Whiting 18 lb £0 0s 1½d Indico 1 lb £0 2s 6d White Lead dry 58 lb £1 7s 9½d Umber ½ lb £0 0s 2½d Copperas ½ lb £0 0s 8½d Barr Blacking 1 £0 0s 8½d Ven Red Mixed 1 lb £0 0s 8d £2 10s 5d China Ware vizt Quartn Pint Cups & Saucers 1½ doz £0 10s 0d Bowls 7 £0 11s 1d	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the planters continued as follows. Brought forward, £56 12s 0d Paint brought forward, £0 16s 8½d 18 lb of whiting, £0 1s 1½d 1 lb of indigo, £0 2s 6d 58 lb of dry white lead, £1 7s 9½d ½ lb of umber, £0 0s 2½d ½ lb of copperas, £0 0s 8½d 1 bar of blacking, £0 0s 8½d 1 lb of Venetian red ground in oil, £0 0s 8d Paint, total, £2 10s 5d Porcelain: 1½ dozen quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 10s 0d 7 bowls, £0 11s 1d 4 small blue and white bowls, £0 2s 0d 1 salad dish, £0 1s 9d 6 chamber pots, £0 14s 0d Porcelain, total, £1 18s 3d Nails: 1½ lb of twopenny nails, £0 1s 3¾d 3 lb of threepenny nails, £0 3s 3d 3 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 2s 6d 15 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 12s 2¼d 5 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 3s 6½d Nails, total, £1 2s 9d Leather, 1 calfskin, £0 10s 4d Sewing goods and trimmings: 19 skeins of mohair thread, £0 11s 10½d 15 skeins of silk thread, £0 11s 5d 1 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 1s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Blue and White Saucers 4 £0 2s 0d Sallad Dish 1 £0 1s 9d Chamber Pots 6 £0 14s 0d £1 18s 3d Nails vizt 2d 1½ lb £0 1s 3¼d 3d 3 lb £0 3s 3d 4d 3 lb £0 2s 6d 6d 15 lb £0 12s 2¼d 10d 5 lb £0 3s 6½d £1 2s 9d Leather Calf Skin 1 £0 10s 4d Haberdashery vizt Mohair 19 Skains £0 11s 10½d Silk 15 Skns £0 11s 3d Mohair Coat Buttons 1 Doz £0 1s 0d Mohair Breast Do 1 doz £0 0s 6d Horn Mettles 1 Gross £0 0s 6½d £1 5s 2d Hooks and Lines vizt Hooks No 2 175 £0 7s 7d Hooks No 3 200 £0 5s 4d Hooks No 16 150 £0 1s 8d Hooks No 1 225 £0 13s 2d Hooks & Lines Carried over£1 9s 9d Carried over£63 18s 11d	1 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 0s 6d 1 gross of [...] needles, £0 0s 6½d Sewing goods and trimmings, total, £1 5s 2d Fish hooks and lines: 175 hooks of size 2, £0 7s 7d 200 hooks of size 3, £0 5s 4d 150 hooks of size 16, £0 1s 8d 225 hooks of size 1, £0 13s 2d Fish hooks and lines carried forward, £1 9s 9d Total carried forward, £63 18s 11d
73	69	1763 Brought over£63 18s 11d Hooks and Lines brought over£1 9s 9d No 3 Lines 4 doz £1 2s 6d Log Do 2 £0 3s 0d Hambro Do 1 £0 2s 0d £2 17s 3d	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the planters continued as follows. Brought forward, £63 18s 11d Fish hooks and lines brought forward, £1 9s 9d 4 dozen lines of size 3, £1 2s 6d 2 log lines, £0 3s 0d 1 Hamburg line, £0 2s 0d Fish hooks and lines, total, £2 17s 3d Small hardware: 2 ivory combs, £0 2s 10d 1 butcher's knife, £0 0s 6¼d 2 horn combs, £0 0s 3½d 6 pairs of shoe buckles, £0 4s 7d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Cuttlery Ware vizt Ivory Combs 2 £0 2s 10d Butchers Knife 1 £0 0s 6¼d Horn Combs 2 £0 0s 3½d Shoes Buckles 6 Pr £0 4s 7d £0 8s 5d Canvas Ovenbrigs 1½ Yds £0 2s 6d Tin Ware vizt Lamp 1 £0 1s 4½d Pudding Pan 1 £0 1s 7½d £0 3s 0d Turners Ware vizt Hair Broom 1 £0 3s 6d Mop 1 £0 1s 7d Scrubing Brush 1 £0 3s 6d Labourers Baskets 3 £0 3s 3d Flasket 1 £0 3s 3d Shoes Brushes 5 £0 2s 6d Hair Sieve 1 £0 2s 10d £1 0s 5d Iron Ware vizt Broad Hoe 1 £0 3s 1½d Chest Lock 1 £0 4s 7d Scythe Stones 2 £0 0s 10d Spring Rat Traps 2 £0 4s 4d Sml H. Hinges 4 Pr £0 9s 2d Barrack Hinges 3 £0 7s 0d Broad Hoe 1 £0 3s 1½d Ditching Shovel 1 £0 6s 4d Dovetail Hinges 2 Pr £0 1s 2d	Small hardware, total, £0 8s 5d Canvas, 1½ yards of osnaburg, £0 2s 6d Tinware: 1 lamp, £0 1s 4½d 1 pudding pan, £0 1s 7½d Tinware, total, £0 3s 0d Turned and woven wares: 1 hair broom, £0 3s 6d 1 mop, £0 1s 7d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 3s 6d 3 labourers' baskets, £0 3s 3d 1 flasket, £0 3s 3d 3 shoe brushes, £0 2s 6d 1 hair sieve, £0 2s 10d Turned and woven wares, total, £1 0s 5d Ironware: 1 broad hoe, £0 3s 1½d 1 chest lock, £0 4s 7d 2 scythe stones, £0 0s 10d 2 spring rat traps, £0 4s 4d 4 pairs of small H hinges, £0 9s 2d 3 barrack hinges, £0 7s 0d 1 broad hoe, £0 3s 1½d 1 ditching shovel, £0 6s 4d 2 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 1s 2d Ironware, total, £1 19s 8d Total carried forward, £70 10s 2d

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		£1 19s 8d Carried over£70 10s 2d	
74	70	17th October Brought over£70 10s 2d Pitch and Tar vizt Rozin 21 lb £0 5s 3d Pitch 1 Barl £2 10s 1d Tar 1 Barl 2 Gal £1 13s 0d £4 8s 4d Glass Ware vizt Wine Glasses 6 £0 4s 10½d Tumblers 7 £0 5s 10d Sqr 10 by 12 4 £0 4s 8d Do 8 by 10 2 £0 1s 8½d Beer Glasses 4 £0 6s 4d £1 3s 5d Deals Cuffie 1 £0 4s 6d Pewter vizt Bason 1 £0 2s 3d Chamber Pot 1 £0 4s 1d £0 6s 4d Sold at 25 per Cent vizt Long Ells Blue 8½ Yards £0 14s 1d Shalloon vizt Scarlet 73⅜ Yds £0 10s 1½d Coloured 26¼ Yds £3 9s 0½d £3 19s 2d Hats Boys 4 £1 10s 0d Flannel 16¾ Yards £1 5s 2d Desotees 5 Pieces £3 1s 3d Shoes vizt Mens Ordinary Shoes 2 Pr £0 10s 1d Womens Calf Do 8 Pr £1 6s 0d Boys Do 2 Pr £0 7s 8½d Girls Do	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the planters continued as follows. Brought forward, £70 10s 2d Pitch and tar: 21 lb of rosin, £0 5s 3d 1 barrel of pitch, £2 10s 1d 1 barrel and 2 gallons of tar, £1 13s 0d Pitch and tar, total, £4 8s 4d Glassware: 6 wine glasses, £0 4s 10½d 7 tumblers, £0 5s 10d 4 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 4s 8d 2 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 1s 8½d 4 beer glasses, £0 6s 4d Glassware, total, £1 3s 5d Timber, 1 deal coffin, £0 4s 6d Pewter: 1 basin, £0 2s 3d 1 chamber pot, £0 4s 1d Pewter, total, £0 6s 4d Goods sold at cost plus 25 per cent: Long ells, 8½ yards of blue, £0 14s 1d Shalloon: 3⅜ yards of scarlet shalloon, £0 10s 1½d 26¼ yards of coloured shalloon, £3 9s 0½d Shalloon, total, £3 19s 2d Hats, 4 for boys, £1 10s 0d Flannel, 16¾ yards, £1 5s 2d Dosooty cloth, 5 pieces, £3 1s 3d Shoes: 2 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £0 10s 1d 8 pairs of women's calfskin shoes, £1 6s 0d 2 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 7s 8½d 8 pairs of girls' shoes, £1 0s 0d 3 pairs of men's fine shoes, £1 0s 7½d 2 pairs of channel pumps, £0 13s 0d 2 pairs of men's fine pumps, £0 12s 6d Shoes, total, £5 9s 11d Stockings: 7 pairs of men's worsted stockings, £1 11s 4d 6 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 14s 6d 1 pair of women's stockings, £0 3s 5d Stockings, total, £2 9s 3d Total carried forward, £95 1s 7d **Interpretations** The return introduced a third rate of mark-up. Cloth, hats, shoes and stockings sold to the planters at cost plus 25 per cent, while provisions, hardware and household goods carried the full 40 per cent. The page did not give the reason. The lower margin on clothing perhaps reflected the Company's interest in keeping settler families and their slaves decently clothed on an island where cloth could come only from its ships, or an effort to undercut private sellers of cloth from passing Indiamen. The Company's stores also supplied coffins, made from imported deal boards and sold ready-made. On an island without native timber in any quantity, even burial depended on wood shipped from the Baltic, and the storekeeper's record placed the cost of a plain coffin at 4s 6d.

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		8 Pr £1 0s 0d Mens fine Do 3 Pr £1 0s 7½d Channel Pumps 2 Pr £0 13s 0d Mens fine Do 2 Pr £0 12s 6d £5 9s 11d Hosiers Ware vizt Mens Worsd Stockgs 7 Pr £1 11s 4d Boys Do 6 Pr £0 14s 6d Womens Do 1 Pr £0 3s 5d £2 9s 3d Carried over£95 1s 7d	
75	71	1763 Brought over£95 1s 7d Broad Cloth vizt Blue 7¾ Yds £8 11s 0d Fr. Grey ⅞ Yds £0 16s 5d Black 1⅛ Yds £1 3s 0d £10 10s 5d Serge vizt Blue Serge 4½ Yds £1 6s 3d Fr. Grey 23½ Yds £6 17s 1d £8 3s 4d Long Cloth No 7 2 Pr £3 8s 4d Shirts B. Holland 4½ Yds £0 10s 4d £117 14s 0d Sold to the Honorable Company's Ships vizt Paint Verdegrease 12 lb £3 8s 0d Barrls Blacking 36 £1 7s 9d White Lead dry 40 lb £0 19s 2d Umber 3 lb £0 1s 3d £5 16s 2d Turners Ware vizt Paint Brushes 2 £0 1s 2d Hair Sieves 2 £0 5s 8d Labrs Baskets	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the planters concluded as follows. Brought forward, £95 1s 7d Broadcloth: 7¾ yards of blue, £8 11s 0d ⅝ yard of French grey, £0 16s 5d 1⅛ yards of black, £1 3s 0d Broadcloth, total, £10 10s 5d Serge: 4½ yards of blue serge, £1 6s 3d 23½ yards of French grey serge, £6 17s 1d Serge, total, £8 3s 4d Long cloth, 2 pieces of grade 7, £3 8s 4d Shirting, 4½ yards of brown holland, £0 10s 4d Total sold to the planters, £117 14s 0d The return then recorded the goods sold to the Company's ships. Paint: 12 lb of verdigris, £3 8s 0d 36 bars of blacking, £1 7s 9d 40 lb of dry white lead, £0 19s 2d 3 lb of umber, £0 1s 3d Paint, total, £5 16s 2d Turned and woven wares: 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 8d 2 hair sieves, £0 5s 8d 2 labourers' baskets, £0 2s 2d 1 brass wire sieve, £0 14s 0d Turned and woven wares, total, £1 3s 6d Oil, 20 gallons of linseed oil, £5 10s 0d Tinware, 74 horn lantern panes, £1 1s 7d Pitch and tar: 1 barrel of pitch, £2 10s 1d 1 barrel of tar, £1 11s 3d Pitch and tar, total, £4 1s 4d Twine, 28 skeins, £1 4s 6d Cordage, 10 cwt 0 qr 9 lb, £27 17s 6d Ironware: 50 sail needles, £0 6s 2d 4 spring rat traps, £0 8s 8d Ironware, total, £0 14s 10d Total carried forward, £47 9s 5d **Interpretations** The planters' purchases for the whole quarter came to only £117 14s 0d, against £1,921 8s 3d bought by the Company's own staff. Settler households clearly supplied most of their needs from their own farms and from private trade, turning to the Company's stores mainly for cloth, sugar and tea. The Company's retail business therefore rested almost entirely on its

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		2 £0 2s 2d Brass Wire Sieve 1 £0 14s 0d £1 3s 6d Oil Linseed 20 Galls £5 10s 0d Tin Ware Lanthorn Leaves 74 £1 1s 7d Pitch and Tar vizt Pitch 1 Barl £2 10s 1d Tar 1 Barl £1 11s 3d £4 1s 4d Twine 28 Skains £1 4s 6d Cordage 10 Cwt 0 qrs 9 lb £27 17s 6d Iron Ware vizt Sail Needles 50 £0 6s 2d Spring Rat Traps 4 £0 8s 8d £0 14s 10d Carried over£47 9s 5d	employees, whose wages it recovered through sales at the favourable 10 per cent margin. The sales to the Company's ships consisted almost wholly of naval stores for refitting homeward Indiamen: cordage, pitch, tar, paint, oil and sail needles. More than 10 cwt of cordage accounted for over half the total. The island thus served as a chandlery on the long route from Asia, supplying ships that had worn out rope, paint and caulking on the voyage. The lantern panes were thin sheets of horn to replace broken windows in ships' lanterns, and even the rat traps sold to the ships reflected a problem as common at sea as ashore.
76	72	17th October Brought over£47 9s 5d Pork 1 Hhd £13 5s 4d Nails Scupper 4 lb 10d 6 lb £0 2s 9d 20d 6 lb 40d 4 lb £0 9s 6d Spike 8 lb £0 3s 10d £0 16s 1d Canvas Sicklenburgs 87 Yds £5 19s 8d Glass Ware vizt Sqrs 10 by 12 8 £0 9s 4d Do 8 by 10 2 £0 1s 9d £0 11s 1d £68 1s 7d Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 3d September 1763 vizt Deals vizt Baulks to Repr the Church and Roof of the Market House 2 £0 17s 8d Deals for Do & a Door for the	The storekeeper's return of goods sold to the Company's ships concluded as follows. Brought forward, £47 9s 5d Salt pork, 1 hogshead, £13 5s 4d Nails: 4 lb of scupper nails, £0 2s 9d 6 lb of tenpenny, 6 lb of twentypenny and 4 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 9s 6d 8 lb of spike nails, £0 3s 10d Nails, total, £0 16s 1d Canvas, 87 yards of ticklenburg, £5 19s 8d Glassware: 8 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 9s 4d 2 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 1s 9d Glassware, total, £0 11s 1d Total sold to the Company's ships, £68 1s 7d The return then charged to the Company's general expenses the stores issued for its own use between 1 July and 5 September 1763. Timber: 2 baulks to repair the church and the roof of the market house, £0 17s 8d 6 single deals for the same work and a door for the armourer's shop, £0 13s 9d 9 double deals to repair the Pigeon House, the officers' guard room and the church, £1 13s 6d 11½ [...] of Riga timber for the officers' rooms at the new barracks, repairs to the market house roof and benches for the jury, £32 2s 1d 3 cuffies for the masons' scaffolding, £0 12s 3d 1 piece of 5-inch oak plank to repair the Lieutenant Governor's house, £2 0s 6d ½ piece of 6-inch oak plank for the stocks, £1 3s 0d Timber, total, £39 2s 9d Turned wares: 6 punch ladles for the Castle, £0 3s 6d 1 paint brush for painting, £0 0s 7d Turned wares carried forward, £0 4s 1d Total carried forward, £39 2s 9d

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		Armourer 6 S £0 13s 9d Deals to Repr the Pidgeon House Officers Guard Room and Church 9 D £1 13s 6d Riga Timber for the Officers Rooms at the New Barracks to repair the Roof of the Market House & Forms for the Jury 11½ Do £32 2s 1d Cuffies for Scaffolding for ye Masons 3 £0 12s 3d Oak Plank of 5 Inc to Repr the Lieut Governors House 1 Pr £2 0s 6d Oak plank of 6 In for the Stocks ½ Pr £1 3s 0d £39 2s 9d Turners Ware vizt Punch Ladles for the Castle 6 £0 3s 6d Paint Brush for painting 1 £0 0s 7d Turners Ware Carried over£0 4s 1d Carried over£39 2s 9d	**Interpretations** Stores issued for the Company's own buildings were charged to general expenses at cost, with no mark-up, which completed the storekeeper's four-way division of his stock. Goods went to the Company's staff at 10 per cent, to the planters at 25 or 40 per cent, to the Company's ships at their own rate, and to the Company's works at cost. The arrangement let the Council see exactly how much of its imported stock was consumed in public works rather than sold. The timber issued traced the island's public buildings in 1763. The church, the market house, the new barracks, the officers' guard room and the Lieutenant Governor's house were all under repair or construction. Riga timber was pine or fir shipped from the Baltic port of Riga, prized for its long, straight, resinous beams, and it was far the most expensive item on the page. Baulks were squared beams of rough timber. Benches for the jury and oak for the stocks showed the Company building the machinery of justice. The quarter sessions required a jury, which needed its own seating, while the stocks, a wooden frame that held an offender's ankles for public humiliation, were built of heavy oak to withstand weather and abuse. The six punch ladles issued to the Castle served the Governor's official entertaining, where punch made from the Company's arrack was the standard drink.
77	73	1763 Brought over£39 2s 9d Turners Ware brought over£0 4s 1d Hairs Brooms for the Castle 2 £0 4s 7d Brass Wire Sieve for the Masons 1 £0 10s 0d Birch Broom for Armourers Shop 1 £0 0s 4d £0 19s 0d Cuttlery Ivory Handle Knives and Forks 1 doz £1 10s 0d Nails vizt 3d 8 lb 6d 7½ lb 4d 2 lb 10d 6 lb 20d 2 lb Coopers Rivets 8½ lb Tacks ¼ lb Clout ¼ lb Glazrs Brads ¼ lb for forms for the Jury making Trivets, for the Barracks, Repairing the Officers Guard Room at the Main Fort, Church Lime House	The goods charged to the Company's general expenses continued as follows. Brought forward, £39 2s 9d Turned wares brought forward, £0 4s 1d 2 hair brooms for the Castle, £0 4s 7d 1 brass wire sieve for the masons, £0 10s 0d 1 birch broom for the armourer's shop, £0 0s 4d Turned wares, total, £0 19s 0d Cutlery, 1 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £1 10s 0d Nails, for benches for the jury, trivets for the barracks, repairs to the officers' guard room at the Main Fort, the church and the lime house at Sandy Bay, and fowl coops for the packet ships: 8 lb of threepenny nails 7½ lb of sixpenny nails 2 lb of fourpenny nails 6 lb of tenpenny nails 2 lb of twentypenny nails 8½ lb of coopers' rivets ¼ lb of tacks ¾ lb of clout nails ¾ lb of glaziers' brads Nails, total, £1 0s 1d Ironware: ¾ lb of borax for the armourer's shop, £0 3s 6½d ¼ lb of yellow spelter for the armourer's shop, £0 0s 6d 1 chest lock for the Secretary's office, £0 4s 7½d 3 garden hoes for the fort garden, £0 4s 0d 2 scythe stones for the fort garden, £0 0s 8d 4 rasps for the armourer, £0 8s 8d 2 stock locks for the armoury and the officers' guard room, £0 5s 5d ¾ lb of binding wire for the armoury, £0 0s 4½d 2 lopping axes for cutting wood to burn lime, £0 5s 6d 2 hand hatchets for cutting wood to burn lime, £0 3s 4½d 5 tool handles for the same work, the armoury and the fort garden, £0 3s 1½d

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		at Sandy Bay & Fowl Coops for the Packets £1 0s 1d Iron Ware vizt Borax ¼ lb £0 3s 6½d Yellow Spelter for Armourers Shop ¼ lb £0 0s 6d Chest Lock for the Secrys Office 1 £0 4s 7½d Garden Hoes 3 £0 4s 0d Scyth Stones for the Fort Garden 2 £0 0s 8d Rasps for the Armourer 4 £0 8s 8d Stock Locks for the Armoury and Officers Guard Room 2 £0 5s 5d Binding Wire for the Armoury ¼ lb £0 0s 4½d Loping Axes for Cuting Wood to 2 £0 5s 6d Hand Hatchets make Lime 2 £0 3s 4½d Helves for Do Armr & Fort Garden 5 £0 3s 1½d Iron Fry Pan for the Workmen at Sandy Bay 1 £0 2s 7d Smith Rubber for the Armoury 1 £0 3s 9½d Flour Emery ¼ lb Com Do ¼ lb £0 0s 3½d Plyers for the Armourer 1 Pr £0 0s 11d Files 01 £1 14s 0d Steelyards for the Gunrs use 1 Pr £0 6s 10½d Iron Ware Carried over£4 8s 3d Carried over£42 11s 10d	1 iron frying pan for the workmen at Sandy Bay, £0 2s 7d 1 smith's rubber for the armoury, £0 3s 9½d ¼ lb of flour emery for the armourer, £0 0s 3½d ¾ lb of corn emery for the armourer, £0 0s 11d 1 pair of pliers and [...] files for the armourer, £1 14s 0d 1 pair of steelyards for the gunner's use, £0 6s 10½d Ironware carried forward, £4 8s 3d Total carried forward, £42 11s 10d **Interpretations** The armourer's supplies showed the garrison maintaining its own weapons on the island. Borax served as a flux when brazing metal, and spelter, a zinc alloy, was the brazing solder melted into joints to repair gun furniture and locks. Emery came in grades from coarse corn emery to fine flour emery for scouring rust and polishing barrels and blades, and a smith's rubber was a coarse file or whetstone for smoothing rough ironwork. With the nearest foundry thousands of miles away, the armourer's skill kept every musket and bayonet serviceable. The axes, hatchets and frying pan for Sandy Bay tied directly to the 551 days of soldiers' labour recorded in the paymaster's account for burning lime and repairing the defences there. The workmen cut wood on the spot to fire the kiln, cooked their meals at the site and built a lime house to store the finished product for mortar. The fowl coops were built for the packets, the small, fast vessels that carried the Company's despatches. Live poultry travelled aboard in coops to supply fresh meat and eggs on the voyage, and the island's carpenters provided them as part of refitting. The fort garden, supplied with hoes, scythe stones and tool handles, was the Company's own kitchen garden, growing vegetables and fruit for the Castle and the garrison. The chest lock for the Secretary's office secured the island's official papers and deeds, including the registered bills of sale and the Council's records.
78	74	17th October Brought over£42 11s 10d Iron Ware brought over£4 8s 3d Barrack Hinges for the Officers 1 Pr £0 1s 2d Closet Lock Guard Room 1 £0 3s 3d Dovt Hinges for the Fowl Coops Church and Engine Shed 14 Pr £0 5s 6½d Hand Saw for the Carpenters	The goods charged to the Company's general expenses continued as follows. Brought forward, £42 11s 10d Ironware brought forward, £4 8s 3d 1 pair of barrack hinges for the officers' guard room, £0 1s 2d 1 closet lock for the officers' guard room, £0 3s 3d 14 pairs of dovetail hinges for the fowl coops, the church and the engine shed, £0 5s 6½d 1 hand saw for the carpenters, £0 7s 7d 1 plasterer's trowel for the masons, £0 1s 8d 1 anvil block for the armourer, £1 3s 8d 1 plasterer's sieve, £0 8s 5½d 2 [...] needles, £0 0s 3½d

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		1 £0 7s 7d Plaisterers Trowel for the Masons 1 £0 1s 8d Anvil Block for the Armourer 1 £1 3s 8d Plaisterers Sieve 1 £0 8s 5½d Packg Needles 2 £0 0s 3½d Blank Key 1 £0 1s 2d Drill String 1 £0 0s 7½d Former Gouges for the Carpenters 12 £0 4s 11d £7 7s 1d Arrack for Drams to Sundries bringing the Several Ships Stores up and Weighing them getting the Mercury Cable on Shore and hauling up the Long Boat 15⅞ Gallons £2 14s 3d Cordage for the tying the Church Arbor in the Fort Garden Halters for the Horses and transportg Cannon 36¼ lb £0 12s 11d Sope 80 lb £2 11s 8d Starch for Linen 18 lb £0 6s 5d Paint vizt Olive Colour 2 lb £0 3s 6½d Wt Lead Mixed 14 lb £0 5s 10½d Copperas ½ lb £0 0s 6d Barrels Blacking 2 £0 1s 1d Whiting 6 lb £0 0s 1½d Ven. Red Mixed 4 lb £0 1s 10d £0 12s 11d Pepper 6 lb £0 3s 0d Coals 2 Chaldrs 34 Bushels £6 11s 0d Carried over£63 11s 1d	1 blank key, £0 1s 2d 1 drill string, £0 0s 7½d 12 firmer gouges for the carpenters, £0 4s 11d Ironware, total, £7 7s 1d Arrack, 15⅞ gallons, given as drams to the men who carried the ships' stores up from the landing and weighed them, brought the *Mercury*'s cable ashore and hauled up the longboat, £2 14s 3d. Cordage, 36¼ lb, for the church, tying up the arbour in the fort garden, halters for the horses and moving cannon, £0 12s 11d Soap, 80 lb, for washing linen, £2 11s 8d Starch, 18 lb, for linen, £0 6s 5d Paint: 2 lb of olive colour, £0 3s 6½d 14 lb of white lead ground in oil, £0 5s 10½d ½ lb of copperas, £0 0s 6d 2 bars of blacking, £0 1s 1d 6 lb of whiting, £0 0s 1½d 4 lb of Venetian red ground in oil, £0 1s 10d Paint, total, £0 12s 11d Pepper, 6 lb, £0 3s 0d Coal, 2 chaldrons and 34 bushels, £6 11s 0d Total carried forward, £63 11s 1d **Interpretations** The arrack issued as drams showed spirits used as a working incentive. Men who carried heavy stores up from the landing place, weighed them, dragged the *Mercury*'s cable ashore and hauled up the longboat received a measure of arrack for the effort. The practice was common in the Company's service and at sea, where a dram rewarded unusually hard or wet work, and charging it openly to general expenses made it an official cost of running the island. Coal was measured by the chaldron, a unit of 36 bushels in the London trade, and was shipped out from England. St Helena had long since lost most of its native woodland, so fuel for the armourer's forge and the Castle's fires had to be imported, making coal one of the more costly regular charges on the page. The engine shed housed the island's fire engine, a hand-pumped machine for fighting fires in the closely built town of Jamestown, where timber roofs and stores of powder made fire a serious danger. Firmer gouges were stout, flat-backed carpenter's chisels with curved blades for cutting hollows. The soap and starch for linen were probably used to launder the Castle's table linen and bedding, the same kind of linen later written off when worn out.
79	75	1763 Brought over£63 11s 1d Pitch and Tar Pitch for Repg in the Castle 8 lb £0 1s 0d	The goods charged to the Company's general expenses continued as follows. Brought forward, £63 11s 1d Pitch and tar, 8 lb of pitch for repairs at the Castle, £0 1s 0d

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		Sugar for Do 8 lb £0 2s 4d Oil vizt Train for the Kitchen Armourers Shop and Armoury 9 Galls £1 14s 6d Linseed to Paint the Church Steple Windows and Doors &c and Arm Chests 3¾ Galls £0 14s 5d £2 8s 11d Canvas vizt English to cover the Arm Chest in the Armoury 15 Yards £0 17s 10d Ovenbrigs for Packets 5½ Yards £0 4s 8d £1 2s 6d Braziers Ware vizt Copper Bar for Soldering Irons 4 lb £0 7s 4d Botling Cock Storehouse 1 £0 3s 10d £0 11s 2d Glass Ware vizt Sqr 6 by 8 to Repr the Officers Room at Mundens Point and Armoury 8 £0 2s 2d Sqr 8 by 10 to Repair the Church Windows 22 £0 13s 3d £0 15s 5d Tin Ware vizt Lamps for the Bakers and Workmen at Sandy Bay 2 £0 2s 0d Solder for the Armourer ¾ lb £0 0s 8d £0 2s 8d Chellow for Rubbers in the Castle 1 Piece £0 8s 9d Lines vizt No 3 for the Stone Layers 12 £0 3s 11½d Knot Sash Line for the Castle ½ £0 0s 7½d £0 4s 7d Twine to cover Arm Chests 2 Skains £0 1s 0d Carried over£69 9s 5d	Sugar, 8 lb, for the same repairs, £0 2s 4d Oil: 9 gallons of train oil for the kitchen, the armourer's shop and the armoury, £1 14s 6d 3¾ gallons of linseed oil to paint the church steeple, windows, doors and other woodwork and the arms chests, £0 14s 5d Oil, total, £2 8s 11d Canvas: 15 yards of English canvas to cover the arms chests in the armoury, £0 17s 10d 5½ yards of osnaburg for the packet ships, £0 4s 8d Canvas, total, £1 2s 6d Brass and copper wares: 4 lb of copper bar for soldering irons, £0 7s 4d 1 bottling tap for the storehouse, £0 3s 10d Brass and copper wares, total, £0 11s 2d Glassware: 8 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, to repair the officers' room at Munden's Point and the armoury, £0 2s 2d 22 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, to repair the church windows, £0 13s 3d Glassware, total, £0 15s 5d Tinware: 2 lamps for the bakers and the workmen at Sandy Bay, £0 2s 0d ¾ lb of solder for the armourer, £0 0s 8d Tinware, total, £0 2s 8d Chelloes, 1 piece, for cleaning cloths at the Castle, £0 8s 9d Lines: 12 lines of size 3 for the stonemasons, £0 3s 11½d ½ knot of sash line for the Castle, £0 0s 7½d Lines, total, £0 4s 7d Twine, 2 skeins, to sew the covers for the arms chests, £0 1s 0d Total carried forward, £69 9s 5d **Interpretations** The page traced a thorough refurbishment of the island's church during the quarter. Its steeple, windows and doors were painted with linseed oil paint, and 22 new panes of glass were fitted to its windows, adding to the timber and nails issued earlier for repairs to its fabric. The church was a Company building like the barracks and forts, and its upkeep fell to the Company's stores and workmen. Train oil was oil rendered from whale or seal blubber, burned in lamps and used to grease tools and locks. Its issue to the kitchen, armourer's shop and armoury showed it serving both as lighting fuel and as a rust preventive for the stored arms, which were also protected by new canvas covers stitched with twine. The fishing lines issued to the stonemasons were used as builders' lines, stretched taut between pegs to keep each course of stone straight and level. Sugar charged for repairs at the Castle was perhaps mixed into lime mortar or plaster, a practice common in India, where sugar or jaggery was added to strengthen and harden lime work. The single piece of chelloe cloth cut into cleaning cloths at the Castle showed the cheapest Indian cotton serving household uses.
80	76	17th October Brought over£69 9s 5d China Ware vizt Tea Pot 1 £0 1s 0d Half Pint Cups and Saucers 6 £0 4s 10d £0 5s 10d	The goods charged to the Company's general expenses concluded as follows. Brought forward, £69 9s 5d Porcelain: 1 teapot, £0 1s 0d 6 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 4s 10d Porcelain, total, £0 5s 10d Iron pots, 1 pot of 4 gallons issued for Sandy Bay, £0 4s 6d Turned wares:

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		Iron Pots of 4 Gallons for Sandy Bay Issued 1 £0 4s 6d Turners Ware vizt Bushel Measures 2 £2 9s 11d Half Do 2 £1 6s 9d Peck Do 2 £0 8s 10d £4 5s 6d Candles vizt for the Castle 113½ lb £11 2s 3d Council 155 lb £15 3s 6½d for the Doctors Shop & delivd on Alarms 5½ lb £0 10s 9½d £26 16s 7d £101 1s 10d Diet Expences Dr for the followg Stores Issued from 1st July to the 30th Septr 1763 vizt Flour 10 Cwt 2 qrs £7 0s 0d Sugar and Candy vizt Sugar 2 qrs 2 lb £0 8s 9d Candy 2 Cwt 3 qrs 20 lb £7 3s 6d £7 12s 3d Beef and Pork vizt Eng Pork 28 Pr £3 4s 2d Irish Do 5 Pr £0 8s 5d English Beef 1 Pr £0 3s 1d £3 15s 8d Tea vizt Congo 6 lb £0 7s 6d Singlo 2 lb £0 2s 6d £0 10s 0d Arrack 52 Gallons £8 17s 8d Carried over£27 15s 7d	2 bushel measures, £2 9s 11d 2 half-bushel measures, £1 6s 9d 2 peck measures, £0 8s 10d Turned wares, total, £4 5s 6d Candles: 113½ lb for the Castle, £11 2s 3d 155 lb for the Council, £15 3s 6½d 5½ lb for the surgeon's dispensary and for use during alarms, £0 10s 9½d Candles, total, £26 16s 7d Total charged to general expenses, £101 1s 10d The return then charged to the Governor's table account the stores issued for it between 1 July and 30 September 1763. Flour, 10 cwt 0 qr 0 lb, £7 0s 0d Sugar and sugar candy: Sugar, 0 cwt 1 qr 2 lb, £0 8s 9d Sugar candy, 2 cwt 3 qr 20 lb, £7 3s 6d Sugar and sugar candy, total, £7 12s 3d Salt beef and pork: 28 pieces of English pork, £3 4s 2d 5 pieces of Irish pork, £0 8s 5d 1 piece of English beef, £0 3s 1d Salt beef and pork, total, £3 15s 8d Tea: 6 lb of congou tea, £0 7s 6d 2 lb of singlo tea, £0 2s 6d Tea, total, £0 10s 0d Arrack, 52 gallons, £8 17s 8d Total carried forward, £27 15s 7d **Interpretations** The stores issued for the Governor's table matched the monthly table accounts almost exactly. The table consumed 410 lb, 360 lb and 350 lb of flour in July, August and September, making 1,120 lb, precisely the 10 cwt issued here. Sugar candy at the table came to 110 lb, 107 lb and 111 lb, a total of 328 lb, which was exactly 2 cwt 3 qr 20 lb. Arrack came to 69, 65 and 75 bottles, or 209 bottles, matching the 52 gallons issued at four bottles to the gallon. The storekeeper's issues and the steward's consumption thus checked each other to the pound, leaving no room for stores to leak from the Company's warehouse between the store and the Governor's kitchen. The same comparison showed the table accounts valuing some goods below their cost to the stores. The 328 lb of sugar candy cost £7 3s 6d here, about 5¼d a pound, but the monthly table accounts charged it at 4d. The flour and arrack figures, by contrast, ran close to their store value, so the table's internal rates did not uniformly understate the true cost. The Council's allowance of 155 lb of candles for the quarter, more than the Castle itself used, was probably a perquisite supplied to the councillors for their own households, a common form of payment in kind for Company officials. The candles issued for alarms lit the signal posts and guardrooms when a ship was sighted at night. The bushel, half-bushel and peck measures were standard wooden measures for grain and dry goods. The Company probably supplied them to its storehouse and the market house so that rice, salt and produce could be measured fairly by agreed standards.
81	77	1763 Brought over£27 15s 7d Salt 2 Bushels £0 6s 4d Rice 450 lb £1 14s 9d Pease 1 Bushel £0 8s 9d	The stores charged to the Governor's table account concluded as follows. Brought forward, £27 15s 7d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 6s 4d Rice, 150 lb, £1 14s 9d Peas, 1 bushel, £0 8s 9d Coffee, 10 lb, £0 8s 4d Total charged to the table account, £30 13s 9d The return then charged to the garrison account the stores issued for its use between 1 July and 30 September 1763.

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		Coffee 10 lb £0 8s 4d £30 13s 9d Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Septr 1763 vizt Tea Bohea 42 lb £3 18s 4d Oil Train 87 Galls £16 13s 6d Iron Pots vizt of 8 Galls for the Main Fort 1 £0 9s 6d of 13½ for Sandy Bay 2 £1 5s 0d of 2 Galls for Prosperous Bay 1 £0 2s 6d of 4 G for the Artl Company 1 £0 4s 6d £2 1s 6d Nails vizt 3d for Cots 7 lb £0 5s 3d Tacks for Drums ½ lb £0 0s 7½d 6d 7 lb £0 3s 11½d £0 9s 10d Deals vizt for Cots and Coffins Single 14 £1 7s 5d Double for Cots 3 £0 9s 0d Riga Timber for Cots 1¼ Pr £3 11s 10d £5 8s 3d Lines vizt No 2 30 £0 10s 3d Whip Cord for Whips 1 lb £0 2s 10d £0 13s 1d Arrack for drams on Mustering 45 Galls £7 13s 9d Carried over£37 0s 2d	Tea, 92 lb of bohea, £3 18s 4d Oil, 87 gallons of train oil, £16 15s 6d Iron pots: 1 pot of 8 gallons for the Main Fort, £0 9s 6d 2 pots of 13½ gallons for Sandy Bay, £1 5s 0d 1 pot of 2 gallons for Prosperous Bay, £0 2s 6d 1 pot of 4 gallons for the Artillery Company, £0 4s 6d Iron pots, total, £2 1s 6d Nails: 7 lb of threepenny nails for cots, £0 5s 3d ½ lb of tacks for drums, £0 0s 7½d 7 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 3s 11½d Nails, total, £0 9s 10d Timber, for cots and coffins: 14 single deals, £1 7s 5d 3 double deals for cots, £0 9s 0d ¼ piece of Riga timber for cots, £3 11s 10d Timber, total, £5 8s 3d Lines, for whips: 36 lines of size 2, £0 10s 3d 1 lb of whipcord, £0 2s 10d Lines, total, £0 13s 1d Arrack, 45 gallons, for drams given at musters, £7 13s 9d Total carried forward, £37 0s 2d **Interpretations** The fishing lines and whipcord issued to the garrison for whips were almost certainly for making cats-o'-nine-tails, the knotted whips used to flog soldiers convicted of offences. Flogging was the standard punishment in British and Company armies of the period, and the stores accounts treated the materials as a routine issue, like nails or cooking pots. Together with the demotions of September and the new stocks built from oak, the entry showed the full apparatus of military discipline maintained on the island. The garrison's timber was issued jointly for cots and coffins. Soldiers slept in wooden cots built by the Company's carpenters, and the same deal boards made the coffins for men who died in service, such as Edward Jennings and Anthony Day, whose funerals were marked by the gunner's powder in August. The 45 gallons of arrack given as drams at musters paralleled the drams given to labourers. Issuing spirits when the companies assembled for inspection rewarded attendance and helped keep the garrison content, while the storekeeper's record fixed the quantity the Company was prepared to give. The iron cooking pots went to the outposts at the Main Fort, Sandy Bay and Prosperous Bay, where detachments of soldiers lived and cooked for themselves. The large quantity of train oil fuelled the lamps at these guard posts and in the barracks through the long winter nights.
82	78	17th October Brought over£37 0s 2d Iron Ware vizt Large Iron Pan for Turks Cap 1 £0 3s 3½d H Hatchets for Do & Prosperous Bay 2 £0 3s 4½d Iron Fr Pans for Sevl Guards 3 £0 7s 9d Helves for Do 2	The stores charged to the garrison account continued and concluded as follows. Brought forward, £37 0s 2d Ironware: 1 large frying pan for Turk's Cap, £0 3s 5½d 2 hand hatchets for Turk's Cap and Prosperous Bay, £0 3s 4½d 3 iron frying pans for several guard posts, £0 7s 9d 2 tool handles for the same, £0 1s 3d Ironware, total, £0 15s 10d Tinware: 3 lamps, £0 2s 11¼d 1 small horn lantern, £0 2s 9d 1 riveted horn lantern, £0 4s 10¾d

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		£0 1s 3d £0 15s 10d Tin Ware vizt Lamps 3 £0 2s 10½d Sm. Horn Lanthorn 1 £0 2s 9d Rivetted Do 1 £0 4s 10½d £0 10s 7d Blankets 1 £0 5s 0d Canvas Eng to cover Arm Chests 15 Yards £0 17s 9d Twine Do 1 Sk £0 0s 6d Turners Wares Hair Broom 1 £0 2s 3d Soldiers Cloths vizt Sergts Coats and Breeches 16 £83 12s 0d Corporals Do & Do 16 £24 16s 0d Centinels Do & Do 273 £401 4s 0d Drummers Do & Do 8 £27 4s 0d Gunnrs Mates Do & Do 8 £20 12s 0d Qr Gunners Do & Do 8 £18 8s 0d Matrosses Do & Do 53 £112 12s 6d Marshals Do & Do 1 £2 6s 0d £693 14s 6d Shoes Mens Ordinary 383 Pr £76 12s 0d Shirts Sergts Shirts 24 £7 18s 0d Centinels 359 £83 0s 4½d Rollers 383 £12 7s 4½d £103 5s 9d Hos. Ware Thread Stockgs 383 Pr £54 5s 2d Hats vizt Sergts 24 £14 0s 0d Marshals 1 £0 12s 3d Centinels	Tinware, total, £0 10s 7d Blankets, 1, £0 5s 0d Canvas, 15 yards of English canvas to cover the arms chests, £0 17s 9d Twine, 1 skein, for the same, £0 0s 6d Turned wares, 1 hair broom, £0 2s 3d Soldiers' uniforms, coats and breeches: 16 sets for sergeants, £83 12s 0d 16 sets for corporals, £24 16s 0d 273 sets for sentries, £401 4s 0d 8 sets for drummers, £27 4s 0d 8 sets for gunner's mates, £20 12s 0d 8 sets for quarter gunners, £18 8s 0d 53 sets for matrosses, £112 12s 6d 1 set for the marshal, £2 6s 0d Soldiers' uniforms, total, £693 14s 6d Shoes, 383 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £76 12s 0d Shirts and neckcloths: 24 sergeants' shirts, £7 18s 0d 359 sentries' shirts, £83 0s 4½d 383 rollers, £12 7s 4½d Shirts and neckcloths, total, £103 5s 9d Stockings, 383 pairs of linen thread stockings, £54 5s 2d Hats: 24 for sergeants, £14 0s 0d 1 for the marshal, £0 12s 3d 358 for sentries, £50 9s 0d Hats, total, £65 1s 3d Total charged to the garrison account, £1,032 10s 9d **Interpretations** The clothing issue was the garrison's annual uniform, supplied by the Company and charged to the garrison account rather than sold. Every man received the same set of shoes, stockings, shirt and roller, so the figure of 383 on each line gave the strength of the island's non-commissioned officers and men that year. The rollers issued one per man were probably neckcloths worn with the uniform rather than household towels. At more than £1,000, the clothing issue was the largest single charge in the storekeeper's return and cost over a third of a quarter's pay bill. The price of a uniform varied with rank. A sergeant's coat and breeches cost £5 4s 6d, reflecting finer cloth and trimmings, while a sentry's set cost about £1 9s 5d and a corporal's about £1 11s. The gradation made rank visible at a glance on parade, just as the pay scale made it visible in the paymaster's accounts. The frying pans, lamps and lanterns went to the outlying guard posts at Turk's Cap, Prosperous Bay and elsewhere. Small detachments lived at these lookouts for long periods, cooking their own food and keeping watch through the night, so the Company equipped each post as a small self-contained household.

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		358 £50 9s 0d £65 1s 3d £1032 10s 9d	
83	79	1763 Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Septr 1763 vizt Sugar 148 lb £2 3s 2d Tea Bohea 51 lb £2 2s 6d Shoes Mens Ordinary 25 Pr £5 0s 0d Flour 47 lb £0 5s 10d Oil Train 1⅞ Gs £0 5s 3d Iron Pots vizt of 2 Gallons 5 £0 12s 6d of 4 Gallons 2 £0 9s 0d of 3 Gallons 1 £0 3s 6d of 8 Gallons 1 £0 9s 6d £1 14s 6d Beef and Pork vizt Irish Pork 746 Pr £62 17s 2d Beef 128 Pr £14 2s 8d £76 19s 10d Rice 11221 lb £43 8s 3d Hooks and Lines vizt for Fishing Hooks No 2 25 £0 0s 9d Hooks No 3 30 £0 0s 4d Lines No 2 2½ Doz £0 8s 6d Lines No 3 1 doz £0 3s 11d £0 14s 1d Deals Baulks to Repr an Old House ⅓ £0 6s 2d Blankets 3 £0 15s 0d Arrack 4 Gallons £0 13s 8d Turners Ware vizt Plates 1 W. Bowl 1	The return then charged to the account for the Company's slaves the stores issued for them between 1 July and 30 September 1763. Sugar, 148 lb, £2 3s 2d Tea, 51 lb of bohea, £2 2s 6d Shoes, 25 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £5 0s 0d Flour, 47 lb, £0 5s 10d Oil, 1⅞ gallons of train oil, £0 5s 3d Iron pots: 5 pots of 2 gallons, £0 12s 6d 2 pots of 4 gallons, £0 9s 0d 1 pot of 3 gallons, £0 3s 6d 1 pot of 8 gallons, £0 9s 6d Iron pots, total, £1 14s 6d Salt beef and pork, Irish: 746 pieces of pork, £62 17s 2d 128 pieces of beef, £14 2s 8d Salt beef and pork, total, £76 19s 10d Rice, 11,221 lb, £43 8s 3d Fish hooks and lines, for fishing: 25 hooks of size 2, £0 0s 9d 50 hooks of size 3, £0 0s 11d 2½ dozen lines of size 2, £0 8s 6d 1 dozen lines of size 3, £0 3s 11d Fish hooks and lines, total, £0 14s 1d Timber, ⅔ of a baulk to repair an old house, £0 6s 2d Blankets, 3, £0 15s 0d Arrack, 4 gallons, £0 13s 8d Turned wares: 1 platter and 1 wooden bowl, £0 2s 11d 2 birch brooms, £0 0s 9d Turned wares, total, £0 3s 8d Long cloth, ½ piece of grade 7, £0 9s 2d Thread: 3 lb of coloured thread, £0 9s 9d 1 lb of whitened brown thread, £0 6s 8d Thread, total, £0 16s 5d Total charged to the slaves' account, £135 17s 6d **Interpretations** The account showed how the Company fed its slaves. Rice and salt meat formed the imported part of their diet, with more than 11,000 lb of rice and nearly 900 pieces of Irish salt pork and beef issued in the quarter. The rest came from the island itself: the livestock accounts recorded more than 14,000 lb of yams given to the slaves in August alone, grown on Company land and worked by the slaves' own labour. Cheap Irish provisions and island-grown yams kept the cost of maintaining the workforce low. The hooks and lines issued for fishing let the slaves add to their own rations from the sea. Providing the means to catch fish, rather than issuing more meat, shifted part of the burden of feeding them onto their own time and effort, a practice common across slave societies of the period. The contrast with the garrison's issue was stark. Some 383 soldiers received a full uniform, shoes, shirt and stockings in the same quarter, while the slaves received only 25 pairs of shoes, a few blankets and some thread and long cloth, which they presumably had to make into clothing themselves. The small allowances of tea, sugar and arrack were probably given to the drivers and skilled men among them, or as occasional rewards, rather than to the whole workforce.

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		£0 2s 1d Birch Brooms 2 £0 0s 9d £0 3s 8d Long Cloth No 7 ½ Pr £0 9s 2d Thread vizt Coloured 3 lb £0 9s 9d W. Brown 1 lb £0 6s 8d £0 16s 5d £135 17s 6d	
84	80	17th October Mallay Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st July to the 30th Septembr 1763 vizt Beef 116 Pr £1 14s 4d Rice 12 lb £0 9s 5d Arrack 3¾ Galls £0 12s 10d Sugar 22 lb £0 6s 5d Oil Train ¾ Gall £0 2s 10d Sope 6 lb £0 3s 11d Tea Bohea 3 lb £0 2s 6d Pepper 1 lb £0 0s 6d Shoes Chanl Pumps 1 Pr £0 6s 0d £3 18s 9d Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1763 Rice and Paddy vizt Paddy 33 Cwt 1 qr 18 lb £6 5s 7d Rice 3 qrs 6 lb £0 7s 2d £6 12s 9d Turners Ware vizt Ox Bows 6 £0 8s 3d Labrs Basket 1 £0 0s 9d £0 9s 0d Iron Ware vizt Loping Axe 1 £0 2s 9d Helves 14 £0 8s 9d Wire Rat Trap 1	The return then charged to the account of Mallay the stores issued to him between 1 July and 30 September 1763. Beef, 11 pieces, £1 14s 4d Rice, 120 lb, £0 9s 5d Arrack, 3¼ gallons, £0 12s 10d Sugar, 22 lb, £0 6s 5d Oil, ¾ gallon of train oil, £0 2s 10d Soap, 6 lb, £0 3s 11d Tea, 3 lb of bohea, £0 2s 6d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Shoes, 1 pair of channel pumps, £0 6s 0d Total charged to Mallay's account, £3 18s 9d It next charged to the plantation account the stores issued for the Company's farm during the same period. Rice and unhusked rice: Unhusked rice, 33 cwt 1 qr 18 lb, £6 5s 7d Rice, 0 cwt 3 qr 6 lb, £0 7s 2d Rice and unhusked rice, total, £6 12s 9d Turned and woven wares: 6 ox bows, £0 8s 3d 1 labourer's basket, £0 0s 9d Turned and woven wares, total, £0 9s 0d Ironware: 1 lopping axe, £0 2s 9d 14 tool handles, £0 8s 9d 1 wire rat trap, £0 5s 6d 12 scythe stones, £0 3s 0d Ironware, total, £1 0s 0d Earthenware, 10 milk pans, £0 7s 8d Cordage, 21 lb, £0 7s 5d Nails: 11 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 6s 5d 9 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 5s 3¾d 8 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 3s 8d Nails carried forward, £0 15s 1¾d Total carried forward, £8 16s 10d **Interpretations** Mallay received a personal ration of beef, rice, arrack, sugar, tea and other necessities, entered as a separate account like those of the garrison or the slaves. The name probably denoted a man from the Malay world rather than a surname, and he was perhaps the same Nakhoda Pockellum to whom the paymaster paid a quarterly allowance, a stranded Asian ship's master kept on the island at the Company's expense. His allowance of tea, sugar and a pair of pumps set him well above the slaves in treatment, consistent with a man of some standing awaiting passage home. The plantation account covered the Company's own farm, worked chiefly by its slaves. Ox bows were the curved wooden collars that held a yoke on the necks of draught oxen, which drew the ploughs and carts on the Company's land, and the milk pans were shallow earthenware dishes in which milk stood for the cream to rise before butter was made. The farm

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 5s 6d Scythe Stones 12 £0 3s 0d £1 0s 0d Earthen Ware Milk Pans 10 £0 7s 8d Cordage 21 lb £0 7s 5d Nails vizt 4d 11 lb £0 6s 5d 6d 9 lb £0 5s 3¾d 10d 8 lb £0 3s 8d Nails Carried over£0 15s 1¾d Carried over£8 16s 10d	supplied the fresh butter that appeared each month on the Governor's table, as well as the island's beef and mutton.
85	81	1763 Brought over£8 16s 10d Nails brought over£0 15s 1¾d 20d 2 lb £0 0s 9d Clout ½ lb £0 0s 4¼d £0 16s 3d Oil vizt Train 1½ Gs £0 6s 9d Linseed 1½ Gs £0 6s 8d Tar 2 Galls £0 12s 5d Lines No 4 6 £0 1s 6d Cart Wheels Wheel Barrows 2 £0 2s 2d Paint White Lead mixed 21 lb £1 8s 0d Blankets 1 £0 8s 4d Tin Ware Watering Pots 2 £0 5s 0d Deals vizt Single 2 £0 3s 11d Double 4 £0 12s 0d Cuffie 1 £0 4s 1d Riga Timber to make a Door case for Plantation House Garden 1¼ Pr £0 14s 4d Oak Plank of 5 Inc for Wood House ½ Pr £1 0s 3d	The stores charged to the plantation account concluded as follows. Brought forward, £8 16s 10d Nails brought forward, £0 15s 1¾d 2 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 0s 9d ½ lb of clout nails, £0 0s 4¼d Nails, total, £0 16s 3d Oil: 1½ gallons of train oil, £0 5s 9d 1¼ gallons of linseed oil, £0 6s 8d Oil, total, £0 12s 5d Tar, 2 gallons, £0 1s 6d Lines, 6 of size 4, £0 2s 2d Cart wheels for 2 wheelbarrows, £1 8s 0d Paint, 26 lb of white lead ground in oil, £0 8s 4d Blankets, 1, £0 5s 0d Tinware, 2 watering cans, £0 10s 6d Timber: 2 single deals, £0 3s 11d 4 double deals, £0 12s 0d 1 cuffie, £0 4s 1d ¼ piece of Riga timber to make a door frame for the Plantation House garden, £0 14s 4d ½ piece of 5-inch oak plank for the Governor's woodhouse, £1 0s 3d ½ piece of 1-inch oak plank for a door for the garden, £0 13s 11d ½ piece of 6-inch oak plank to repair the water carts, £1 3s 0d Timber, total, £4 11s 6d Total charged to the plantation account, £17 12s 6d The return then charged to the fortifications account the stores issued for the island's defences between 1 July and 30 September 1763. Lines: 3 Hamburg lines, £0 4s 0d 2 lines of size 4, £0 0s 9d Lines, total, £0 4s 9d Bunting: 3 pieces of red, £4 12s 10d 3 pieces of blue, £3 11s 6d 3 pieces of white, £3 5s 0d Bunting, total, £11 9s 4d Thread, 2 lb of coloured thread, £0 6s 6d Total carried forward, £12 0s 7d **Interpretations** Bunting was a light, loosely woven worsted cloth made specially for flags, since it dried quickly and flew well in the wind. The red, blue and white pieces issued to the fortifications, with coloured thread to sew them, supplied the new signal flags for the Main Fort, Banks's

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do of 1½ for a Drain for Garden ½ Pr £0 15s 11d Do of 6 In to Repr Water Carts ½ Pr £1 3s 0d £4 11s 6d £17 12s 6d Fortifications Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1763 vizt Lines vizt Hambro 3 £0 4s 0d No 4 2 £0 0s 9d £0 4s 9d Bunting vizt Red 3 Pr £4 12s 8d Blue 3 Pr £3 11s 6d White 3 Pr £3 5s 0d £11 9s 4d Thread Coloured 2 lb £0 6s 0d Carried over£12 0s 7d	and Turk's Cap. The gunner had recorded the old flags as worn out in August, and the paymaster had paid John Thomason £2 15s 0d for making the replacements, so the three accounts together traced the flags from the storehouse to the sailmaker to the lookout posts. The plantation account covered not only the Company's farm but the Governor's country residence at Plantation House, whose garden received a new door and door frame and whose woodhouse was repaired. The water carts, mended with heavy oak plank, carried water from the island's springs to the town and to the landing for the ships, a service on which the island's role as a watering station depended.
86	82	17th October Brought over£12 0s 7d Twine 5 Skains £0 2s 7d Canvas Ovenbrigs 13 Yds £0 11s 1d Cordage 13½ lb £0 4s 10d £12 19s 1d Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th Septr 1763 vizt Pitch and Tar vizt Rozin 10 lb £0 1s 8d Turpentine 5 lb £0 0s 11d £0 2s 7d Nails vizt 3d 1 lb £0 0s 7½d 4d 1 lb £0 0s 7d 6d 1 lb £0 0s 6¾d £0 1s 9d Cordage 61 lb £1 1s 7d Deals vizt Single 1 Double 3 £0 1s 10½d	The stores charged to the fortifications account concluded as follows. Brought forward, £12 0s 7d Twine, 5 skeins, £0 2s 7d Canvas, 13 yards of osnaburg, £0 11s 1d Cordage, 13½ lb, £0 4s 10d Total charged to the fortifications account, £12 19s 1d The return then charged to the boats account the stores issued for the Company's boats between 1 July and 30 September 1763. Pitch and tar: 10 lb of rosin, £0 1s 8d 5 lb of turpentine, £0 0s 11d Pitch and tar, total, £0 2s 7d Nails: 1 lb of twopenny nails, £0 0s 7¼d 1 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 0s 7d 1 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 0s 6¾d Nails, total, £0 1s 9d Cordage, 61 lb, £1 1s 7d Timber: 1 single deal, £0 1s 11½d 3 double deals, £0 9s 0d 3 spars, £0 4s 1½d ⅓ piece of Riga timber for props for the new longboat, £0 19s 2d 3 wainscot boards for repairs, £1 0s 0d 2½ pieces of 4-inch elm plank to repair the longboat's keel and other parts, £2 7s 6d Timber, total, £5 1s 9d Oil, 1 gallon of train oil, £0 3s 10d Total charged to the boats account, £6 11s 6d It next charged to the hospital account the stores issued for the sick during the same period. Sugar, 271 lb, £3 19s 0d Flour, 271 lb, £1 13s 10d Tea, 6 lb of bohea, £0 5s 0d Oil, 11 gallons of train oil, £2 2s 2d Rice, 501 lb, £1 19s 0d Total carried forward, £9 19s 0d **Interpretations**

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		Spars 3 £0 9s 4½d Riga Timber for Props for the new Long Boat ½ Pr £0 19s 2d Wainscot Boards for Repg 3 £1 0s 0d Clinc plank of 4 Inches to Repr the Long Boats Keels &c 2½ Pr £2 7s 6d £5 1s 9d Oil Train 1 Gall £0 3s 10d £6 11s 6d Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th Septr 1763 vizt Sugar 271 lb £3 19s 0d Flour 271 lb £1 13s 10d Tea Bohea 6 lb £0 5s 0d Oil Train 11 Galls £2 2s 2d Rice 501 lb £1 19s 0d Carried over£9 19s 0d	The boats account showed the Company building a new longboat and repairing the old one during the quarter. Elm was the standard timber for keels and other parts that stayed permanently under water, because it resisted rot when kept wet, while the Riga timber provided props to support the new hull on the beach during construction. The longboat was essential to an anchorage with no wharf, carrying every cask of water, bale of stores and passenger between the ships and the shore. The hospital's stores reflected the diet thought suitable for the sick. Sugar, tea, flour and rice were lighter and more digestible than the salt meat of the ordinary ration, and the large quantity of sugar, equal in weight to the flour, suggested its use in sweetened drinks and gruels for fevers and fluxes. The train oil lit the wards through the night, when patients needed watching.
87	83	1763 Brought over£9 19s 0d Salt 1 Bushel £0 3s 2d Iron Ware Large Fryg Pan 1 £0 3s 5d Twine Cotton Wick ½ lb £0 1s 5d £10 7s 0d Mercury Snow Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 July to the 30th Septembr 1763 vizt Glass Ware vizt Squares 12 by 7 6 £0 1s 8d Do 10 by 8 12 £0 7s 3d £1 15s 3d Leather Pump 20 lb £1 8s 4d Tin Ware vizt Lamps 2 £0 1s 11½d Speakg Trumpets 2 £0 7s 4d Quart Sauce Pans 2 £0 1s 1½d Pudding Pans 3 £0 4s 4½d	The stores charged to the hospital account concluded as follows. Brought forward, £9 19s 0d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 3s 2d Ironware, 1 large frying pan, £0 3s 5d Twine, ½ lb of cotton wick, £0 1s 5d Total charged to the hospital account, £10 7s 0d The return then charged to the account of the snow *Mercury* the stores issued to her between 1 July and 30 September 1763. Glassware: 6 panes of glass, 12 by 7 inches, £1 8s 0d 12 panes of glass, 10 by 8 inches, £0 7s 3d Glassware, total, £1 15s 3d Leather, 20 lb of pump leather, £0 18s 4d Tinware: 2 lamps, £0 1s 11½d 2 speaking trumpets, £0 7s 4d 2 quart saucepans, £0 1s 1½d 3 pudding pans, £0 4s 4½d 12 sheets of tin, £0 4s 5½d Tinware, total, £0 19s 3d Twine, ½ lb of cotton wick, £0 1s 5d Arrack, 165 gallons, £28 3s 9d Sugar and sugar candy: 100 lb of sugar, £1 9s 2d 100 lb of sugar candy, £2 3s 9d Sugar and sugar candy, total, £3 12s 11d Brass and copper wares: 1 pair of steel candle snuffers, £0 3s 4d 1 skimmer, £0 14s 0d 1 tea kettle of 6 quarts, £0 18s 0d 1 pair of candlesticks, £0 7s 6d Brass and copper wares, total, £2 2s 10d Bunting: 50 yards of red, £1 14s 2½d 6 yards of white, £0 3s 0d 6 yards of blue, £0 3s 2½d

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		Sheets Tin 12 £0 4s 5½d £0 19s 3d Twine Cotton Wick ½ lb £0 1s 5d Arrack 165 Galls £28 3s 9d Sugar and Candy vizt Sugar 100 lb £1 9s 2d Candy 100 lb £2 3s 9d £3 12s 11d Braziers Ware vizt Steel Snuffers 1 Pr £0 3s 4d Skimmer 1 £0 14s 0d Tea Kettle of 6 Quarts 1 £0 18s 0d Candlesticks 1 Pr £0 7s 6d £2 2s 10d Bunting vizt Red 50 Yds £1 14s 2½d White 6 Yds £0 3s 0d Blue 6 Yds £0 3s 2½d £2 0s 9d Paint vizt Verdigrease ½ lb £0 8s 0d Whiting 2 lb £0 0s 1d £0 8s 1d Carried over£40 2s 7d	Bunting, total, £2 0s 9d Paint: [...] lb of verdigris, £0 8s 0d 2 lb of whiting, £0 0s 1d Paint carried forward, £0 8s 1d Total carried forward, £40 2s 7d **Interpretations** The *Mercury* was fitted out at the Company's stores for a voyage from the island, and the arrack made up far the largest part of her account. The 165 gallons provided the daily spirit ration for her crew of about 16 men, the same number paid their monthly wages on 7 August, and was enough for a long passage. Sugar, candy, a tea kettle and candlesticks supplied the master's cabin. Pump leather was thick, supple hide cut to make the valves and washers of the ship's pumps, which had to be kept working to clear water from the hold on every voyage. The red, white and blue bunting was probably for making the ship's ensign and signal flags, with the red in greatest quantity because the British red ensign was the flag most merchant vessels flew. The speaking trumpets allowed the master to hail other ships and pass orders over the noise of wind and sea.
88	84	17th October Brought over£40 2s 7d Flour 690 lb £4 6s 3d Nails vizt 2d 6 lb £0 3s 7½d 3d 8 lb £0 6s 0d 4d 12 lb £0 7s 0d 10d 20 lb £0 9s 2d Glazg Brads 4 lb £0 3s 4d Tacks 2 lb	The stores charged to the account of the snow *Mercury* continued as follows. Brought forward, £40 2s 7d Flour, 630 lb, £4 6s 3d Nails: 6 lb of twopenny nails, £0 3s 7½d 8 lb of threepenny nails, £0 6s 0d 12 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 7s 0d 20 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 9s 2d 4 lb of glaziers' brads, £0 3s 4d 2 lb of tacks, £0 2s 6½d Nails, total, £1 11s 8d Ironware: 2 barrack cupboard locks, £0 8s 8d 4 padlocks, £0 8s 4d 2 chest locks, £0 9s 3d 2 hash pans of hammered iron, £1 15s 1d 1 saucepan of 2 gallons of hammered iron, £0 12s 1d 2 iron frying pans, £0 5s 2d 6 ships' scrapers, £0 10s 2d 1 spring rat trap, £0 1s 6d 1 tool handle, £0 0s 7d

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		£0 2s 6½d £1 11s 8d Iron Ware vizt Barr pub Lock 2 £0 8s 8d Pad Locks 4 £0 8s 4d Chest Locks 2 £0 9s 3d Hackpans 2 £1 15s 1d Two Qt Sauce Pans Hammd Iron 1 £0 12s 1d Iron Fryg Pans 2 £0 5s 2d Ships Scrapers 6 £0 10s 2d Spring Rat Trap 1 £0 1s 6d Helve 1 £0 0s 7d £4 11s 1d Hooks and Lines vizt Hooks No 1 25 £0 1s 2¼d Hooks No 12 50 £0 0s 2½d Hooks No 15 50 £0 0s 3¼d Hooks No 16 50 £0 0s 3d Lines No 2 12 Lines No 3 12 £0 8s 0d Candles 20 lb £0 10s 3d Thread Coloured 1 lb £1 19s 2d Pepper 6 lb £0 3s 3d Paddy 5 Cwt 1 qr 12 lb £1 3s 0d Cuttlery Stag Horn Knives and Forks 6 £0 5s 1d China Ware vizt Blue and White Saucers 6 £0 2s 0d Quartn Pt Cups and Saucers 1 Dozn £0 4s 8d Tea Pot 1 £0 1s 0d Set Dishes and Plates 1	Ironware, total, £4 11s 1d Fish hooks and lines: 25 hooks of size 1, £0 1s 2¾d 50 hooks of size 12, £0 0s 2½d 50 hooks of size 15, £0 0s 5¼d 50 hooks of size 16, £0 0s 5d 12 lines of size 2 and 12 lines of size 3, £0 8s 0d Fish hooks and lines, total, £0 10s 3d Candles, 20 lb, £1 19s 2d Thread, 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 3s 3d Pepper, 6 lb, £0 3s 0d Unhusked rice, 5 cwt 1 qr 12 lb, £1 0s 2d Cutlery, 6 staghorn-handled knives and forks, £0 5s 1d Porcelain: 6 small blue and white bowls, £0 2s 0d 1 dozen quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 4s 8d 1 teapot, £0 1s 0d 1 set of dishes and plates, £0 18s 8d Porcelain carried forward, £1 6s 4d Total carried forward, £54 12s 6d **Interpretations** The *Mercury*'s account showed a small Company vessel stocked as a complete floating household. Hash pans and a large saucepan equipped the galley, locks secured the chests and cupboards holding stores and papers, and ships' scrapers, triangular iron blades on handles, kept the decks and hull clean. The fishing tackle let the crew supplement their salt provisions with fresh fish at sea, while the porcelain, staghorn cutlery and teapot furnished the master's table. Charging every item to the vessel's own account let the Council recover the cost of her fitting out from whatever service she performed.

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		£0 13s 8d China Ware Carried over£1 1s 4d Carried over£54 12s 6d	
89	85	1763 Brought over£54 2s 6d China Ware brought over£1 1s 4d Soop Plates 1 Doz £0 5s 5d Salts 2 £0 1s 3d £1 13s 0d Deals Single 16 £1 11s 4d £57 16s 10d Fly Cutter Dr for the following Stores Issued from 1st July to the 30th Sept 1763 vizt Cordage 15 Cwt 2 qrs 26 lb £30 4s 2d a Cable of 8 Inches 13 Cwt 0 qrs 2 lb a Jib Jack 1 Cwt 0 qrs 10 lb Prs of Sheets 0 Cwt 3 qrs 10 lb £28 15s 5d £58 19s 7d Twine vizt Marline 18 Sks £0 3s 9d Cotton Yarn ½ lb £0 4s 3d £0 8s 0d Arrack 124¾ Gallons £21 6s 10d Coals 1 Chaldr 16 Bushels £3 9s 4d Hooks and Lines vizt Hooks No 1 25 Hooks No 2 25 £0 2s 0d Lines No 4 6 Hambro Do 4 Log Do 1 £0 8s 7d £0 10s 7d Nails vizt 2d 13 lb 4d 2 lb 6d 703 lb 10d 14 lb 20d 4 lb 40d 58 lb Spike 99½ lb £23 2s 9d Rice and Paddy vizt	The stores charged to the account of the snow *Mercury* concluded as follows. Brought forward, £54 12s 6d Porcelain brought forward, £1 6s 4d 1 dozen soup plates, £0 5s 5d 2 salt cellars, £0 1s 3d Porcelain, total, £1 13s 0d Timber, 16 single deals, £1 11s 4d Total charged to the Mercury's account, £57 16s 10d The return then charged to the account of the cutter *Fly* the stores issued to her between 1 July and 30 September 1763. Cordage, 15 cwt 2 qr 26 lb, £30 4s 2d Cordage, 13 cwt 0 qr 2 lb for a cable of 8 inches, 1 cwt 0 qr 10 lb for a jib tack, and 0 cwt 3 qr 10 lb for 6 pairs of sheets, £28 15s 5d Cordage, total, £58 19s 7d Twine: 18 skeins of marline, £0 3s 9d ½ lb of cotton yarn, £0 4s 3d Twine, total, £0 8s 0d Arrack, 124¾ gallons, £21 6s 10d Coal, 1 chaldron and 16 bushels, £3 9s 4d Fish hooks and lines: 25 hooks of size 1 and 25 hooks of size 2, £0 2s 0d 6 lines of size 4, 4 Hamburg lines and 1 log line, £0 8s 7d Fish hooks and lines, total, £0 10s 7d Nails, 13 lb of twopenny, 2 lb of fourpenny, 703 lb of sixpenny, 14 lb of tenpenny, 4 lb of twentypenny and 58 lb of fortypenny nails, with 99½ lb of spike nails, £23 2s 9d Rice and unhusked rice: 1,012 lb of rice, £3 18s 3d 106 lb of unhusked rice, £0 3s 6d Rice and unhusked rice, total, £4 1s 9d Total carried forward, £111 18s 10d **Interpretations** The *Fly*'s account confirmed the scale of the refit recorded in the paymaster's payments for carpenters, caulkers and new rudder irons. More than 29 cwt of cordage, including a new anchor cable, and nearly 900 lb of nails, most of them sixpenny nails for planking, pointed to much of the cutter being rebuilt. Cables were measured by circumference, so a cable of 8 inches was a heavy rope several inches thick, strong enough to hold the cutter at anchor in the open roadstead off Jamestown. The jib tack secured the lower forward corner of the jib sail, and sheets were the ropes that controlled the angle of each sail to the wind. The coal and the large quantity of arrack and rice showed the *Fly* being provisioned for service at sea as well as repaired. Together with the *Mercury*'s outfit, the two vessels cost the Company well over £170 in stores alone in a single quarter, a measure of how much the island depended on its own small craft for communication and supply.

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		Rice 1012 lb £3 18s 3d Paddy 106 lb £0 3s 6d £4 1s 9d Carried over£111 18s 10d	
90	86	17th October Brought over£111 18s 10d Beef and Pork vizt Puncheons Beef 2 £25 18s 6d Hhds Pork 2 £18 19s 0d £44 17s 6d Iron Ware vizt Bolt Rope Needles 6 £0 0s 7½d Sail Do 50 £0 3s 7½d Ships Scrapers 6 £0 10s 2d Helves 2 £0 1s 3d Splinter Locks 3 £0 1s 4½d Lathing Hammer 1 £0 1s 4½d Gimblets 12 £0 2s 0d £0 19s 11d Tea vizt Singlo 2 lb £0 2s 6d Bohea 1 lb £0 0s 10d £0 3s 4d Sugar and Candy vizt Sugar 26 lb £0 7s 7d Candy 30 lb £0 13s 1d £1 0s 8d Flour vizt Europe 640 lb £4 0s 0d Cape 335 lb £3 16s 9d £7 16s 9d Pepper 1 lb £0 0s 6d Bunting Blue 6 Yds £0 3s 4d Candles 8 lb £0 15s 8d Thread Whited Brown	The stores charged to the account of the cutter *Fly* continued as follows. Brought forward, £111 18s 10d Salt beef and pork: 2 puncheons of beef, £25 18s 6d 2 hogsheads of pork, £18 19s 0d Salt beef and pork, total, £44 17s 6d Ironware: 6 bolt-rope needles, £0 0s 7½d 50 sail needles, £0 3s 1½d 6 ships' scrapers, £0 10s 2d 2 tool handles, £0 1s 3d 3 splinter locks, £0 1s 4½d 1 lathing hammer, £0 1s 4½d 12 gimlets, £0 2s 0d Ironware, total, £0 19s 11d Tea: 2 lb of singlo tea, £0 2s 6d 1 lb of bohea tea, £0 0s 10d Tea, total, £0 3s 4d Sugar and sugar candy: 26 lb of sugar, £0 7s 7d 30 lb of sugar candy, £0 13s 1d Sugar and sugar candy, total, £1 0s 8d Flour: 640 lb of European flour, £4 0s 0d 335 lb of Cape flour, £3 16s 9d Flour, total, £7 16s 9d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Bunting, 6 yards of blue, £0 3s 4d Candles, 8 lb, £0 15s 8d Thread, ½ lb of whitened brown thread, £0 3s 4d Iron and steel: 307 lb of iron, £3 3s 11½d 5 lb of steel, £0 1s 10½d Iron and steel, total, £3 5s 10d Tinware: 12 horn lantern panes, £0 2s 3d 1 lamp, £0 1s 0d Tinware, total, £0 3s 3d Canvas: 2 bolts of English canvas, £4 13s 0d 62 yards of ticklenburg, £2 19s 5d Canvas, total, £7 12s 5d Total carried forward, £179 1s 4d **Interpretations** The flour issued to the *Fly* came from two sources at very different prices. European flour, shipped out from England, cost the stores about 1½d a pound, while flour from the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope cost nearly 2¾d. The Cape lay much closer and supplied fresher grain, and the island drew on it when shipments from England ran short, accepting the higher price for a more reliable supply. A puncheon was a large cask holding around 80 gallons or more, larger than a hogshead, and the two puncheons of beef and two hogsheads of pork amounted to a substantial store of salt meat for the cutter's crew. The 307 lb of bar iron and steel probably served for ironwork during the refit and for repairs at sea, and the two bolts of English canvas, each a full roll of around 40 yards, were enough to cut new sails.

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		½ lb £0 3s 4d Iron and Steel vizt Iron 307 lb £3 3s 11½d Steel 5 lb £0 1s 10½d £3 5s 10d Tin Ware vizt Lanthorn Leaves 12 £0 2s 3d Lamp 1 £0 1s 0d £0 3s 3d Canvas vizt English 2 Bolts £4 13s 0d Ticklenburgs 62 Yds £2 19s 5d £7 12s 5d Carried over£179 1s 4d	
91	87	1763 Brought over£179 1s 4d Blocks vizt Double of 10 Inches 1 £0 2s 8d Single of 7 Do 1 £0 0s 10d Do of 8 Do 1 £0 0s 11d Do of 9 Do 1 £0 1s 1d Do of 12 Do 2 £0 2s 6d £0 8s 0d Turners Ware vizt Mops 2 £0 2s 5d Birch Brooms 6 £0 2s 3d Scrubg Brush 1 £0 2s 3d Paint Brushes 8 £0 4s 8½d Plaisterers Brush 1 £0 1s 1½d Bursp Box 1 £0 3s 5½d Do with an Iron Staple 1 £0 3s 5½d Labourers Basket 1 £0 0s 9d £1 0s 5d Lead Sheet 353 lb £3 5s 9d	The stores charged to the account of the cutter *Fly* continued as follows. Brought forward, £179 1s 4d Pulley blocks: 1 double block of 10 inches, £0 2s 8d 1 single block of 7 inches, £0 0s 10d 1 single block of 8 inches, £0 0s 11d 1 single block of 9 inches, £0 1s 1d 2 single blocks of 12 inches, £0 2s 6d Pulley blocks, total, £0 8s 0d Turned and woven wares: 2 mops, £0 2s 5d 6 birch brooms, £0 2s 3d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 3d 8 paint brushes, £0 4s 8½d 1 plasterer's brush, £0 1s 1½d 1 biscuit box, £0 3s 5½d 1 biscuit box with an iron staple, £0 3s 5½d 1 labourer's basket, £0 0s 9d Turned and woven wares, total, £1 0s 5d Sheet lead, 3 cwt 0 qr 3 lb, £3 5s 9d Porcelain: 3 bowls, £0 3s 3d 6 blue and white soup plates, £0 2s 8½d 6 small blue and white bowls, £0 2s 0d 2 mugs, £0 3s 0d 1 teapot, £0 1s 0d 1 set of dishes and plates, £0 18s 8d 6 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 4s 10½d Porcelain, total, £1 15s 6d Pitch and tar: 3 barrels of tar, £3 6s 9d 229 lb of turpentine, £2 2s 11d 338 lb of rosin, £2 2s 3d 1½ barrels of pitch, £2 14s 3d Pitch and tar, total, £10 6s 2d Oil: 21 gallons of train oil, £4 0s 6d 2½ gallons of linseed oil, £0 9s 7d Oil, total, £4 10s 1d Leather, 24 lb of sole leather, £1 2s 0d Total carried forward, £201 9s 3d **Interpretations** Pulley blocks were the wooden-cased pulleys through which a ship's running rigging passed, sized by the length of the shell in inches. A double block held two sheaves side by side, doubling the purchase on a heavy line such as a halyard. Their issue alongside large

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		China Ware vizt China Bowls 3 £0 3s 3d Blue and White Soop Plates 6 £0 2s 8½d Blue & White Saucers 6 £0 2s 0d Mugs 2 £0 3s 0d Tea Pot 1 £0 1s 0d Set Dishes and Plates 1 £0 18s 8d Half Pint Cups and Saucers 6 £0 4s 10½d £1 15s 6d Pitch and Tar vizt Tar 3 Barrls £3 6s 9d Turpentine 229 lb £2 2s 11d Rozin 338 lb £2 2s 3d Pitch 1½ Barl £2 14s 3d £10 6s 2d Oil vizt Train 21 G £4 0s 6d Linseed 2½ G £0 9s 7d £4 10s 1d Leather Sole 24 lb £1 2s 0d Carried over£201 9s 3d	quantities of tar, pitch, rosin and turpentine, the materials for paying seams and preserving rigging, confirmed the *Fly*'s thorough overhaul. The sheet lead, more than 3 cwt of it, was probably used to sheathe parts of the hull, line the pump well and cover joints on deck against leaks. The biscuit boxes were wooden chests for storing ship's biscuit, the hard, twice-baked bread that formed the staple of every seaman's diet, with the iron staple taking a padlock to guard the ration from pilfering.
92	88	17 October Brought over£201 9s 3d Blankets 1 £0 5s 0d Oars 4 £0 15s 5d Braziers Ware Copper Plate 1 £0 9s 5d Salt ½ Bushel £0 1s 7d Pease ½ Bushel £0 4s 4d Corks ½ Gross £0 0s 7d Paint vizt Sky Blue 7 lb £0 13s 0d Ven Red mixed 10 lb	The stores charged to the account of the cutter *Fly* concluded as follows. Brought forward, £201 9s 3d Blankets, 1, £0 5s 0d Oars, 4, £0 15s 5d Brass and copper wares, 6 lb of copper plate, £0 9s 5d Salt, ½ bushel, £0 1s 7d Peas, ½ bushel, £0 4s 4d Corks, ½ gross, £0 0s 7d Paint: 7 lb of sky blue, £0 13s 0d 10 lb of Venetian red ground in oil, £0 4s 7d 10 lb of red lead, £0 2s 1d 4 bars of blacking, £0 2s 2d 4 lb of whiting, £0 0s 1d 1 lb of copperas, £0 1s 0d 2 lb of dry yellow ochre, £0 0s 4½d 1 lb of white lead ground in oil, £0 0s 5d ½ lb of umber, £0 0s 1½d 6 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 1s 3d Paint, total, £1 5s 1d Timber: 13 double deals, £1 5s 5d 2 elm planks of 4 inches, £1 18s 0d 2 oak planks of 6 inches, £4 12s 0d

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		£0 4s 7d Red Lead 10 lb £0 2s 1d Barrs Blacking 4 £0 2s 2d Whiting 4 lb £0 0s 1d Copperas 1 lb £0 1s 0d Yell Oacker dry 2 lb £0 0s 4½d White Lead mixed 1 lb £0 0s 5d Umber ½ lb £0 0s 1½d V Red dry 6 lb £0 1s 3d £1 5s 1d Deals vizt Double Deals 13 £1 5s 5d Clinc Planks of 4 Inches 2 £1 18s 0d Oak Do of 6 Do 2 £4 12s 0d Baulks 3⅔ £1 12s 4d Oak Plank of 4 Inches 1 £1 7s 10d Riga Timber 14 Pr £24 8s 9d £35 4s 4d Sails 1 Suit £42 19s 0d £282 14s 0d St Helena 30th Septr 1763 Errors Excepted (signed) Js Powell Storekeeper	3⅔ baulks, £1 12s 4d 1 oak plank of 4 inches, £1 7s 10d 8½ pieces of Riga timber, £24 8s 9d Timber, total, £35 4s 4d Sails, 1 full suit, £42 19s 0d Total charged to the Fly's account, £282 14s 0d James Powell signed the return as storekeeper at St Helena on 30 September 1763, reserving the right to correct any mistakes. **Interpretations** The *Fly*'s account came to £282 14s 0d for the quarter, far more than the island's planters spent at the stores in the same period and nearly five times the cost of fitting out the *Mercury*. A complete new suit of sails at £42 19s 0d, more than 8 pieces of heavy Riga timber, new oak and elm planking and a fresh coat of paint amounted almost to rebuilding the cutter. The Company evidently judged a small, fast vessel of its own worth the expense on an island that otherwise depended entirely on passing Indiamen for contact with the outside world. Red lead, an orange pigment made by roasting lead, was the standard priming coat for ironwork and for wood exposed to the sea, since it sealed the surface against water and rot. Yellow ochre was a natural earth pigment giving a dull yellow, and together with the Venetian red and sky blue it supplied the cutter's paintwork above the waterline.
93	89	17th October The Lieutenant Governor and Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick produced the Inventory taken of the Honorable Company's Stores for the Year past, We ordered it to be entered, which is as follows vizt Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honorable Company's Ware Houses at St Helena the 30th September 1763 vizt Anchors vizt Anchors 5 Do on the West Rocks 1 Iron Hoops 2 Stocks 2 £93 10s 10d	The Lieutenant Governor and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick presented the inventory they had taken of the Company's stores for the past year, and the Council ordered it to be entered in the minutes. It listed the stores remaining in the Company's warehouses at St Helena on 30 September 1763. Anchors: 5 anchors, 1 anchor lying on the West Rocks, 2 iron hoops and 2 anchor stocks, £93 10s 10d 1 anchor weighing 33 cwt 0 qr 6 lb, £56 6s 7d 1 anchor weighing 32 cwt 0 qr 12 lb and 1 weighing 9 cwt 1 qr 27 lb, £71 1s 8d 2 anchor stocks, £8 12s 2d Anchors, total, £229 11s 3d Bunting: 7 pieces and 20¼ yards of red, with 3½ yards of red damaged, £11 10s 1d 4 pieces and 19½ yards of blue, with 1 piece and 20¾ yards damaged, £7 3s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Anchor wt 33 Cwt 2 qrs 6 lb 1 £56 6s 7d Do wt 32 Cwt 0 qrs 12 lb 1 Do wt 9 Cwt 1 qr 27 lb 1 £71 4s 8d Anchor Stocks 2 £8 12s 2d £229 14s 3d Bunting vizt Red 7 Pr 20¼ Yds Do damaged 3½ Yds £11 10s 1d Blue 4 Pr 19½ Yds Damaged 1 Pr 20¾ Yds £7 3s 8d White 5 Pr 31¼ Yds Do damaged 10¼ £6 9s 0d £25 2s 9d Broad Cloth vizt Scarlet 50⅜ Yds £49 0s 8d French Grey 31⅞ Yds £27 19s 9d Green 1⅛ Yds £1 1s 9d Blue 21¼ Yds £19 2s 6d Pompadore 10⅞ Yds £10 7s 6d Brown 19⅞ Yds £16 19s 1d Black 13⅝ Yds £11 2s 7d £135 13s 10d Braziers Ware vizt Skimmers @ 2s 3¾d 10 £1 4s 9½d Do @ 2s 8d 1 £0 2s 8d Do @ 14s 4d 2 £1 8s 8d Braziers Ware Carried over£2 16s 1½d Carried over£390 10s 10d	5 pieces and 31¾ yards of white, with 10¼ yards damaged, £6 9s 0d Bunting, total, £25 2s 9d Broadcloth: 50⅝ yards of scarlet, £49 0s 8d 31⅞ yards of French grey, £27 19s 9d 1⅞ yards of green, £1 1s 9d 21¼ yards of blue, £19 2s 6d 10⅞ yards of pompadour, £10 7s 6d 19⅞ yards of brown, £16 19s 1d 13½ yards of black, £11 2s 7d Broadcloth, total, £135 13s 10d Brass and copper wares: 10 skimmers at 2s 5¾d each, £1 4s 9½d 1 skimmer at 2s 8d, £0 2s 8d 2 skimmers at 14s 4d each, £1 8s 8d Brass and copper wares carried forward, £2 16s 1½d Total carried forward, £390 10s 10d **Interpretations** The inventory completed the annual stocktaking the Council ordered on 5 September 1763, which had closed the stores from 10 September to 10 October. Counting every item remaining at the end of the Company's year and valuing it at cost gave the directors in London a figure against which the next year's receipts, sales and issues could be checked, closing the circle of accounts from invoice to warehouse to sale. The anchors were the most valuable single category. Anchors of more than 30 cwt were the heavy bower anchors of East Indiamen, kept in reserve because ships riding in the open roadstead off Jamestown sometimes lost theirs when cables parted in heavy swell. The anchor lying on the West Rocks was probably one lost from a ship and not yet recovered, still counted as Company property because it could be raised. Anchor stocks, the heavy crossbars fixed near the ring, were stored separately because they were often made of timber and fitted when the anchor was needed. The inventory also separated damaged goods from sound ones, recording the damaged bunting by the yard. Distinguishing the two protected the storekeeper, since cloth ruined by damp or insects in the warehouse would otherwise have appeared as an unexplained shortfall against his books.
94	90	17th October Brought over£390 10s 10d Braziers Ware brought over£2 16s 1½d Warming Pan 1 £0 11s 3d Brass for Soldering 4¼ lb £0 8s 10d Hash Pans with Covers 12	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1763 continued as follows. Brought forward, £390 10s 10d Brass and copper wares brought forward, £2 16s 1½d 1 warming pan, £0 11s 3d 4¼ lb of brass for soldering, £0 8s 10d 12 hash pans with covers, £16 4s 9d 2 hash pans without covers, £1 9s 8d 5 small bottling taps, £0 15s 0d 1 copper kettle of 6 gallons, £1 15s 5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£16 4s 9d Do without Do 2 £1 9s 8d Small Bottling Cocks 5 £0 15s 0d Copper Kettle of 6 Galls 1 £1 15s 5d Boiling Pot of 16 Do 1 Do Do of 8 Do 1 £4 4s 10d Brass Candlesticks 9 Pr £3 7s 6d Steel Snuffers 11 Pr £1 13s 0d Sauce pans of 2 Galls each 3 £3 6s 0d Do of 1¼ Do 6 £4 2s 6d Do of ¾ Do 4 £1 13s 0d Large Tea Kettles 2 £1 16s 0d Small Do 6 £3 18s 7d Brass Wire 10 lb 11 oz £1 1s 10d Brass Plate 15 lb 7 oz £1 3s 0d Copper Do 24 lb £1 11s 3½d £51 13s 7d Blankets 171 £42 15s 0d Blocks vizt Ironbound Cat Blocks 4 £1 5s 8d Do Snatch 2 £1 7s 6d Do Single Top 1 £0 5s 0d Do Iron'd Eyes 4 Dead Eyes 6 £4 5s 9d Double Long Tackle 1 £0 4s 9d Double Block of 14 Inches 3 £0 16s 5d Do of 12 Do 2 £0 6s 0d Do of 11 Do 2 Do of 10 Do	1 boiling pot of 6 gallons and 1 of 8 gallons, £4 4s 10d 9 pairs of brass candlesticks, £3 7s 6d 11 pairs of steel candle snuffers, £1 13s 0d 3 saucepans of 2 gallons each, £3 6s 0d 6 saucepans of 1¼ gallons each, £4 2s 6d 4 saucepans of ¾ gallon each, £1 13s 0d 2 large tea kettles, £1 16s 0d 6 small tea kettles, £3 18s 7d 10 lb 11 oz of brass wire, £1 1s 10d 15 lb 1 oz of brass plate, £1 3s 0d 24 lb of copper plate, £1 11s 3½d Brass and copper wares, total, £51 13s 7d Blankets, 171, £42 15s 0d Pulley blocks and rigging fittings: 4 iron-bound cat blocks, £1 5s 8d 2 iron-bound snatch blocks, £1 7s 6d 1 iron-bound single top block, £0 5s 0d 4 iron-bound deadeyes and 6 plain deadeyes, £4 5s 9d 1 double long-tackle block, £0 4s 9d 3 double blocks of 14 inches, £0 16s 5d 2 double blocks of 12 inches, £0 6s 0d 2 double blocks of 11 inches and 5 of 10 inches, £0 19s 0d 2 double blocks of 9 inches, £0 5s 0d 4 double blocks of 8 inches, £0 8s 0d 2 double blocks of 7 inches, £0 3s 4d 2 single blocks of 14 inches, £0 6s 3d 6 single blocks of 12 inches, £0 8s 0½d Pulley blocks carried forward, £11 0s 8½d Total carried forward, £484 19s 5d **Interpretations** The blocks in store formed a spare set of ship's rigging gear for the Company's own vessels and for Indiamen needing repairs in the road. A cat block was a heavy iron-bound block used to hoist the anchor up to the cathead, the timber beam projecting from the bow. A snatch block had a hinged opening in its side so that the middle of a rope could be dropped in without threading the end, which made it quick to rig for heavy lifts. Deadeyes were round, flat wooden blocks pierced with three holes, used in pairs with lanyards to tighten the shrouds that held up the masts. The 171 blankets in store, valued at 5s each, were the reserve for the garrison, the hospital and the slaves. The large stock of copper and brass cooking pots, hash pans and kettles supplied the outposts, ships and Company households, and the copper and brass plate and wire gave the armourer and tinsmith raw metal for repairs on an island far from any foundry.

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		5 £0 19s 0d Do of 9 Do 2 £0 5s 0d Do of 8 Do 4 £0 8s 0d Do of 7 Do 2 £0 3s 4d Single of 14 Do 2 £0 6s 3d Do of 12 Do 6 £0 8s 0½d Blocks Carried over£11 0s 8½d Carried over£484 19s 5d	
95	91	1763 Brought over£484 19s 5d Blocks Brought over£11 0s 8½d Single Blocks of 11 Inches 2 £0 3s 0d Do Do of 10 Do 4 £0 6s 0d Do of 9 Do 6 £0 7s 0d Do of 8 Do 17 £0 15s 0d Do of 7 Do 1 £0 0s 10½d Do of 6 Do 3 £0 2s 0d £12 14s 7d Buckram 7 Pr 17¼ Yds £7 19s 0d Books vizt Common Prayer Books 29 £3 19s 9d Bibles 19 £3 3s 4d Spelling Books 22 £1 5s 8d Primmers 21 £0 5s 3d Horn Books 4 £0 0s 6d £8 14s 6d Beef and Pork vizt Punchs Eng Beef 133 Punch 11 Pr £1725 3s 7d Hhds Do Pork 224 Hhds 13 Pr £2217 19s 3d Tierces Irish Do 32 £149 3s 0d Tierces Do Beef 4 £17 12s 0d £4109 17s 10d	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1763 continued as follows. Brought forward, £484 19s 5d Pulley blocks brought forward, £11 0s 8½d 2 single blocks of 11 inches, £0 3s 0d 4 single blocks of 10 inches, £0 6s 0d 6 single blocks of 9 inches, £0 7s 0d 17 single blocks of 8 inches, £0 15s 0d 1 single block of 7 inches, £0 0s 10½d 3 single blocks of 6 inches, £0 2s 0d Pulley blocks, total, £12 14s 7d Buckram, 7 pieces and 17¾ yards, £7 19s 0d Books: 29 Books of Common Prayer, £3 19s 9d 19 Bibles, £3 3s 4d 22 spelling books, £1 5s 8d 21 primers, £0 5s 3d 4 hornbooks, £0 0s 6d Books, total, £8 14s 6d Salt beef and pork: 133 puncheons and 11 pieces of English beef, £1,725 3s 7d 224 hogsheads and 13 pieces of English pork, £2,217 19s 3d 32 tierces and 9 pieces of Irish pork, £149 3s 0d 4 tierces of Irish beef, £17 12s 0d Salt beef and pork, total, £4,109 17s 10d Copper coin, 53,960 Irish halfpence, £112 8s 4d Canvas and coarse linen: 61 pieces and 22 yards of English canvas, £132 18s 4d 1,699 yards of osnaburg, £62 16s 11d 988 yards of ticklenburg, £47 6s 10d Canvas and coarse linen, total, £243 2s 1d Small hardware: 12 horse combs, £0 3s 0d 14½ dozen horn combs, £1 5s 4d 8 dozen and 7 ivory combs, £4 19s 3d 115 dozen and 11 pairs of shoe buckles, £34 18s 10d 35 dozen and 9 pairs of knee buckles, £6 6s 0d 3 dozen and 8 shoemakers' knives, £0 14s 8d Small hardware carried forward, £48 7s 1d Total carried forward, £4,979 15s 9d **Interpretations** Salt meat dominated the inventory, with more than £4,100 held in some 390 casks of beef and pork. The stockpile covered years of rations for the garrison and slaves and supplied Company ships calling for provisions. Its size also reflected the island's strategic role. St Helena had been captured by the Dutch in 1673, and a fortress holding its main route could not depend on the next ship for food, so the Company kept a reserve large enough to withstand a long blockade.

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		Copper Money Irish half Pence 33960 £112 8s 4d Canvas vizt Eng. Canvas 61 Pr 22 Yds £132 18s 4d Ovenbrigs 1699 Yards £62 16s 11d Sicklenburgs 988 Yards £47 6s 10d £243 2s 1d Cuttlery Ware vizt Horse Combs 12 £0 3s 0d Horn Do 14½ doz £1 5s 4d Ivory Do 8 doz 7 £4 19s 3d Shoe Buckles 115 doz 11 Pr £34 18s 10d Knee Do 35 doz 9 Pr £6 6s 0d Shoe Knives 3 doz 8 £0 14s 8d Cuttlery Ware Carried over£48 7s 1d Carried over£4979 15s 9d	The 53,960 Irish halfpence in store were copper small change shipped out for use on the island. The garrison and settlers needed coins worth less than the smallest silver piece for everyday purchases, and the problems with pistareens earlier in the year showed how unreliable silver fractions could be. Copper halfpence from the Irish mint, cheaper than English coin, filled that gap and would be paid out as part of wages or change at the stores. The books in store supported both church and school. The primers and hornbooks were the first readers of eighteenth-century children: a hornbook was a small wooden paddle bearing a printed sheet of the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer, protected by a thin layer of transparent horn. Their presence alongside Bibles, prayer books and spelling books showed the Company equipping Richard Beale's school to teach the island's children to read.
96	92	17th October Brought over£4979 15s 9d Cuttlery brought over£48 7s 1d Butchers Do 6 doz 4 £1 12s 10d Pruning Knives 1 doz £0 8s 6d Choping Do 5 £0 5s 10d Ivory Handle Kn & Forks 6 doz £9 0s 0d Stag Horn Do & Do 6½ doz £3 5s 0d Fleams 5 £0 9s 8d Leather Garters 14 doz 1 Pr £2 16s 4d £66 5s 3d Cart Wheels vizt Cart Wheels 5 Pr £20 4s 9d Axletrees 11 £4 16s 10d Wheel Barrows 34 £23 15s 10d Spare Sides for Do 10 £0 16s 8d £49 14s 1d Camblet vizt	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1763 continued as follows. Brought forward, £4,979 15s 9d Small hardware brought forward, £48 7s 1d 6 dozen and 4 butcher's knives, £1 12s 10d 1 dozen pruning knives, £0 8s 6d 5 chopping knives, £0 5s 10d 6 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £9 0s 0d 6½ dozen staghorn-handled knives and forks, £3 5s 0d 5 fleams, £0 9s 8d 14 dozen and 1 pair of leather garters, £2 16s 4d Small hardware, total, £66 5s 3d Cart wheels and barrows: 5 pairs of cart wheels, £20 4s 9d 11 axletrees, £4 16s 10d 34 wheelbarrows, £23 15s 10d 10 spare sides for wheelbarrows, £0 16s 8d Cart wheels and barrows, total, £49 14s 1d Camlet: 16½ yards of blue at 8s 8d a yard, £7 3s 0d 39⅛ yards of blue, £6 9s 4d 50⅛ yards of scarlet, £10 12s 9d 3 yards of brown, £0 9s 1d Camlet, total, £24 14s 2d Coal, 14 chaldrons and 15 bushels, £31 12s 9d Corks: 72½ gross of corks, £8 6s 3d 21 lb of sheet cork, £0 12s 7d Corks, total, £8 18s 10d Cordage: 1 shroud hawser, 16 cwt 2 qr 19 lb 12 coils of 4-inch rope, 56 cwt 2 qr 16 lb 8 coils of 3¾-inch rope, 35 cwt 3 qr 7 lb 10 coils of 3½-inch rope, 48 cwt 0 qr 8 lb 12 coils of 3-inch rope, 38 cwt 1 qr 0 lb 11 coils of 2½-inch rope, 23 cwt 2 qr 16 lb 12 coils of 2-inch rope, 14 cwt 0 qr 22 lb Twelve-thread ratline, 6 cwt 2 qr 7 lb Nine-thread ratline, 3 cwt 1 qr 0 lb

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		Blue @ 8s 8d 16½ Yds £7 3s 0d Blue 39⅛ Yds £6 9s 4d Scarlet 50⅛ Yds £10 12s 9d Brown 3 Yds £0 9s 1d £24 14s 2d Coals 14 Chaldrons 15 Bushels £31 12s 9d Corks vizt Corks 72½ Gross £8 6s 3d Short Do 21 lb £0 12s 7d £8 18s 10d Cordage vizt Shroud Hawser 1 wt 16 Cwt 2 qrs 19 lb Coils 4 Inch 12 wt 56 Cwt 2 qrs 16 lb Do 3¾ Do 8 wt 35 Cwt 3 qrs 7 lb Do 3½ Do 10 wt 48 Cwt 0 qrs 8 lb Do 3 Do 12 wt 38 Cwt 1 qr 0 lb Do 2½ Do 11 wt 23 Cwt 2 qrs 16 lb Do 2 Do 12 wt 14 Cwt 0 qrs 22 lb Twelve Thread Rat. 6 Cwt 2 qrs 7 lb Nine Thread Do 3 Cwt 1 qr 0 lb White Rope 2 Cwt 0 qrs 24 lb Shroud 10 Cwt 2 qrs 5 lb 255 Cwt 3 qrs 12 lb £507 9s 0d Carried over£5668 9s 10d	Untarred rope, 2 cwt 0 qr 24 lb Shroud rope, 10 cwt 2 qr 5 lb Cordage, total weight, 255 cwt 3 qr 12 lb Cordage, total value, £507 9s 0d Total carried forward, £5,668 9s 10d **Interpretations** The store held nearly 13 tons of rope, worth more than £500, graded by circumference from 2 inches to 4 inches. This was a ship chandler's stock rather than the island's own needs, held to re-rig Company vessels and Indiamen that arrived with worn or damaged gear after the long passage from Asia. A shroud hawser was heavy rope laid for the standing rigging that braced the masts, while ratline was light rope tied across the shrouds in rungs to form the ladders sailors climbed aloft. Untarred rope, called white rope in the manuscript, was more flexible than tarred rope and suited running rigging and lashings. The 34 wheelbarrows and five pairs of cart wheels were the tools of the island's heavy public works. The soldiers' 551 days of labour at Sandy Bay and the work at the water trench recorded by the paymaster were carried out with barrows and carts of this kind, moving earth, stone and lime for the fortifications on an island where every load had to be hauled up steep valleys.
97	93	1763 Brought over£5668 9s 10d Deals vizt Double Deals 463 Do in use in the Cellars 18 £72 15s 0d Single Deals 1088 Do in use in the Cellars 29 £109 17s 1d Elm Boards 19 £6 8s 3d Wainscot Do 33 £12 14s 0d Cuffies 38 £7 15s 2d Spars in use in the Cellars 3 £0 4s 1d	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1763 continued as follows. Brought forward, £5,668 9s 10d Timber: 463 double deals, with 18 more in use in the cellars, £72 15s 0d 1,088 single deals, with 29 more in use in the cellars, £109 17s 1d 19 elm boards, £6 8s 3d 38 wainscot boards, £12 14s 0d 38 cuffies, £7 15s 2d 3 spars in use in the cellars, £0 4s 1d 34⅓ baulks, £15 3s 8d 145 bundles of laths, £7 18s 4d 18⅓ pieces of Riga timber, £53 8s 2d 1 piece of [...] oak plank, £1 6s 9d 12 pieces of 4-inch elm plank, £10 10s 0d 1 piece of 4-inch oak plank, £1 7s 10d 2 pieces of 5-inch oak plank, £4 1s 0d 5 pieces of 6-inch oak plank, £11 7s 5d 10 pieces of 5-inch ash plank, £24 0s 0d Timber, total, £338 16s 10d Earthenware: 74 milk pans, £2 16s 2d 2 colanders, damaged, £0 9s 4d

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		Baulks 34⅓ £15 3s 8d Bundles Lathes 143 £7 18s 4d Riga Timber 18⅔ £33 8s 8d Bale Barrh Oak plank 1 £1 6s 9d Elm plank of 4 Inches 12 Pieces £10 10s 0d Oak Do of 4 Do 1 Pr £1 7s 10d Do of 5 Do 2 Pr £4 1s 0d Do of 6 Do 5 Pr £11 7s 5d Ash plank of 5 Do 10 Pr £24 0s 0d £338 16s 10d Earthen Ware vizt Milk Pans 74 £2 16s 4d Collering Do damaged 2 £0 9s 4d Close Stool Do 10 £1 13s 0d £4 18s 8d Flour 1199 Cwt 0 qrs 18 lb £815 8s 0d Flannel 44 Yds £2 12s 3d Glass Ware vizt Quart Decanters 8 £1 8s 0d Pint Do 10 £1 8s 4d Beer Glasses 56 £3 5s 4d Tumblers 13 £0 7s 7d Urinals 7 £0 7s 0d Wine Glasses 2 doz 5 £0 17s 3d Hour Do 3 £0 10s 0d Three Hour Do 1 £0 3s 4d Half Hour Do 22 £0 11s 6d Half Minute Do 20 £0 10s 5d	10 close-stool pans, £1 13s 0d Earthenware, total, £4 18s 8d Flour, 1,199 cwt 0 qr 18 lb, £815 8s 0d Flannel, 44 yards, £2 12s 3d Glassware: 8 quart decanters, £1 8s 0d 10 pint decanters, £1 8s 4d 56 beer glasses, £3 5s 4d 13 tumblers, £0 7s 7d 7 urinals, £0 7s 0d 2 dozen and 5 wine glasses, £0 17s 3d 3 four-hour sandglasses, £0 10s 0d 1 three-hour sandglass, £0 3s 4d 22 half-hour sandglasses, £0 11s 6d 20 half-minute sandglasses, £0 10s 5d Glassware carried forward, £9 8s 9d Total carried forward, £6,830 5s 7d **Interpretations** The sandglasses were the timekeepers of shipboard life. A half-minute glass timed the run of the log line over the stern, so that the knots paid out in that interval gave the ship's speed. Half-hour glasses measured the watch, each turn marked by a stroke of the ship's bell, and four-hour glasses timed the full watch. Their stock in the island's stores, alongside the log lines sold earlier, showed the warehouse supplying navigational gear to the Company's vessels. The flour reserve of nearly 1,200 cwt, some 60 tons worth £815, was the largest single item after salt meat. Together the two formed the island's strategic food stock, enough to feed the garrison and the Company's slaves for many months if shipping failed. The inventory's careful note of deals and spars already in use in the cellars showed timber put to service as racks and stillages for storing these casks off the damp floors. The urinals and close-stool pans were chamber vessels, the latter fitted into a boxed seat or commode, probably held for the hospital and the barracks.

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		Glass Ware Carried over£9 8s 9d Carried over£6830 5s 7d	
98	94	17th October Brought over£6830 5s 7d Glass Ware brought over£9 8s 9d Salts @ 8s 3d 3 Pr £1 4s 9d Do @ 6s 0½d 2 Pr £0 12s 1d Squares 6 by 8 377 £5 2s 1d Do 8 by 10 711 £21 1s 2d Do 10 by 12 202 £8 8s 4d Do 10½ by 12½ 69 £4 2s 0d Do 11 by 19 24 £1 15s 0d Do 11 by 17¾ 5 Do 10½ by 18¾ 8 £0 17s 4d £52 11s 6d Grindstones 3 £1 10s 7d Hats vizt Officers 1 £1 11s 1d Mens fine 1 £0 17s 7d Boys 13 £3 18s 0d Centinels 35 £4 18s 8d £11 5s 4d Haberdashery Ware vizt White Bone 7 lb £0 9s 1d Silk 5 lb 2 oz £8 12s 10d Mohair 9 lb £13 13s 7d Silver Wire Coat Buttons 28 doz 9 £6 11s 8d Do Breast Do 18 doz £1 17s 6d Silver Coat Buttons 42 doz £9 5s 9d Do Breast Do 45 doz 9 £4 12s 8d Gilt Coat Do 22 doz £3 6s 6d Do Breast Do	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1763 continued as follows. Brought forward, £6,830 5s 7d Glassware brought forward, £9 8s 9d 3 pairs of salt cellars at 8s 3d a pair, £1 4s 9d 2 pairs of salt cellars at 6s 0½d a pair, £0 12s 1d 377 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £5 2s 1d 711 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £21 1s 2d 202 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £8 8s 4d 69 panes of window glass, 10½ by 12½ inches, £4 2s 0d 24 panes of window glass, 11 by 19 inches, £1 15s 0d 5 panes of window glass, 11 by 17¾ inches, and 8 panes, 10¾ by 18¾ inches, £0 17s 4d Glassware, total, £52 11s 6d Grindstones, 3, £1 10s 7d Hats: 1 officer's hat, £1 11s 1d 1 man's fine hat, £0 17s 7d 13 boys' hats, £3 18s 0d 35 sentries' hats, £4 18s 8d Hats, total, £11 5s 4d Sewing goods and trimmings: 7½ lb of whalebone, £0 9s 1d 5 lb 2 oz of silk thread, £8 12s 10d 9 lb of mohair thread, £13 13s 7d 28 dozen and 9 silver wire coat buttons, £6 11s 8d 18 dozen silver wire breast buttons, £1 17s 6d 42 dozen and 8 silver coat buttons, £9 5s 9d 45 dozen and 9 silver breast buttons, £4 12s 8d 22 dozen gilt coat buttons, £3 6s 6d 24 dozen gilt breast buttons, £1 16s 4d 13 dozen yellow metal coat buttons, £0 6s 6d ¼ dozen yellow metal breast buttons, £0 0s 3d 6 dozen plated coat buttons, £0 10s 0d 4½ dozen plated breast buttons, £0 3s 9d 4½ gross of shirt buttons, £0 9s 11d 20 gross of mohair coat buttons, £7 17s 0d 4 gross and 10 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 10s 4d 46 pieces of Holland tape, £1 8s 9d 16 pieces of carnation tape, £0 9s 0d 37 gross of horn button moulds, £0 13s 10d Sewing goods and trimmings, total, £63 1s 3d Total carried forward, £6,958 14s 3d **Interpretations** The stock of window glass, more than 1,390 panes in eight sizes, showed the Company holding enough to reglaze much of Jamestown. Glass broke easily in transit and in the island's high winds, and a ready stock let the church, barracks, officers' quarters and private houses be repaired as the storekeeper's issues during the quarter showed. The button stock revealed the social range of island dress. Silver, silver wire and gilt buttons finished the coats and waistcoats of officers and gentlemen, while mohair, yellow metal and horn-mould buttons served ordinary coats. Breast buttons were the smaller buttons used on waistcoats, the breast of a coat or its cuffs. Whalebone was baleen from the mouths of whales, sold in flexible strips to stiffen women's stays and bodices and the brims of hats.

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		24 doz £1 16s 4d Yell. Metal Coat Do 13 doz £0 6s 6d Do Breast Do ½ doz £0 0s 3d Plated Coat Do 6 doz £0 10s 0d Do Breast Do 4½ doz £0 3s 9d Shirt Do 4½ Gross £0 9s 11d Mohair Coat Do 20 Gross £7 17s 0d Do Breast Do 4 Gross 1 Doz £0 10s 4d Holland Tape 46 Pieces £1 8s 9d Carnation Do 16 Pr £0 9s 0d Horn Moulds 37 Gross £0 13s 10d £63 1s 3d Carried over£6958 14s 3d	
99	95	1763 Brought over£6958 14s 3d Hosiers Ware vizt Thread Stocking 34 doz 2 Pr £58 1s 8d Knit Do 9 Pr £1 4s 9d Worsd Do 2 Pr £0 7s 2d Cotton Do 16 Pr £5 14s 8d Womens Do 18 Pr £2 9s 6d Girls Do 32 Pr £3 6s 8d £71 4s 5d Hooks and Lines vizt Lines No 2 82 doz 2 £13 14s 0d Lines No 3 56 doz 3 £10 15s 7d Lines No 4 75 doz 8 £16 19s 11d Whip Cord 33 lb £4 17s 10d Knot Sash Lines 9 £0 9s 11d Log Do 159 £7 7s 0d	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1763 continued as follows. Brought forward, £6,958 14s 3d Stockings: 34 dozen and 2 pairs of linen thread stockings, £58 1s 8d 9 pairs of knitted stockings, £1 4s 9d 2 pairs of worsted stockings, £0 7s 2d 16 pairs of cotton stockings, £5 14s 8d 18 pairs of women's stockings, £2 9s 6d 32 pairs of girls' stockings, £3 6s 8d Stockings, total, £71 4s 5d Fish hooks and lines: 82 dozen and 2 lines of size 2, £13 14s 0d 56 dozen and 3 lines of size 3, £10 15s 7d 75 dozen and 8 lines of size 4, £16 19s 11d 33 lb of whipcord, £4 17s 10d 9 knots of sash line, £0 9s 11d 159 log lines, £7 7s 0d 41 Hamburg lines, £2 14s 8d 22 deep-sea lines, £5 10s 0d 23,000 hooks of size 1, £53 9s 6d 1,375 hooks of size 2, £2 1s 3d 425 hooks of size 3, £0 8s 10d 1,300 hooks of size 5, £1 4s 1½d 10,275 hooks of size 12 and 2,000 of size 13, £2 8s 0d 3,075 hooks of size 14 and 350 of size 16, £1 7s 1½d Fish hooks and lines, total, £123 7s 9d Iron and steel: Iron, 31 cwt 0 qr 5 lb, £34 7s 4d Steel, 1 cwt 2 qr 1 lb, £3 3s 10d Iron and steel, total, £37 11s 2d Iron pots: 5 large iron kettles, £11 5s 2d 1 iron pot of 13 gallons, £0 12s 0d 5 iron pots of 8 gallons, £2 5s 0d 3 iron pots of 6 gallons, £0 14s 9d 2 iron pots of 4 gallons, £0 8s 6d 8 iron pots of 3 gallons, £1 8s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Hambro Do 41 £2 14s 8d Deep Sea Do 22 £5 10s 0d Hooks No 1 23000 £53 9s 6d Hooks No 2 1375 £2 1s 3d Hooks No 3 425 £0 8s 10d Hooks No 5 1300 £1 4s 1½d Hooks No 12 10275 Hooks No 13 2000 £2 8s 0d Hooks No 14 3075 Hooks No 16 350 £1 7s 1½d £123 7s 9d Iron and Steel vizt Iron 31 Cwt 0 qrs 5 lb £34 7s 4d Steel 1 Cwt 2 qrs 1 lb £3 3s 10d £37 11s 2d Iron Pots vizt Large Iron Kettles 5 £11 5s 2d Iron Pot of 13 Gallons 1 £0 12s 0d Do of 8 Do 5 £2 5s 0d Do of 6 Do 3 £0 14s 9d Do of 4 Do 2 £0 8s 6d Do of 3 Do 8 £1 8s 0d Do of 2 Do 9 £1 2s 6d Do of 1 Do 19 £2 0s 9d £19 16s 8d Carried over£7210 14s 3d	9 iron pots of 2 gallons, £1 2s 6d 19 iron pots of 1 gallon, £2 0s 9d Iron pots, total, £19 16s 8d Total carried forward, £7,210 14s 3d **Interpretations** The store held more than 41,000 fish hooks and nearly 2,500 fishing lines, a stock that confirmed fishing as one of the island's main sources of fresh food. The 23,000 large hooks of size 1 alone were worth over £53. Hooks and lines were sold to the staff and planters, issued to the slaves and supplied to the Company's vessels, so the Company effectively equipped the whole island to feed itself from the sea. Deep-sea lines, long and heavy, reached the grounds in the deep water that falls away steeply around the island's coast. The reserve of more than 31 cwt of bar iron and 1½ cwt of steel supplied the armourer and smiths with the raw metal for every repair, from gun carriages to rudder irons, since no iron could be worked from local ore. The range of iron pots, from 1-gallon to 13-gallon sizes, reflected the many separate kitchens the Company supplied at the Castle, the barracks, the hospital, the guard posts and among its slaves.
100	96	17th October Brought over£7210 14s 3d Iron Ware vizt Iron rimd Locks A 2 £2 0s 5d Do B 1 £1 3s 11d Do D 2	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1763 continued as follows. Brought forward, £7,210 14s 3d Ironware: 2 iron-rimmed locks of pattern A, £2 0s 5d 1 iron-rimmed lock of pattern B, £1 3s 11d 2 iron-rimmed locks of pattern D, £2 4s 2d 2 front-rimmed locks of size 2, £1 15s 4d 26 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £9 15s 0d 16 S-bit locks, £5 17s 4d 21 chest locks, £3 7s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£2 4s 2d Iron rimd L. No 2 2 £1 15s 4d Ironrimd Do with Brass Knobs 26 £9 15s 0d S Bitt Locks 16 £5 17s 4d Chest Do 21 £3 7s 10d Cupboard Do 2 £0 8s 8d Splinter Do 21 £0 9s 7½d Pad Do 17 £1 5s 6d Closet Do 19 £3 1s 9d Barrack Do 7 £1 15s 0d Do Do with Knobs 10 £3 15s 0d Barrack Cupboard Locks 9 £0 12s 4½d Barrack Hinges 88 £7 6s 8d Stock Locks 66 £8 18s 9d Broad Hoes 24 £2 14s 6d Garden Do 9 £0 12s 0d Grubing Do 4 £0 11s 8d Gauges 14 £0 4s 11½d Sheep Sheers 14 Pr £1 4s 4d Garden Do 7 Pr £1 9s 2d Adzes 6 £0 15s 0d Edging Irons 6 £0 19s 10d Turfing Do 3 £0 8s 10½d Pickaxes 70 £10 13s 1d Auger 1 £0 0s 5½d Taper Bitts 25 £0 7s 9d	2 cupboard locks, £0 8s 8d 21 splinter locks, £0 9s 7½d 17 padlocks, £1 5s 6d 19 closet locks, £3 1s 9d 7 barrack locks, £1 15s 0d 10 barrack locks with knobs, £3 15s 0d 9 barrack cupboard locks, £0 12s 4½d 88 barrack hinges, £7 6s 8d 66 stock locks, £8 18s 9d 24 broad hoes, £2 14s 6d 9 garden hoes, £0 12s 0d 4 grubbing hoes, £0 11s 8d 14 gouges, £0 4s 11½d 14 pairs of sheep shears, £1 4s 4d 7 pairs of garden shears, £1 9s 2d 6 adzes, £0 15s 0d 6 edging irons, £0 19s 10d 3 turfing irons, £0 8s 10½d 70 pickaxes, £10 13s 1d 1 auger, £0 0s 5½d 25 taper bits, £0 7s 9d 61 tool handles, £1 16s 4½d 23 plasterers' trowels, £1 18s 0d 25 bricklayers' trowels, £1 19s 7d 40 lb of binding wire, £1 0s 0d 50 lb of lead nails, £1 2s 11d 161 packing needles, £1 3s 5½d 1 pair of H hinges at 7s 8½d, £0 7s 8½d 12 pairs of H hinges with rising joints, £1 18s 0d 11 pairs of shutter hinges, £1 4s 9d Ironware carried forward, £85 10s 9d Total carried forward, £7,210 14s 3d **Interpretations** The 70 pickaxes and the many trowels, adzes and hoes formed the tool store for the island's public works. The soldiers who burned lime and repaired the defences at Sandy Bay, cut the water trench and worked the pastures drew their tools from this stock, so the Company could put large numbers of men to work at short notice without buying equipment for each task. A grubbing hoe was a heavy mattock for digging out roots and clearing scrub, and an edging iron was a half-moon blade for cutting clean edges to turf and beds. Lead nails, made of soft metal or with lead heads, fixed sheet lead to roofs and gutters without corroding it. H hinges with rising joints lifted a door slightly as it opened, so that it cleared an uneven floor or threshold and swung shut under its own weight. The large and varied stock of locks, more than 280 of more than a dozen patterns, showed how much of the Company's property needed securing, from barrack doors and cupboards to chests and storehouses. On an island with a garrison of several hundred men and a population of slaves, locks were an essential part of controlling access to stores, arms and drink.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Helves 61 £1 16s 4½d Plaisterers Trowels 23 £1 18s 0d Bricklayers Do 25 £1 19s 7d Binding Wire 40 lb £0 1s 0d Lead Nails 50 lb £1 2s 11d Packing Needles 161 £1 3s 5½d H Hinges @ 7s 8½d 1 Pr £0 7s 8½d H Hinges with rising Joints 12 Pr £1 18s 0d Shutter Hinges 11 Pr £1 4s 9d Iron Ware Carried over£85 10s 9d Carried over£7210 14s 3d	
101	97	1763 Brought over£7210 14s 3d Iron Ware brought over£85 10s 9d Side Hinges 1 Pr £0 1s 0d Small H Do 34 Pr £2 15s 11½d Brass Shutter Rings 46 £0 7s 6d Shutter Hinges 46 Pr £4 16s 9d Scythes 14 £3 18s 2d Do Stones 78 £0 19s 6d Rag Do 17 £0 4s 3d Stone Saws 8 £1 16s 0d Cross Cut Do 1 £1 1s 4½d Whip Do 1 £1 2s 7½d Joiners Rubstones 6 £0 17s 0½d Pruning Saws 9 £0 13s 6d Stone Saw Heads 5 Pr £1 7s 3½d Joyners Hatchets 3 £0 6s 0d Hand Do	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1763 continued as follows. Brought forward, £7,210 14s 3d Ironware brought forward, £85 10s 9d 1 pair of side hinges, £0 1s 0d 34 pairs of small H hinges, £2 15s 11½d 46 brass shutter rings, £0 8s 6d 46 pairs of shutter hinges, £4 16s 9d 14 scythes, £3 18s 2d 78 scythe stones, £0 19s 6d 17 whetstones, £0 4s 3d 8 stone saws, £1 16s 0d 1 crosscut saw, £1 1s 4½d 1 whip saw, £1 2s 7½d 6 joiners' rubstones, £0 17s 0½d 9 pruning saws, £0 13s 6d 5 pairs of stone saw blades, £0 17s 3½d 3 joiners' hatchets, £0 6s 0d 23 hand hatchets, £1 18s 10d 15 hatchet handles, £0 4s 4½d 3 dozen gimlets, £0 6s 0d 4 stone wedges, £0 2s 8d 9 jack spits, £2 11s 7d 1 hand spit, £0 2s 6d 79 files, £2 12s 8d 12 rasps, £0 8s 3d 9 farriers' rasps, £0 10s 1½d 20 smith's rubbers, £3 15s 10d 4 pairs of [...] cards, £1 5s 5d 18 spades, £3 11s 9d 37 ditching shovels, £6 2s 7½d 44 iron-shod shovels, £4 4s 4d 19 setting hammers, £6 3s 4½d 2 hand hammers, £0 5s 6d 8 drill boxes, £0 1s 0d 9 drill bows, £1 0s 3d 5 billhooks, £0 12s 3½d 101 masons' tools, £7 8s 11d 16 gross of wood screws, £2 18s 9d 1 large roasting jack, £7 10s 2d 2 middling roasting jacks, £9 16s 0d 4 small roasting jacks, £10 1s 10d Ironware carried forward, £179 18s 9d Total carried forward, £7,210 14s 3d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		23 £1 13s 10½d Do Helves 15 £0 4s 4½d Gimblets 3 doz £0 6s 0d Stone Wedges 4 £0 2s 8d Jack Spits 9 £2 11s 7d Hand Do 1 £0 2s 6d Files 79 £2 12s 8d Rasps 12 £0 8s 3d Farriers Rasps 9 £0 10s 1½d Smiths Rubbers 20 £3 15s 10d Planking Cards 4 Pr £1 5s 5d Spades 18 £3 11s 9d Ditching Shovels 37 £6 2s 7½d Shod Do 44 £4 4s 4d Setting Hammers 19 £6 3s 4½d Hand Hammers 2 £0 5s 6d Drill Boxes 8 £0 1s 0d Do Bows 9 £1 0s 3d Bill Hooks 5 £0 12s 3½d Masons Tools 101 £7 8s 11d Wood Screws 16 Gross £2 12s 9d Large Jack 1 £7 10s 2d Midling Do 2 £9 16s 0d Small Do 4 £10 1s 10d Iron Ware Carried over£179 18s 9d Carried over£7210 14s 3d	The roasting jacks were among the costliest single items in the ironware stock, at up to £7 10s each. A jack was a clockwork mechanism, driven by a falling weight, that turned a spit slowly before an open fire so that meat roasted evenly without a servant turning it by hand. The spits sold separately fitted into the jacks. Their presence in quantity showed the Company equipping the kitchens of the Castle, Plantation House and its officers' households with the standard apparatus of English cooking. The stone saws, saw blades, wedges, setting hammers and more than a hundred masons' tools pointed to the island's reliance on its own stone for building. Masons quarried and cut the local volcanic rock for walls, batteries and houses, and setting hammers were used to dress and bed each stone into place. The whip saw and crosscut saw served for cutting imported timber into planks and lengths. Farriers' rasps, used to trim horses' hooves, served the Company's small stud of horses and asses.
102	98	17th October Brought over£7210 14s 3d	The inventory of stores remaining on 30 September 1763 continued as follows.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Iron Ware brought over£179 18s 9d Small Frying Pans 41 £5 5s 11d Large Do 10 £1 13s 4d Mauls 14 £5 14s 9d Com Emery 5 lb 10 oz Flour Do 2 lb 2 oz £0 4s 6d Garden Rakes 13 £1 10s 8d Spring Rat Traps 2 £0 3s 0d Wire Do 8 £2 4s 0d Box Irons 9 £3 4s 6d Case Hardening ¼ lb £0 12s 0d Plaisterers Sieves 4 £1 13s 10d Coffee Mills 2 £0 17s 0d Chaffing Dishes 14 £4 13s 0d Plate Plane Irons 9 £0 3s 0d Set Jack Wheels 10 £3 7s 3d Jack Chains 12 £1 0s 8d Jack Weights and Shifters 4 £1 16s 0d Figured Squares 29 £1 15s 7½d Blank Keys 42 £1 4s 6d Yellow Spelter 8¼ lb White Do 2¼ lb £1 1s 0d Plyers 1 Pr £0 0s 11d Borax 3¼ lb £2 10s 2½d Lathing Hammers 9 £0 12s 4½d Drill Strings 7 £0 4s 1d Plate Iron 24 lb	Brought forward, £7,210 14s 3d Ironware brought forward, £179 18s 9d 41 small frying pans, £5 5s 11d 10 large frying pans, £1 13s 4d 14 mauls, £5 14s 9d 5 lb 10 oz of corn emery and 2 lb 2 oz of flour emery, £0 4s 6d 13 garden rakes, £1 10s 8d 2 spring rat traps, £0 3s 0d 8 wire rat traps, £2 4s 0d 9 box irons, £3 4s 6d 6¼ lb of case-hardening compound, £0 12s 0d 4 plasterers' sieves, £1 13s 10d 2 coffee mills, £0 17s 0d 14 chafing dishes, £4 13s 0d 9 spare plane irons, £0 3s 0d 10 sets of roasting-jack wheels, £3 7s 3d 12 roasting-jack chains, £1 0s 8d 4 roasting-jack weights and pulleys, £1 16s 0d 29 carpenters' squares, £1 15s 7½d 42 blank keys, £1 4s 6d 8¾ lb of yellow spelter and 2¼ lb of white spelter, £1 1s 0d 1 pair of pliers, £0 0s 11d 3¾ lb of borax, £2 10s 2½d 9 lathing hammers, £0 12s 4½d 7 drill strings, £0 4s 1d 24 lb of plate iron, £0 9s 0d 7 pairs of steelyards, £2 8s 1½d 6 pairs of smith's bellows, £31 3s 0d 1 saucepan of 3 pints of hammered iron, £0 11s 2½d 4 hash pans of hammered iron, £3 10s 2d 1,411 sail needles, £4 10s 8d 5 lopping axes, £0 13s 9d 12 scrapers, £1 0s 3½d 20 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 7s 11d 22 claw hammers, £1 12s 1d Ironware, total, £267 17s 7d Kersey, 8 pieces and 28⅝ yards, £20 15s 0d Total carried forward, £7,499 6s 10d **Interpretations** The six pairs of smith's bellows, worth more than £31, were among the most valuable pieces of equipment in the store. Bellows blew air into the forge fire to raise it to working heat, and a spare supply meant the armourer's and smiths' forges could keep running even when leather cracked or boards split in the damp. Case-hardening compound was a mixture of charcoal and other carbon-rich materials packed round wrought iron and heated, turning the surface into hard steel for tools and gun parts. Box irons were laundry irons with a hollow body into which a heated iron slug was placed, keeping the smoothing surface clean of soot, and chafing dishes were small charcoal braziers set on the table to keep food hot. The spare wheels, chains and weights listed separately from the roasting jacks showed the Company maintaining these clockwork devices in the island's kitchens. Mauls were heavy wooden or iron hammers for driving stakes and splitting timber with wedges.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 9s 0d Steelyards 7 Pr £2 8s 1½d Smith Bellows 6 Pr £31 3s 0d Three Pint Sauce Pan Hamd Iron 1 £0 11s 2½d Hash Pans 4 £3 10s 2d Sail Needles 1411 £4 10s 8d Loping Axes 5 £1 13s 9d Scissars 12 £1 0s 3½d Dovetail Hinges 20 Pr £0 7s 11d Claw Hammers 22 £1 12s 1d £267 17s 7d Kersey 8 Pr 28⅝ Yds £20 15s 0d Carried over£7499 6s 10d	
103	99	1763 Brought over £7499 6s 3d Long Cloth 3 ps 19 Yards £7 8s 8d Masts vizt 1 Teak Top Mast £7 0s 0d 1 Boom £5 10s 0d 1 Bow Sprit £8 10s 6d 1 Main Cap £1 5s 4d £22 5s 10d Leather vizt 26 Calf Skins £9 10s 8d 7. 3. 21 Sole Leather £9 18s 11d 20 Pump Do £1 8s 4d £20 7s 11d Lead vizt 10 Yards 2 Inch Pipe £4 15s 6d 2. 16 Shot £0 13s 6d 8. 3. 10 Sheet £9 5s 7d £14 14s 7d Oars 35 £6 15s 10d Oil vizt 540 Gall Linseed £103 10s 0d 590 Gall Train £113 1s 8d 201 Bottles Florence £28 9s 6d £245 1s 2d Nails vizt	The 1763 stores account continued with a balance of £7,499 6s 3d carried forward from the previous page. Balance brought forward, £7,499 6s 3d Long cloth, 3 pieces and 19 yards, £7 8s 8d Masts and spars: 1 teak topmast, £7 0s 0d 1 boom, £5 10s 0d 1 bowsprit, £8 10s 6d 1 main cap, £1 5s 4d Masts and spars total, £22 5s 10d Leather: 26 calf skins, £9 10s 8d 7 hundredweight 3 quarters 21 pounds of sole leather, £9 18s 11d 20 pounds of pump leather, £0 18s 4d Leather total, £20 7s 11d Lead: 10 yards of 2-inch lead pipe, £4 15s 6d 2 quarters 16 pounds of lead shot, £0 13s 6d 8 hundredweight 3 quarters 10 pounds of sheet lead, £9 5s 7d Lead total, £14 14s 7d 35 oars, £6 15s 10d Oil: 540 gallons of linseed oil, £103 10s 0d 590 gallons of train oil, £113 1s 8d 201 bottles of Florence oil, £28 9s 6d Oil total, £245 1s 2d Nails: 6 hundredweight 3 quarters 5 pounds of 2d nails, £25 8s 5d 10 hundredweight 1 quarter 1 pound of 3d nails, £40 2s 5d 10 hundredweight 2 quarters 13 pounds of 4d nails, £33 16s 9d 8 hundredweight 3 quarters 18 pounds of 6d nails, £25 8s 10d 15 hundredweight 1 quarter 20 pounds of 10d nails, £37 15s 2½d 7 hundredweight 3 quarters 6 pounds of 20d nails, £15 12s 1½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6. 3. 5 2d £25 8s 5d 10. 1. 1 3 £40 2s 5d 10. 2. 13 4 £33 16s 9d 8. 3. 18 6 £25 8s 10d 15. 1. 20 10 £37 15s 2½d 7. 3. 6 20 £15 12s 1½d 9. 1. 3 40 £17 4s 3d 4. 2. 21 Sheathing Nails £8 13s 5d 2 Scupper Do £4 18s 0d 3. 2. 14 Coopers Rivets £9 6s 1d 2. 19 Flaying Brads £6 8s 3d 2. 3. 24 Battack Nails £5 10s 8d 1. 2. 15 Flooring Brads £3 1s 0d 5. 2. 7 Spike Nails £9 14s 8d 3. 24 Clench Do £2 9s 6d 1 20d Deck Nails £2 7s 10d 1 Sacks £1 15s 0d £249 12s 5d Carried over £8065 13s 3d	9 hundredweight 1 quarter 3 pounds of 40d nails, £17 4s 3d 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 pounds of sheathing nails, £8 13s 5d 2 hundredweight of scupper nails, £4 18s 0d 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 pounds of coopers' rivets, £9 6s 1d 2 quarters 19 pounds of glazing brads, £6 8s 3d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 pounds of barrack nails, £5 10s 8d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 15 pounds of flooring brads, £3 1s 0d 5 hundredweight 2 quarters 7 pounds of spike nails, £9 14s 8d 3 quarters 24 pounds of clench nails, £2 9s 6d 1 hundredweight of 20d deck nails, £2 7s 10d 1 quarter of tacks, £1 15s 0d Nails total, £249 12s 5d Balance carried forward, £8,065 13s 3d **Interpretations** Several items would have been unfamiliar to a modern reader. Long cloth was a plain Indian cotton, woven mainly on the Coromandel Coast and sold in long standard pieces, which explains why it was counted in pieces with odd yards added. Train oil was rendered from whale or seal blubber and served chiefly as lamp fuel and for dressing leather and rope. Florence oil was Tuscan olive oil, shipped in thin straw-wrapped flasks, which is why it was reckoned by the bottle rather than the gallon; it went mainly to the kitchen and the sick. Linseed oil was the base for paint and putty, and the large quantity points to steady maintenance of buildings, gun carriages and boats against the island's damp. The masts and spars show the stores serving shipping as well as the garrison. A teak topmast came from India, where teak was prized for its resistance to rot, and a main cap was the heavy timber block binding the head of a lower mast to the topmast above it. Such spare gear let the island refit ships calling at the anchorage without waiting for replacements from England or the East. Nails were graded by the old "penny" system, in which 2d nails were small and 40d nails large, and weighed in hundredweight, quarters and pounds. The specialised kinds reveal particular trades at work. Sheathing nails fixed protective boarding or copper to ship hulls, scupper nails held leather flaps over deck drains, and clench nails were driven through and bent over for boatbuilding. Coopers' rivets held the iron hoops of casks, a reminder that the island's water, provisions and arrack all depended on barrels. Pump leather made the valves and washers of ships' and garrison pumps, while sole leather went to soldiers' footwear. The page formed part of a valuation of the Company's warehouse, with each category subtotalled in the outer column and the running balance carried from leaf to leaf. This arrangement let the Council and the Court in London see the capital sitting idle in stores, and the sum of over £8,000 at this point shows how heavily the island relied on a stockpile to cover the long gaps between supply ships. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploads, so no cross-checking against earlier stores accounts or the master reference was possible; please upload it if comparison with the earlier series is wanted.
104	100	17th October Brought over £8065 13s 3d Paint vizt 17. 3. 22 Whiting £1 18s 5d 1. 1. 14 Umber	On 17 October 1763 the stores account resumed with £8,065 13s 3d brought forward from the previous page. Balance brought forward, £8,065 13s 3d Paints and pigments: 17 hundredweight 3 quarters 22 pounds of whiting, £1 18s 5d

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		£1 18s 6d 22 Stone Oaker £0 9s 7½d 10 Vaccarum Sahornie £0 13s 11½d 2. 3. 8 Indico £27 1s 11d 4 Barrels Blacking £2 5s 6d 14 Prussian Blue £0 7s 4d 28. 1. 11 White Lead dry £45 11s 5d 6. 3. 6 Stone Colour £17 1s 10d 2. 6 Olive Colour £20 7s 3d 3. 13 Sky Blue £8 19s 10d 1. 1. 23 Verdigrease £32 7s 10d 2. 3. 6 Ven Red dry £3 0s 0d 2. 14½ White Copperas £3 5s 9d 6. 1 White Lead Mixed £12 18s 3d 1. 3. 2 Pearl Colour £4 2s 6d 2. 24 Chocolate Colour £2 6s 8d 2 Dry Colours £0 5s 0d 1. 1. 10 Ven Red mixed £3 8s 9d 1. 10 Red Lead dry £1 5s 5d 1. 3. 13 Blue Smalts £14 3s 0d 3. 2. 4 Yell. Oaker dry £3 11s 1d £207 9s 10d Pumps 1 £12 13s 5d Pewter vizt 2 Quart Funnels £0 4s 9d 2 Quart Pots £0 5s 6d 2 Half Gallon Do £0 10s 9d 3 Pint Do £0 6s 4d 3 Cranes £2 15s 2d 3 Dishes at 8.4 £1 5s 0d 11 Do 6/6 £3 11s 6d 1 Worm Tub and Still £10 12s 4d 6 Close Stools Pans £1 8s 5d 2 Chamber Pots £0 5s 10d 5 Bed Pans £1 14s 9½d 2 Gallon Pots £0 18s 0d 3 Cullenders £1 2s 10½d 6 Basons £0 9s 3d £25 10s 6d Carried over £8311 7s 0d	1 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 pounds of umber, £1 18s 6d 22 pounds of stone ochre, £0 9s 7½d 10 pounds of sugar of lead, £0 13s 11½d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 8 pounds of indigo, £27 1s 11d 34 barrels of blacking, £2 5s 6d 14 pounds of Prussian blue, £0 7s 4d 28 hundredweight 1 quarter 11 pounds of dry white lead, £45 11s 5d 6 hundredweight 3 quarters 6 pounds of stone-coloured paint, £17 1s 10d 2 hundredweight 6 pounds of olive-coloured paint, £20 7s 3d 3 quarters 13 pounds of sky blue paint, £8 19s 10d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 23 pounds of verdigris, £32 7s 10d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 6 pounds of dry Venetian red, £3 0s 0d 2 quarters 14½ pounds of white copperas, £3 5s 9d 6 hundredweight 1 quarter of mixed white lead, £12 18s 3d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 2 pounds of pearl-coloured paint, £4 2s 6d 2 quarters 24 pounds of chocolate-coloured paint, £2 6s 8d 2 pounds of dry colours, £0 5s 0d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 10 pounds of mixed Venetian red, £3 8s 9d 1 hundredweight 10 pounds of dry red lead, £1 5s 5d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 13 pounds of blue smalt, £14 3s 0d 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 4 pounds of dry yellow ochre, £3 11s 1d Paints and pigments total, £207 9s 10d 1 pump, £12 13s 5d Pewter: 2 quart funnels, £0 4s 9d 2 quart pots, £0 5s 6d 2 half-gallon pots, £0 10s 9d 3 pint pots, £0 6s 4d 3 cranes, £2 15s 2d 3 dishes at 8s 4d each, £1 5s 0d 11 dishes at 6s 6d each, £3 11s 6d 1 worm, tub and still, £10 12s 4d 6 close-stool pans, £1 8s 5d 2 chamber pots, £0 5s 10d 5 bedpans, £1 14s 9½d 2 gallon pots, £0 18s 0d 3 colanders, £1 2s 10½d 6 basins, £0 9s 3d Pewter total, £25 10s 6d Balance carried forward, £8,311 7s 0d **Interpretations** Many of the paint materials were ingredients rather than finished paints, since colour was ground and mixed on the spot by the Company's painters. Whiting was powdered chalk, used as a cheap white filler and for limewash. Umber and the ochres were natural earth pigments giving browns and yellows, while Venetian red was an iron-oxide red much used for priming timber. Red lead and white lead were the standard protective bases for woodwork and ironwork, and the listing of white lead and Venetian red both "dry" and "mixed" shows part of the stock already ground in oil and ready for the brush. Several items were specialist chemicals. Sugar of lead, recorded under its Latin name, was lead acetate, added in small amounts to speed the drying of oil paint, and white copperas, or zinc sulphate, served the same purpose. Verdigris was a green copper compound imported largely from the south of France, which accounts for its high value. Smalt was

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			powdered cobalt glass giving a strong blue, and Prussian blue was a synthetic pigment first made in Berlin in the early 18th century, by 1763 a standard and cheaper rival to smalt. Indigo, dried from an Indian or American plant, was a dye and pigment whose value here made it one of the dearest lines on the page. Blacking was lampblack paste, used for ironwork, gun carriages and leather. The ready-named shades of stone, olive, sky blue, pearl and chocolate were mixed house colours, the ordinary finishes of Georgian buildings and fittings. Stone and olive in particular were the conventional colours for doors, window frames and panelling, suggesting the stock was intended for the upkeep of the Castle, barracks and Company houses. Among the pewter, the worm, tub and still formed a distilling apparatus, in which a coiled pewter pipe sat in a tub of cold water to condense spirit or fresh water. A crane in this setting was a bent siphon or cask tap for drawing liquor off without disturbing the sediment. Close-stool pans, chamber pots and bedpans point to the hospital and the sick quarters, which the Company furnished from general stores.
105	101	1763 Brought over £8311 7s 0d Pease 10 7/8 Bushels £4 8s 9d Pitch and Tar vizt 32 Barrels Pitch £57 1s 7d 24 Do Tar £26 14s 0d 2/3 Do Rozin £1 15s 0d 1¼ Do Turpentine £3 0s 11d 1 Do Composition £2 8s 7d £91 0s 1d Starch C qrs lb 3. 19 £1 16s 5d Salt 132 Bushels £20 18s 0d Cape Do 36. C. 11 £12 12s 8d £33 10s 8d Sope C qrs lb 26. 3. 23 £97 9s 9d Shalloon vizt 1 Ps 14 Yds Scarlet £5 4s 6d 6 Ps 12¼ Yds Coloured £17 4s 10d £22 9s 4d Shirts vizt 186 Centinels £42 16s 4½d 86 Sailors £2 15s 6½d 13½ Ps Irish Linen £24 5s 8d 3 Ps 4¼ Yds Brown Holland £10 0s 9d £79 18s 4d Serge &c vizt 2 Ps Sagatha £7 12s 8d 2 Ps Fustian £4 1s 4d 26 Yds Scarlet Serge £7 17s 1d 9¼ Yds Blue Do £2 3s 2d 1¾ Yds Fr Grey Do	The 1763 stores account continued with £8,311 7s 0d brought forward from the previous page. Balance brought forward, £8,311 7s 0d 10⅞ bushels of pease, £4 8s 9d Pitch and tar: 32 barrels of pitch, £57 1s 7d 24 barrels of tar, £26 14s 0d ⅔ barrel of rosin, £1 15s 0d 1¼ barrels of turpentine, £3 0s 11d 1 barrel of composition, £2 8s 7d Pitch and tar total, £91 0s 1d 3 quarters 19 pounds of starch, £1 16s 5d Salt: 132 bushels of salt, £20 18s 0d 56 [...] 11 of Cape salt, £12 12s 8d Salt total, £33 10s 8d 20 hundredweight 3 quarters 23 pounds of soap, £97 9s 9d Shalloon: 1 piece and 14 yards of scarlet shalloon, £5 4s 6d 6 pieces and 12¼ yards of coloured shalloon, £17 4s 10d Shalloon total, £22 9s 4d Shirt material and shirts: 186 private soldiers' shirts, £42 16s 4½d 86 [...], £2 15s 6½d 13½ pieces of Irish linen, £24 5s 8d 3 pieces and 4½ yards of brown holland, £10 0s 9d Shirt material and shirts total, £79 18s 4d Serge and similar cloth: 2 pieces of sagathy, £7 12s 8d 2 pieces of fustian, £4 1s 4d 26 yards of scarlet serge, £7 17s 1d 9¼ yards of blue serge, £2 3s 2d 1½ yards of French grey serge, £0 8s 2d Serge and similar cloth total, £22 2s 5d Sailors' clothing: 28 men's checked shirts, £4 17s 4d 7 men's jackets and 20 pairs of men's breeches together, £10 6s 11d 7 Dutch caps, £0 10s 11d Sailors' clothing total, £15 15s 2d Soldiers' clothing: 63 private soldiers' coats and breeches, £92 12s 0d 1 matross's coat and breeches, £2 2s 6d 6 sentry coats, £6 14s 0d Soldiers' clothing total, £101 8s 6d Balance carried forward, £8,781 6s 5d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 8s 2d £22 2s 5d Sailors Cloths vizt 28 Mens Checked Shirts £4 17s 4d 7 Mens Jackets 20 Do Breeches £10 6s 11d 7 Dutch Caps £0 10s 11d £15 15s 2d Soldiers Cloths 63 Cent. Coats and Breeches £92 12s 0d 1 Mattrosses Do and Do £2 2s 6d 6 Centry Coats £6 14s 0d £101 8s 6d Carried over £8781 6s 5d	The textiles were the raw material of the garrison's uniforms, made up on the island rather than shipped ready-sewn. Shalloon was a light, closely woven worsted from the West Country and Yorkshire, used above all for coat linings, which is why scarlet shalloon sat alongside scarlet serge. Serge was a hard-wearing twilled wool for coats and breeches, and sagathy was a similar light woollen or wool-and-silk mix. Fustian was a stout cotton-and-linen cloth for working clothes and waistcoats. Brown holland was unbleached linen, originally from the Low Countries, used for shirts, linings and bedding, while Irish linen was a finer bleached cloth for better shirts. The clothing lines show how the Company equipped its men. "Sentinel" was the standard term for a private soldier, and the matross was an artillery private who assisted the gunners, clothed on a separate pattern from the infantry. Sentry coats were heavy watch coats kept for men standing guard at night on the island's exposed batteries and lookouts. The sailors' clothing of checked shirts, short jackets, breeches and knitted Dutch caps was slop clothing, held to issue to the crews of the Company's sloops and to seamen who came ashore destitute, with the cost set against their wages. The naval stores reflect the upkeep of boats and ships. Pitch and tar were pine products used for caulking seams and preserving rigging, rosin was the hardened residue of pine resin, and the composition was a mixture of these ingredients with sulphur or tallow for paying ships' bottoms against weed and worm. Cape salt came from the Cape of Good Hope and was cheaper and closer than English salt; it served for curing the island's beef and pork. The unit attached to it could not be read.
106	102	17th October Brought over £8781 6s 5d Scales and Weights vizt 3 Prs Scales and Weights Store use 1 Pr Scales £15 18s 7d 2 Beams for Scales 1 Do Store use £21 9s 0d 1 Pr Scale Boards Store use £2 9s 6d £39 17s 1d Shoes vizt 7 Prs Mens fine Shoes £1 18s 6d 4 Prs Do pumps £1 0s 0d 2 Prs Chan pumps £0 12s 0d 12 Prs Wom Spanish Shoes £2 6s 0d 4 Prs Do Calf Do £0 10s 4d 21 Prs Boys Do £3 4s 9d 14 Prs Womans Calim.co Do £2 13s 8d 8 Prs Girls Do £0 16s 0d 707 Prs Mens Ordinary Do £141 8s 0d 12 Prs Stretchers £0 5s 2d £154 14s 5d Table Linen vizt 1 Table Cloth £0 17s 9d 1 Doz. Napkins	The stores account for 17 October 1763 continued with £8,781 6s 5d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £8,781 6s 5d Scales and weights: 3 pairs of scales with weights for store use and 1 pair of scales together, £15 18s 7d 2 beams for scales and 1 beam for store use together, £21 9s 0d 1 pair of scale boards for store use, £2 9s 6d Scales and weights total, £39 17s 1d Shoes: 7 pairs of men's fine shoes, £1 18s 6d 4 pairs of men's pumps, £1 0s 0d 2 pairs of chamber pumps, £0 12s 0d 12 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £2 6s 0d 4 pairs of women's calfskin shoes, £0 10s 4d 21 pairs of boys' shoes, £3 4s 9d 14 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £2 13s 8d 8 pairs of girls' shoes, £0 16s 0d 707 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £141 8s 0d 12 pairs of shoe stretchers, £0 5s 2d Shoes total, £154 14s 5d Table linen: 1 tablecloth, £0 17s 9d 1 dozen napkins, £1 19s 11d Table linen total, £2 17s 8d Twine: 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 1 pound of twine, £19 2s 0d 19 pounds of cotton twine, £2 13s 10d 4 pounds of marline, £0 1s 8d Twine total, £21 17s 6d 364⅞ yards of ticking, £44 0s 6d Thread: 57½ pounds of whited-brown thread, £18 18s 10d 240 pounds of coloured thread, £33 16s 0d Thread total, £52 14s 10d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£1 19s 11d £2 17s 8d Twine vizt C qrs lb 3. 4. 1 Twine £19 2s 0d 19 Cotton £2 13s 10d 4 Marline £0 1s 8d £21 17s 6d Ticking 364 7/8 Yards £44 0s 6d Thread vizt 57½ Whited Brown £18 18s 10d 210 Coloured £33 16s 0d £52 14s 10d Tin Ware vizt 27 Quart Sauce pans £0 11s 3d 297 Solder £9 17s 1½d 43 Lamps £2 10s 6d 3 Gallon Funnels £0 6s 6d Tin Ware Carried over £13 5s 3½d Carried over £9097 8s 5d	Tinware: 27 quart saucepans, £0 11s 3d 297 pounds of solder, £9 17s 0½d 45 lamps, £2 10s 6d 3 gallon funnels, £0 6s 6d Tinware carried forward, £13 5s 3½d Balance carried forward, £9,097 8s 5d **Interpretations** The shoe stock shows that the Company clothed the whole island community, not just its soldiers. The 707 pairs of men's ordinary shoes were the garrison's standard issue, cheap stock shoes costing about 4s a pair, while the smaller lots for women, boys and girls served soldiers' families, the Company's slaves and planters who bought from store. Spanish shoes were made of Spanish leather, a fine goatskin tanned with sumac and prized for its softness. Calamanco was a glossy worsted woven in Norwich, often striped or flowered, which made light and fashionable women's shoes. Pumps were thin-soled, heelless shoes for indoor wear or dancing, and chamber pumps were perhaps the softest house kind. Stretchers were wooden forms inserted into new shoes to ease them to the foot. The weighing gear was the working equipment of the storehouse itself, set apart as "store use" from the goods held for issue or sale. Every sale and issue at St Helena was reckoned by weight or measure, so accurate beams and scales underpinned the storekeeper's accountability to the Council. Scale boards were the flat platforms or pans hung from a beam to carry bulky goods. Several of the smaller items served specific trades. Marline was a thin two-stranded tarred line used by seamen for binding rope ends and seizing rigging. Ticking was a tightly woven striped linen or cotton for mattress and pillow covers, needed in quantity for barracks and hospital bedding. Whited-brown thread was a half-bleached linen sewing thread, the everyday choice for tailoring uniforms from the cloth listed on the previous page. Solder, an alloy of tin and lead, allowed the island's tinsmith to mend and make kettles, lanterns and other tinware locally.
107	103	1763 Brought over £9097 8s 5d Tin Ware brought over £13 5s 3½d 9 Pudding Pans £0 13s 1d 12 Patty Pans £0 4s 5d 14 Canteens £0 19s 3d 10 Horn Lanthorns £1 7s 6d 7 Rocked Do £1 14s 1½d 5 Driping Pans £0 17s 11d 7 Watering Pots £1 16s 6d 1 Sheet Tin £0 0s 4½d 428 Lanthorns Leaves £4 2s 4d 5 Glass Lanthorns £1 11s 3d 1 Globe Lamp £0 9s 7½d 4 3/4 Sal Ammoniac £1 2s 8d £28 4s 4d Turners Ware vizt	The 1763 stores account continued with £9,097 8s 5d brought forward from the previous page. Balance brought forward, £9,097 8s 5d Tinware: Tinware brought forward, £13 5s 3½d 9 pudding pans, £0 13s 1d 12 patty pans, £0 4s 5d 14 canteens, £0 19s 3d 10 horn lanterns, £1 7s 6d 7 riveted lanterns, £1 14s 1½d 5 dripping pans, £0 17s 11d 7 watering cans, £1 16s 6d 1 sheet of tin, £0 0s 4½d 428 lantern panes, £4 2s 4d 3 glass lanterns, £1 11s 3d 1 globe lamp, £0 9s 7½d 4¾ pounds of sal ammoniac, £1 2s 8d Tinware total, £28 4s 4d Turned and wooden ware: 133 paint brushes, £3 3s 9d 22 plasterers' brushes, £1 4s 2d 20 hair brooms, £2 5s 10d 18 scrubbing brushes, £2 1s 3d 9 tubmen's yokes, £0 13s 6d 8 pairs of ox yokes, £14 7s 4d 63 ox bows, £4 6s 7d 12 skimming dishes, £0 3s 9d 223 shoe brushes, £6 5s 5d 41 ladles, £0 13s 8d 8 trays, £1 8s 8d

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		135 Paint Brushes £3 3s 9d 22 Plaisterers Do £1 4s 2d 20 Hair Brooms £2 5s 10d 18 Scrubing Brushes £2 1s 3d 9 Tubmens Yoaks £0 13s 6d 8 Prs Yoaks for Oxen £14 7s 4d 63 Ox Bows £4 6s 7d 12 Skimming Dishes £0 3s 9d 223 Shoe Brushes £6 5s 5d 41 Ladles £0 13s 8d 8 Trays £1 8s 8d 2 Pump Boxes 10 Do wd Iron Staples £2 1s 6d 2 Brass Wire Sieves £1 0s 0d 21 Labourers Baskets £0 15s 9d 17 Flaskets £2 3s 11d 5 Punch Ladles £0 2s 11d 16 Beech Brooms £0 7s 0d 6 Cloth Brushes £0 8s 0d 12 Mops £0 17s 6d 3 Hair Sieves £0 6s 2d £44 16s 8d Carried over £9170 9s 5d **Margin Notes:** [...]	2 pump boxes and 10 pump boxes with iron staples together, £2 1s 6d 2 brass wire sieves, £1 0s 0d 21 labourers' baskets, £0 15s 9d 17 flaskets, £2 3s 11d 5 punch ladles, £0 2s 11d 16 birch brooms, £0 7s 0d 6 clothes brushes, £0 8s 0d 12 mops, £0 17s 6d 3 hair sieves, £0 16s 2d Turned and wooden ware total, £44 16s 8d Balance carried forward, £9,170 9s 5d **Interpretations** The draught equipment is the most revealing group on the page. A pair of ox yokes and the U-shaped ox bows that hung from them made up the harness of a working team, and the 63 bows against eight pairs of yokes show that bows, which cracked and wore quickly, were stocked as a replaceable part. Oxen rather than horses did the Company's heavy hauling on the island's steep roads, dragging timber, stone and guns up from James Valley, so their gear formed a costly line in the stores. The tubmen's yokes were shoulder yokes for men carrying pairs of water tubs or buckets, the ordinary means of moving water where no pipe reached. Several items belonged to the tinsmith's and lamp-maker's trades. Lantern panes were thin translucent sheets of horn, pressed flat and fitted into the frames of horn lanterns, and the stock of 428 allowed broken panes to be replaced without buying new lanterns. Sal ammoniac, or ammonium chloride, was a flux used to clean metal surfaces before tinning or soldering, and it paired with the solder listed on the previous page. Patty pans were small tins for baking pies and tarts, and a globe lamp was a lamp with a glass globe, perhaps for the Castle or a public room. Among the wooden and basketware goods, flaskets were long, shallow two-handled baskets for carrying linen or produce, and skimming dishes were shallow wooden bowls for lifting cream from milk in the dairy. Pump boxes were the wooden valve housings of pumps, the fittings that wore out first, and those listed with iron staples were ready for mounting. Brass wire sieves and hair sieves served the kitchen, dispensary and gunpowder store for sifting flour, drugs and powder.
108	104	17th October Brought over £9170 9s 5d Snow's Materials vizt 1 Mast 18 Inches Diamr 70 Feet Long £21 7s 0d 1 Boom 13 Inr Do 56 Do £6 12s 0d 2 Top Masts 11 Inr Do 32 Do £6 1s 0d 1 Fore Mast 15½ Do 49 Do £7 10s 0d 1 Bow Spreet 16 Do 34 Do £7 0s 0d 1 Top Mast 10 Do 31 Do £2 10s 0d 1 Top Sail Yard 7 Do 31 Do £1 5s 0d 1 Spreet Sail Yard 7½ Do 32 Do £1 5s 0d 1 Gaff 7½ Do 26 Do £1 5s 0d 1 Flying Jib Boom 7½ Do 26 Do £1 5s 0d 1 Spar for 2 Top Gallant Masts 32 Do £0 15s 7d 2 Spars for 4 Steerg Yards 28 Do	The stores account for 17 October 1763 continued with £9,170 9s 5d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £9,170 9s 5d Materials for a snow: 1 mast, 18 inches in diameter and 70 feet long, £21 7s 0d 1 boom, 13 inches in diameter and 56 feet long, £6 12s 0d 2 topmasts, 11 inches in diameter and 32 feet long, £6 1s 0d 1 foremast, 15½ inches in diameter and 49 feet long, £7 10s 0d 1 bowsprit, 16 inches in diameter and 34 feet long, £7 0s 0d 1 topmast, 10 inches in diameter and 31 feet long, £2 10s 0d 1 topsail yard, 7 inches in diameter and 31 feet long, £1 5s 0d 1 spritsail yard, 7½ inches in diameter and 32 feet long, £1 5s 0d 1 gaff, 7½ inches in diameter and 26 feet long, £1 5s 0d 1 flying jib boom, 7½ inches in diameter and 26 feet long, £1 5s 0d 1 spar for 2 topgallant masts, 32 feet long, £0 15s 7d

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		£1 11s 2d 1 Do for a Spreet sail Top Yard 24 Do £0 15s 8d 1 Oak Knee for a Mast £1 10s 3d 3 Spars 48 Do £3 10s 10d 15. 2. 22 Cordage £27 16s 10d 20 Half Barrels Gun Powder £59 16s 8d £151 17s 0d European Goods amount to £9322 6s 5d India Goods vizt Arrack 1251½ Gallons £199 9s 2d China Ware vizt 18 Soop Dishes £6 7s 6d 270 Meat Do 1671 Do Plates £50 8s 0d 58 Sallad Dishes £2 4s 8d 2 Deep Do £0 10s 6d 33 Sauce Boats £0 12s 9d 356 Blue & White Soop Plates £7 8s 4d 56 Enamd Do £1 15s 0d 7 Enameled Beekers £0 2s 11d 266 Blue & White Do £4 8s 8d 109 Bowls £5 9s 0d 18 Chamber Pots £1 7s 0d 24 Blue & White Guglets & Basons £3 6s 0d 1 Coloured Do Do £0 10s 0d 12 Blue & White Bakg Dishes £1 4s 0d China Ware brought over £85 14s 4d Carried over £9521 15s 7d	2 spars for 4 studding-sail yards, 28 feet long, £1 11s 2d 1 spar for a spritsail topsail yard, 24 feet long, £0 13s 8d 1 oak piece for a mast, £1 10s 3d 3 spars, 48 feet long, £3 10s 10d 15 hundredweight 2 quarters 22 pounds of cordage, £27 16s 10d 20 half-barrels of gunpowder, £59 16s 8d Materials for a snow total, £151 17s 0d European goods total, £9,322 6s 5d Goods from India and the East: 1,251½ gallons of arrack, £199 9s 2d China ware: 18 soup tureens, £6 7s 6d 270 meat dishes and 1,671 plates together, £50 8s 0d 58 salad dishes, £2 4s 8d 2 deep dishes, £0 10s 6d 33 sauceboats, £0 12s 9d 356 blue and white soup plates, £7 8s 4d 56 enamelled soup plates, £1 15s 0d 7 enamelled beakers, £0 2s 11d 266 blue and white beakers, £4 8s 8d 109 bowls, £5 9s 0d 18 chamber pots, £1 7s 0d 24 blue and white small jugs and basins, £3 6s 0d 1 coloured jug and basin, £0 10s 0d 12 blue and white baking dishes, £1 4s 0d China ware carried forward, £85 14s 4d Balance carried forward, £9,521 15s 7d **Interpretations** The page marks the division the storekeeper drew between European goods and goods from India and the East. Everything valued up to this point had come out from London, and its total of £9,322 6s 5d was closed off before the Asian goods began. The Company kept these streams apart because they were bought through different accounts, one charged to the Court's London purchases and the other to cargoes landed from ships returning from Bengal, Madras, Bombay and China. A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel, rigged much like a brig but with a light extra mast just behind the mainmast to carry a fore-and-aft sail. The spars listed amount to almost a complete set of masts and yards, so the timber was evidently held to rig or re-rig such a vessel. Studding-sail yards carried extra sails set outside the main sails in light winds, and a flying jib boom extended the bowsprit to carry an outer jib. The gaff was the angled spar holding the head of the fore-and-aft sail. Each spar was measured by diameter and length because timber of the right girth was scarce and priced by size, and none grew on the island in suitable lengths. Arrack was a spirit distilled in India and Batavia from palm sap, rice or sugar, and it served as the garrison's everyday drink and as a Company monopoly sold through licensed houses. The quantity held here, over 1,250 gallons, reflects its central place in both the soldiers' rations and the island's revenue. The china ware was Chinese export porcelain, brought back as ballast and saleable cargo in Company ships from Canton. Blue and white ware, painted in cobalt under the glaze, was cheap and plentiful, which explains prices of a few pence a piece for plates and beakers. Enamelled ware carried coloured decoration painted over the glaze and fired a second time, making it the finer and dearer grade. Porcelain at such low prices was within reach of ordinary households at St Helena at a date when many working families in England still ate from pewter, wood or coarse earthenware.
109	105	1763 Brought over	The 1763 stores account continued with £9,521 15s 7d brought forward from the previous page.

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		£9521 15s 7d China Ware brought over £85 14s 4d 13 Enamd Bakg Dishes £1 14s 8d 24 Salts £0 15s 0d 17 Mugs £1 5s 6d 98 Half Pint Cups and Saucers £3 19s 0d 218 Quart Pint Do & Do £4 4s 9d 73 Tea Pots £3 13s 0d £101 6s 3d Chelloes 213 Ps £99 12s 5d Hosiers Wares 6 Prs Cotton Stockings £4 4s 0d Candles 24. 3. 16 £240 1s 10d Coffee 2. 1 £10 10s 0d Sago 1. 1. 19 £2 19s 7d Pepper 3 £2 2s 0d Tea vizt 1219 Congo £76 3s 9d 117 Singlo £7 6s 3d 1176 Bohea £49 0s 0d £132 10s 0d Sugar and Candy vizt 99. 2. 12 Sugar £155 12s 5d 333. 2. 16 Candy £778 10s 0d £934 2s 5d Desoolees 42 Pieces £20 9s 6d Rice and Paddy vizt 372. 1. 22 Rice £128 5s 1d 349. 1. 17 Paddy £63 7s 0d £191 12s 1d Long Cloth vizt 1 Ps R 12 £3 9s 3d 1 Ps 5 £2 1s 2d 2½ Ps 6 £3 10s 0d 4½ Ps 7 £6 3s 0d 13 Ps A £73 1s 5d 1 Ps B £4 16s 5d Long Cloth Carried over £93 1s 3d Carried over £11261 5s 8d	Balance brought forward, £9,521 15s 7d China ware: China ware brought forward, £85 14s 4d 13 enamelled baking dishes, £1 14s 8d 24 salt cellars, £0 15s 0d 17 mugs, £1 5s 6d 98 half-pint cups and saucers, £3 19s 0d 218 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £4 4s 9d 73 teapots, £3 13s 0d China ware total, £101 6s 3d 213 pieces of chelloes, £99 12s 5d Hosiery: 86 pairs of cotton stockings, £4 4s 0d 21 hundredweight 3 quarters 16 pounds of candles, £240 1s 10d 2 hundredweight 1 quarter of coffee, £10 10s 0d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 19 pounds of sago, £2 19s 7d 3 quarters of a hundredweight of pepper, £2 2s 0d Tea: 1,219 pounds of congou tea, £76 3s 9d 117 pounds of singlo tea, £7 6s 3d 1,176 pounds of bohea tea, £49 0s 0d Tea total, £132 10s 0d Sugar and sugar candy: 99 hundredweight 2 quarters 12 pounds of sugar, £155 12s 5d 333 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 pounds of sugar candy, £778 10s 0d Sugar and sugar candy total, £934 2s 5d 42 pieces of dosooties, £20 9s 6d Rice and paddy: 312 hundredweight 1 quarter 22 pounds of rice, £128 5s 1d 349 hundredweight 1 quarter 17 pounds of paddy, £63 7s 0d Rice and paddy total, £191 12s 1d Long cloth: 1 piece of grade 2 long cloth, £3 9s 3d 1 piece of grade 5 long cloth, £2 1s 2d 2½ pieces of grade 6 long cloth, £3 10s 0d 4½ pieces of grade 7 long cloth, £6 3s 0d 13 pieces of long cloth marked A, £73 1s 5d 1 piece of long cloth marked B, £4 16s 5d Long cloth carried forward, £93 1s 3d Balance carried forward, £11,261 5s 8d **Interpretations** The Indian textiles were bought on the Coromandel Coast and in Bengal and landed from homeward Company ships. Chelloes were cotton cloths woven in a check or stripe, usually blue and white, much used for everyday clothing and for dressing slaves. Dosooties were coarse, strong cottons woven with doubled threads, which gave them their name and made them suitable for sacking, sailcloth linings and working garments. The long cloth was graded by number and letter, marks set by the Company's warehouses in India to show the fineness of the weave, so the storekeeper valued each grade separately. The three teas were all Chinese and ran from cheap to dear. Bohea was the coarsest black tea, taken from late pickings, and congou was a better-made black tea from the same region of Fujian. Singlo was a green tea. Bohea valued at about 10d a pound was far cheaper than in England, where heavy customs and excise duties pushed retail prices to several shillings a pound and fed a large smuggling trade. Tea at St Helena was therefore within ordinary reach, and the stock of over 2,500 pounds suggests it was already a common drink rather than a luxury. Paddy was rice still in its husk, which kept better in store and against weevils than milled rice and could be pounded on the island as needed. Rice was a staple ration, especially for slaves, and the Company kept a large stock of both forms as a reserve against failures

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			of the potato and yam crops and gaps in the arrival of flour from England. Sago was a starch prepared from the pith of Southeast Asian palms, used in puddings and as food for the sick. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised slowly on threads into large hard lumps, made in China and Bengal and shipped in tubs or baskets. It kept well and was used for sweetening drinks and in medicines. The candles were probably tallow, recorded by weight since the size of each candle varied.
110	106	17th October Brought over £11261 5s 8d Long Cloth brought over £93 1s 3d 1 Ps C £4 8s 5d 6 Ps D £21 14s 6d 7 Ps E £22 11s 6d 1 Ps F £2 16s 5d 8 Ps G £20 19s 4d 30 Ps H £74 5s 0d 30 Ps I £41 10s 0d 20 K £19 11s 8d £300 18s 1d European and India Goods Amounting to £11562 3s 9d St Helena 30th September 1763 Signed John Skottowe Thos. Kirkpatrick Jr Counted and examined the Honorable Company Cash for the Month of September last, which is as follows vizt	The 1763 stores account for 17 October continued with £11,261 5s 8d brought forward from the previous page. Balance brought forward, £11,261 5s 8d Long cloth: Long cloth brought forward, £93 1s 3d 1 piece of long cloth marked C, £4 8s 5d 6 pieces of long cloth marked D, £21 14s 6d 7 pieces of long cloth marked E, £22 11s 6d 1 piece of long cloth marked F, £2 16s 5d 8 pieces of long cloth marked G, £20 19s 4d 30 pieces of long cloth marked H, £74 5s 0d 30 pieces of long cloth marked I, £41 10s 0d 20 pieces of long cloth marked K, £19 11s 8d Long cloth total, £300 18s 1d European and Indian goods total, £11,562 3s 9d John Skottowe and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the survey at St Helena, dating it 30 September 1763. The same two men also counted and checked the cash held by the East India Company for the month of September. **Interpretations** The signatures turned a storekeeper's list into a certified valuation. By putting their names to the total of £11,562 3s 9d, Skottowe and Kirkpatrick vouched to the Court of Directors that the goods had been physically counted and priced, and they made themselves answerable for any later shortfall. Pairing the stock survey with a count of the cash in hand allowed the Court to check the island's two forms of Company property together, since goods sold from store turned into cash and any gap between the two would expose loss or fraud. The survey was dated 30 September 1763 as at the close of the month, although the pages were headed 17 October, when the fair copy was evidently entered into the register. The valuation therefore fixed the stock at a set accounting date rather than on the day the clerk wrote it up. The whole account shows how the island's wealth was held. Goods shipped from Europe made up well over three quarters of the value, while Indian and Chinese goods accounted for the remainder, led by sugar candy, rice, arrack and cloth. The garrison, the Company's slaves and the settlers all depended on this stockpile, which represented years of supply held against the long intervals between ships.
111	107	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1763 Sept 1st To Balance remaining £6311 6s 0d 3 To Ship Clive recd the balance of her Acct £7 7s 7d 4 To Ship Prince of Wales received Do £34 8s 2d 30 To Rents £572 1s 6d To St George a French Prisoner who died in the Hospital being the prod of his Effects £12 0s 0d To James Powell received of him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this day	The Company's cash account for September 1763 set receipts against payments and closed with a count of the coin held in the treasury. Receipts: 1 September 1763, balance in hand, £6,311 6s 0d 3 September 1763, balance of the account of the ship *Clive*, £7 7s 7d4 September 1763, balance of the account of the ship *Prince of Wales*, £34 8s 2d 30 September 1763, rents, £572 1s 6d 30 September 1763, proceeds of the effects of St George, a French prisoner who died in the hospital, £12 0s 0d 30 September 1763, from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter to that date, £2,039 2s 3d 30 September 1763, from the plantation for provisions sold, £28 1s 0d

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		£2039 2s 3d To Plantation for Provision Sold £28 1s 0d To Licences for 10 Public Houses £15 0s 0d £9019 6s 6d £9019 6s 6d 1763 Septr 30 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &ca in the Quarter ending this day £3099 7s 1d By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 8061 Pagodas 8/- £3224 8s 0d 620 Rupees 2/3 £69 15s 0d 441 French Ps -/2 £3 13s 6d 1484 Doubl Ryals 1/3 £92 15s 0d 4252 Pistreens 1/- £212 12s 0d 7108 Dollars 5/- £1777 0s 0d Odd Money £0 0s 11d £5380 4s 5d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £5919 19s 5d £9019 6s 6d **Margin Notes:** 1763	30 September 1763, licences for 10 public houses, £15 0s 0d Receipts total, £9,019 6s 6d Payments and balance: 30 September 1763, advances to the paymaster for salaries and other accounts in the quarter to that date, £3,099 7s 1d Balance held in the following coin: 8,061 pagodas at 8s each, £3,224 8s 0d 620 rupees at 2s 3d each, £69 15s 0d 441 French pieces at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 1,484 double reals at 1s 3d each, £92 15s 0d 4,252 pistareens at 1s each, £212 12s 0d 7,108 dollars at 5s each, £1,777 0s 0d Odd money, £0 0s 11d Coin total, £5,380 4s 5d Cash notes no longer of use, £539 15s 0d Balance total, £5,919 19s 5d Payments and balance total, £9,019 6s 6d **Interpretations** The treasury held almost no English money. Its coin came from the ships that called, so the island ran on a mix of Indian, Spanish and French currency, each converted to sterling at a fixed Company rate for the books. The pagoda was a small gold coin of south India, struck at Madras among other mints, and at 8s it made up well over half the cash by value. The rupee was the silver coin of Bengal and western India. The dollar was the Spanish silver piece of eight, the most widely trusted coin of the age, while the double real was its quarter. Pistareens were Spanish two-real pieces struck in lighter, baser silver, which traded at a discount to the true double real, as the rates of 1s and 1s 3d show. The French pieces at 2d each were small coins, perhaps taken from French ships or prisoners during the recent war. The receipts show the main sources of the Company's local income. Rents came from land and houses let to settlers, and at £572 1s 6d for the quarter they formed a steady revenue. The sale of stores through James Powell brought in over £2,000, confirming that the warehouse valued on the preceding pages acted as the island's shop as well as its depot. Licences for public houses at 30s apiece gave the Company control over where drink was sold and by whom, tying the retail trade in arrack to its approval. The small receipt from the effects of St George shows how the Company dealt with the property of those who died in its care. A prisoner's belongings were sold and the proceeds credited to the Company's cash, perhaps to offset his keep, rather than held for heirs who could not be traced. The cash notes described as no longer of use were counted in the balance but plainly could not be spent. They were perhaps promissory notes or bills that had been redeemed or cancelled but not yet written off, and the clerk carried them at face value so that the balance agreed with the books. The two ship receipts were small sums settling the accounts of the *Clive* and the *Prince of Wales*, probably the difference between what each ship owed for supplies and what had already been paid.
112	108	17 October John Laroze a French Prisoner left sick here out of the Ship Clinton dying in the Hospital the 10th Instant made a Nuncupative Will in favour of William Laroche Centinel; his Effects consisted of an Old Chest and a few other things of very Little Value, John Dobson who came from the Cape here, upon the Snow Mercury, We this day Enlisted to serve the	John Laroze, a French prisoner put ashore sick from the ship *Clinton*, lay dying in the hospital on 10 October 1763. Before his death he made a spoken will before witnesses, leaving what he had to William Laroche, a private soldier. His belongings amounted to an old chest and a few other items worth very little. John Dobson arrived from the Cape of Good Hope aboard the snow *Mercury*. On 17 October 1763 he enlisted as a soldier in the East India Company's service for five years. The Council judged him a

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		Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years, He appearing to be a good Man, we gave him five pounds bounty Money and the Articles of War read to him. Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th Day of October 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed, dated the 17th October 1763. The Storekeeper brought in his Account of Waste upon Store Goods for the Year ending the 30th September last. He declaring the same to be real and unavoidable We ordered it to be entered which is as follow vizt	sound man, paid him a bounty of £5 0s 0d and had the Articles of War read to him. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed these entries. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 October 1763. The Governor presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 17 October 1763 were read, approved and signed. The storekeeper presented his account of wastage on the Company's stores for the year to 30 September 1763. He declared that the losses were genuine and could not have been avoided. The Council ordered the account to be entered in the record. **Interpretations** A spoken will of this kind, known as a nuncupative will, was recognised in English law for soldiers, sailors and people with small estates who were dying and had no chance to make a written one. Its effect here was to decide who received a dead man's property. Without it, Laroze's goods would probably have gone the way of those of St George, the French prisoner whose effects were sold on the Company's account for £12 0s 0d at the end of September 1763. By naming William Laroche before witnesses, Laroze kept his few possessions out of the Company's hands. The enlistment shows how the garrison was topped up from passing ships. Recruits from England were few and slow to arrive, so the Council took suitable men as they landed, judging their fitness on sight. The £5 bounty was a cash inducement to sign, and the reading of the Articles of War was the formal act that brought the recruit under military law, making desertion, mutiny and disobedience punishable by court martial from that moment. The storekeeper's account of wastage was a means of protecting him from personal liability. He answered for every item in the warehouse, and any shortfall between the books and the physical stock would otherwise be charged to him. Leakage of arrack and oil, rot in cloth and rice, and damage by rats were constant on a long-stocked island, and his sworn declaration that the losses were real and unavoidable, once accepted by the Council, allowed them to be written off the Company's books.
113	109	24th October Profit and Loss Dr for loss by Leakage Wastage short Weight and Measure by drawing by the Gallon &ca and by weighing by the pound &ca in the Year ending the 30 September 1763 vizt Glass Ware vizt 1 Urinal £0 1s 0d 1 Tumbler £0 0s 7d 2 Half Minute Glasses £0 1s 0d 4 Squares 12 by 10 £0 3s 0d 1 Do 12½ by 10½ £0 1s 2d 5 Do 17½ by 11 broke £0 6s 8d 5 Do 18¼ by 10¾ £0 6s 8d 1 Wine Glass £0 0s 7d £1 0s 8d China Ware vizt 14 Blue & White Beekers £0 4s 8d	The storekeeper's account of wastage, charged to profit and loss, covered goods lost through leakage, breakage and short weight or measure when stores were drawn off by the gallon or weighed out by the pound in the year to 30 September 1763. Glassware, broken: 1 urinal, £0 1s 0d 1 tumbler, £0 0s 7d 2 half-minute glasses, £0 1s 0d 4 window panes, 12 by 10 inches, £0 3s 0d 1 window pane, 12½ by 10½ inches, £0 1s 2d 5 window panes, 17½ by 11 inches, £0 6s 8d 5 window panes, 18¾ by 10¾ inches, £0 6s 8d 1 wine glass, £0 0s 7d Glassware total, £1 0s 8d China ware, broken: 14 blue and white beakers, £0 4s 8d 2 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 0s 9d 1 blue and white chamber pot, £0 1s 8d 4 bowls, £0 4s 4d China ware total, £0 11s 5d 7 hundredweight of cordage, £13 17s 8d 2 pounds of pump leather, £0 1s 10d 6¼ pounds of nails, £0 3s 8d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 21 pounds of soap, £4 5s 10d Rice and paddy:

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		2 Quart Ps Cups & Saucers £0 0s 9d 1 Blue & White Chamb Pot £0 1s 8d 4 Bowls £0 4s 4d £0 11s 5d Cordage 7 qrs lb £13 17s 8d Leather 2 Pump £0 1s 10d Nails 6¼ lb £0 3s 8d Sope 1. 1. 21 £4 5s 10d Rice vizt 2. 3. 24 Rice £1 5s 10d 6. 19 Paddy £1 3s 2d £2 9s 0d Sugar and Candy vizt 4. 3. 13 Candy £4 11s 5d 1. 2. Sugar £2 9s 0d £7 0s 5d Coffee 11 lb £0 9s 2d Arrack 10½ Gallons £1 15s 9d Snows Materials 3. 15 Cordage short weight £1 13s 0d Candles 7¼ lb £0 14s 4d £34 2s 9d St Helena 30th Septr 1763 (signed) J Powell Storekeeper Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	2 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 pounds of rice, £1 5s 10d 6 hundredweight 19 pounds of paddy, £1 3s 2d Rice and paddy total, £2 9s 0d Sugar and sugar candy: 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 13 pounds of sugar candy, £4 11s 5d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of sugar, £2 9s 0d Sugar and sugar candy total, £7 0s 5d 11 pounds of coffee, £0 9s 2d 10½ gallons of arrack, £1 15s 9d Materials for the snow: 3 quarters 15 pounds of cordage found short in weight, £1 13s 0d 7¼ pounds of candles, £0 14s 4d Wastage total, £34 2s 9d J. Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 30 September 1763. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick added their signatures in approval. **Interpretations** Posting the wastage to profit and loss was the book-keeping step that cleared the storekeeper. Once the Council accepted the account, the missing goods ceased to be a debt against Powell and became a recognised cost to the Company. The mechanism rested on the storekeeper's duty to account for every item received, and the Council's countersignatures showed the Court of Directors that the write-off had been examined rather than simply claimed. The losses were small against the stock. The total of £34 2s 9d was about 0.3% of the goods valued at £11,562 3s 9d on the same date. Only 10½ gallons of arrack went missing out of more than 1,250 gallons held, and 11 pounds of coffee out of over 250 pounds. Losses by short measure were a known consequence of selling in small quantities, since every gallon drawn and every pound weighed lost a little to spillage, the drip of the tap and the turn of the scale. Cordage was the one heavy loss, perhaps through rot or through rope being cut into lengths for issue. Two items reflect particular uses. A half-minute glass was a small sandglass used at sea with the log-line to measure a ship's speed, so its presence in store points to the island's boats and the sloops it supplied. The glass urinal was a hospital vessel for collecting and examining a patient's urine, a standard diagnostic practice of the period. The window panes were listed by size in inches because glass was supplied in cut sheets to fit particular frames, and replacements for the Castle and Company houses had to match the openings.
114	110	31st October At a Consultation held on Monday the 31st Day of October 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 24th October 1763 Thursday the 27th Died John Cossley Soldier The Accountant Reports that the Honorable Company's Books of Accounts are Balanced to the 30th September last. We Ordered them to be Copied as fast as possible Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th Day of November 1763 at the Castle	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 31 October 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 24 October 1763 were read, approved and signed. John Cosslee, a soldier, died on Thursday 27 October 1763. The accountant reported that the Company's books were balanced up to 30 September 1763. The Council told him to have fair copies made as quickly as he could. The Governor, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met again at the Castle on Monday 7 November 1763, with the same four members present. The minutes of 31 October 1763 were read, approved and signed. Matthew Purling applied for his lease of nine acres of land to be renewed. The Council agreed to the renewal. **Interpretations**

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		Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 31st October 1763 Mr Matthew Purling this day Petitioned for the Renewal of a Lease for nine Acres of Land Granted	The balancing of the books to 30 September 1763 closed the Company's accounting year on the island, the same date used for the stores valuation, the cash count and the wastage account entered earlier. The copies were needed because the Court of Directors required duplicate sets of the island's books, sent home in separate ships so that the loss of one vessel would not leave London without the accounts. The urgency of the order was perhaps tied to the expected sailing of a homeward ship. Matthew Purling's lease shows how land was held on the island. The Company owned the soil and let it to settlers for fixed terms, so a tenant had to apply to the Council to renew when a lease ran out. Purling was himself a member of the Council that granted the renewal. The record gives no sign that he withdrew while his application was heard, an arrangement that placed the allocation of land in the hands of the same small group who benefited from it.
115	111	7th November William Moore this day presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Govr &ca Council of St Helena. The humble Petition of Wm Moore Sheweth That your Petitioners Lease for ten Acres of Land in Sandy Bay will expire on Thursday next. Your petitioner therefore humbly begs that he may have a Renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray St Helena (signed) 7 Novr 1763 Wm Moore Granted Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th Day of November 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated, the 7th November 1763 Tuesday the 8th Passed by a Ship to Leeward under French Colours	William Moore submitted a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the Council on 7 November 1763. He explained that his lease of ten acres at Sandy Bay was due to expire on Thursday 10 November 1763 and asked for it to be renewed. The Council granted the renewal, and the Governor, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 14 November 1763, with the Governor presiding, John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of 7 November 1763 were read, approved and signed. A ship flying French colours sailed past the island to leeward on Tuesday 8 November 1763. **Interpretations** Leases of Company land ran for short fixed terms and lapsed unless the tenant applied in time. Moore petitioned only three days before his term ended, and the Council renewed it at once, as it had done for Matthew Purling on the same day. The system kept every planter dependent on the Council's continuing approval, since each renewal gave the Company an opportunity to review a tenant's conduct and use of the land before confirming his hold on it. The note of a French ship passing to leeward reflects the island's watch on the sea. Lookouts on the high ground reported every sail, and the Council recorded ships that did not call as well as those that did. A ship passing on the leeward side went by the anchorage in James Bay without stopping, so her identity and purpose could not be checked. Recording her colours kept the Council informed of French movements in the South Atlantic, even in peacetime, since the island's security depended on early warning of any foreign vessel.
116	112	14th November The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of October last, were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt Artillery Stores expended in the Month of October 1763 4 Pounder, 3 Pounder, 2 Pounder, 1 Pounder, lb, oz 8 departed the Clinton returned the salute: 4 Pounder 9, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 9, lb 9, oz 0 Powder for priming: 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, lb 1, oz 8 14 An Alarm for the Snow Mercury: 4 Pounder 6, 3 Pounder 2, 2 Pounder 2, 1 Pounder 2, lb 12, oz 0 25 Fired for the Kings Accession to the Throne: 4 Pounder 21, 3 Pounder 2, 2 Pounder 1, 1 Pounder 18, lb 23, oz 0	The Council received the plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for October 1763 on 14 November 1763, examined them and approved them. The gunner's account of artillery stores used in October 1763 ran as follows. 8 October 1763, return of the salute of the ship *Clinton* on her departure: 9 guns fired in all, all 9 from the third gun column; 9 pounds 0 ounces of powder. 8 October 1763, powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 14 October 1763, alarm for the snow *Mercury*: 6 guns fired in all, 2 from the first gun column, 2 from the second and 2 from the fourth; 12 pounds 0 ounces of powder. 25 October 1763, salute for the King's accession to the throne: 21 guns fired in all, 2 from the first gun column, 1 from the second and 18 from the third; 23 pounds 0 ounces of powder

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		Powder for priming: 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, lb 3, oz 8 Fired with small Arms for Do: 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, lb 21, oz 12 Powder for the Funeral of John Cossley: 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, lb 2, oz 4 Do for Replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, lb 1, oz 4 Do for Signals: 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, lb 0, oz 8 4 Pounder 36, 3 Pounder 4, 2 Pounder 3, 1 Pounder 29, lb 75, oz 4 Tallow for the use of the Long Boat 4 lb Do for the use of the Wood Cart 4 lb Spunge Staves for the use of the Carpenter 1 No. Do broke at Ruperts 3 No. Spunge Heads broke at Do 3 No. Rammer Heads broke at Do 6 No. Sheep Skins for Coating Spunges at Do 6 No. Trunk Nails for Coating & Repairing Spunges at Do 356 No. Hand Spike broke at Banks's 2 No. Match burnt at Mundens point since Septr 30th 1762 6 lb Do at Ruperts since Do 12 lb Do at Banks's since Do 12 lb Do at Lemon Valley since Do 6 lb Do at Turks Cap since Do 6 lb Do at Sandy Bay since Do 12 lb Do at the Alarm House since May 1763 6 lb Do at the Main Fort since June Do 12 lb One 9 pounder Gun and One 4 pounder Do very full of Holes and so much Honey Combd, that they are Unserviceable and sent on board the Snow Mercury for Kentlage 2 No. (Signed) Thos Hall	25 October 1763, powder for priming, 3 pounds 8 ounces 25 October 1763, small-arms volleys for the same occasion, 21 pounds 12 ounces of powder Powder for the funeral of John Cosslee, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder for refilling the cartridges at the Main Guard, 1 pound 4 ounces Powder for signals, 0 pounds 8 ounces Totals: 36 guns fired in all, 4 from the first gun column, 3 from the second, 27 from the third and 2 from the fourth; 75 pounds 4 ounces of powder The gunner also accounted for the following stores used or damaged. Tallow for the longboat, 4 pounds Tallow for the wood cart, 4 pounds Sponge staves for the carpenter's use, 1 Sponge staves broken at Rupert's, 3 Sponge heads broken at Rupert's, 3 Rammer heads broken at Rupert's, 6 Sheepskins for covering sponges at Rupert's, 6 Trunk nails for covering and repairing sponges at Rupert's, 356 Handspikes broken at Banks's, 2 Slow match burnt at Munden's Point since 30 September 1762, 6 pounds Slow match burnt at Rupert's since 30 September 1762, 12 pounds Slow match burnt at Banks's since 30 September 1762, 12 pounds Slow match burnt at Lemon Valley since 30 September 1762, 6 pounds Slow match burnt at Turk's Cap since 30 September 1762, 6 pounds Slow match burnt at Sandy Bay since 30 September 1762, 12 pounds Slow match burnt at the Alarm House since May 1763, 6 pounds Slow match burnt at the Main Fort since June 1763, 12 pounds Guns condemned: 1 nine-pounder and 1 four-pounder, 2 guns in all, so pitted with holes and corrosion that they could no longer be fired, sent aboard the snow *Mercury* as ballast. Thomas Hall signed the gunner's account. **Interpretations** The calibre headings over the four gun columns could not be read with confidence, so the guns fired are identified by column rather than by weight of shot. The first column in each firing gave the total, and the others broke that total down by size of gun. Every gun fired and every ounce of powder used had to be justified by occasion, because powder was costly, could not be made on the island and was the garrison's only means of defence. The account therefore reads as a register of the island's ceremonial and military life in October 1763. The *Clinton*, which had landed the dying French prisoner John Laroze, received the customary return salute on sailing. The 21-gun salute and small-arms volleys on 25 October marked the anniversary of George III's accession, and the powder issued for John Cosslee's funeral paid for the volleys fired over a soldier's grave after his death on 27 October 1763. The alarm fired for the *Mercury* shows the island's warning system at work. When lookouts sighted a sail that had not been identified, alarm guns called the garrison to its posts until the ship's nationality and intent were known. The *Mercury* proved to be a friendly snow from the Cape, and the recruit John Dobson came ashore from her. Slow match was cord soaked in saltpetre that smouldered steadily and was used to fire the guns. Each battery kept a length burning at all times so that its guns could be fired without delay, which explains the steady consumption at Munden's Point, Rupert's,

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			Banks's, Lemon Valley, Turk's Cap, Sandy Bay, the Alarm House and the Main Fort. The list amounts to a roll of the island's defended landing places. The gun tools reflect routine wear. A sponge was a staff ending in a wooden head covered in sheepskin, used to swab out the barrel after each shot and put out any smouldering residue before the next charge was loaded. The rammer drove home the charge and ball, and handspikes were wooden levers used to train and elevate the gun. Honeycombed guns were iron barrels whose inner surface had been eaten into pits by rust, a common fate for guns exposed to salt air, and such pits could hold burning fragments or burst the gun. Rather than waste the metal, the Company sent the two condemned guns out as kentledge, the heavy iron ballast laid in the bottom of a ship to keep her stable.
117	113	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of October 1763 vizt Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses Jasses, Asses Sasses, Asses Total Remaining 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 60, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 20, Neat Cattle Steers 39, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 286, Sheep Ewes 303, Sheep Weathers 104, Sheep Lambs 158, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 573, Goats Ewes 145, Goats Weathers 20, Goats Kids 80, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 254, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 3, Hogs Pigs 13, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 22, Poultry Fowls 61, Poultry Ducks 14, Poultry Turkeys 32, Poultry Geese 29, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 3, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 4 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 2, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 2, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 18, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 18, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 20, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 20, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 40, Poultry Ducks 14, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 4, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Brot from ye Cape: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 155, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 155, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 62, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 20, Neat Cattle Steers 39, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 288, Sheep Ewes 303, Sheep Weathers 259, Sheep Lambs 176, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 746, Goats Ewes 145, Goats Weathers 20, Goats Kids 100, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 274, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 3, Hogs Pigs 13, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 22, Poultry Fowls 101, Poultry Ducks 28, Poultry Turkeys 32, Poultry Geese 33, Horses Horses 7,	The account of the East India Company's livestock for October 1763 recorded the herds and flocks at the start of the month, the changes during it and the numbers left at the end. Cattle: Remaining on 1 October 1763: 4 bulls, 84 cows, 60 calves, 64 yearlings, 20 heifers, 39 steers, 15 oxen, 286 cattle in all Increase: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 2 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 2 cattle in all Brought from the Cape: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 0 cattle in all Total: 4 bulls, 84 cows, 62 calves, 64 yearlings, 20 heifers, 39 steers, 15 oxen, 288 cattle in all Killed: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 1 animal in all Died: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 0 cattle in all Remaining on 31 October 1763: 4 bulls, 84 cows, 62 calves, 64 yearlings, 19 heifers, 39 steers, 15 oxen, 287 cattle in all Sheep: Remaining on 1 October 1763: 303 ewes, 104 wethers, 158 lambs, 8 rams, 573 sheep in all Increase: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 18 lambs, 0 rams, 18 sheep in all Brought from the Cape: 0 ewes, 155 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 155 sheep in all Total: 303 ewes, 259 wethers, 176 lambs, 8 rams, 746 sheep in all Killed: 4 ewes, 22 wethers, 2 lambs, 0 rams, 28 sheep in all Died: 3 ewes, 6 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 9 sheep in all Remaining on 31 October 1763: 296 ewes, 231 wethers, 174 lambs, 8 rams, 709 sheep in all Goats: Remaining on 1 October 1763: 145 nannies, 20 wethers, 80 kids, 9 billies, 254 goats in all Increase: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 20 kids, 0 billies, 20 goats in all Brought from the Cape: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, 0 goats in all Total: 145 nannies, 20 wethers, 100 kids, 9 billies, 274 goats in all Killed: 5 nannies, 2 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, 7 goats in all Died: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, 0 goats in all Remaining on 31 October 1763: 140 nannies, 18 wethers, 100 kids, 9 billies, 267 goats in all Pigs: Remaining on 1 October 1763: 5 sows, 3 shoats, 13 piglets, 1 boar, 22 pigs in all Increase: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all Brought from the Cape: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all

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		Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 3, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 4 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 1, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 4, Sheep Weathers 22, Sheep Lambs 2, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 28, Goats Ewes 5, Goats Weathers 2, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 7, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 1, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Poultry Fowls 10, Poultry Ducks 2, Poultry Turkeys 3, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 3, Sheep Weathers 6, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 9, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 1, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 1, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 1 Remaining 31st: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 62, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 39, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 287, Sheep Ewes 296, Sheep Weathers 231, Sheep Lambs 174, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 709, Goats Ewes 140, Goats Weathers 18, Goats Kids 100, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 267, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 3, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 20, Poultry Fowls 91, Poultry Ducks 26, Poultry Turkeys 29, Poultry Geese 33, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 1 Heifer kild for the Table Mercury Snow and Fly Cutter, 1 Goat for the Hospital Weight 17 lb (signed) John Skottowe, 1 Man Drownded Named Maccoy 1 Man Dead Named June Good Yam expended for the Slaves 21. 930 lb Refuse Yam Do for the Stock 9. 265 lb Total 31. 195 lb **Margin Notes:** 1763	Total: 5 sows, 3 shoats, 13 piglets, 1 boar, 22 pigs in all Killed: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 1 piglet, 0 boars, 1 pig in all Died: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 1 piglet, 0 boars, 1 pig in all Remaining on 31 October 1763: 5 sows, 3 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 20 pigs in all Poultry: Remaining on 1 October 1763: 61 fowls, 14 ducks, 32 turkeys, 29 geese Increase: 40 fowls, 14 ducks, 0 turkeys, 4 geese Brought from the Cape: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Total: 101 fowls, 28 ducks, 32 turkeys, 33 geese Killed: 10 fowls, 2 ducks, 3 turkeys, 0 geese Died: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Remaining on 31 October 1763: 91 fowls, 26 ducks, 29 turkeys, 33 geese Horses: Remaining on 1 October 1763: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Increase: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Brought from the Cape: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Total: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Killed: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Died: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Remaining on 31 October 1763: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Donkeys: Remaining on 1 October 1763: 3 jacks, 1 jenny, 4 in all Increase: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Brought from the Cape: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Total: 3 jacks, 1 jenny, 4 in all Killed: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Died: 1 jack, 0 jennies, 1 in all Remaining on 31 October 1763: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all One heifer was slaughtered to supply the officers' tables of the snow *Mercury* and the cutter *Fly*. One goat weighing 17 pounds went to the hospital. John Skottowe signed the account. A man named Maccoy drowned during the month, and another man, named June, died. Good yams issued to the slaves, 21,930 pounds Poor-quality yams fed to the livestock, 9,265 pounds Total yams used, 31,195 pounds **Interpretations** The yam figures reveal how the Company fed its slaves. Yams grown on the Company's own land formed the slaves' basic ration, issued by weight, and the 21,930 pounds used in October amounted to a large monthly outlay from the plantation. The division between good and refuse yams shows a deliberate economy. Tubers that were damaged, undersized or rotting were not wasted but fed to the stock, so a single crop supported both the labour force and the animals. Where English farm labourers lived chiefly on bread, the island's workforce depended on a root crop, which tied the plantation's output directly to the Company's capacity to keep its slaves fed. The deaths of Maccoy and June were recorded in the livestock account rather than in the Council's minutes, alongside the losses of sheep, pigs and a donkey. The two men were probably Company slaves, whose lives and deaths the plantation manager accounted for as part of the property under his care. The stock served the Company's tables, its hospital and the ships in the road. Fresh meat was scarce on the island and closely rationed, so every animal killed was recorded against a purpose, whether a heifer for the officers of the *Mercury* and the *Fly* or a

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			goat for the sick. The island could not breed enough sheep for its needs, and the 155 wethers brought from the Cape, perhaps aboard the *Mercury* on her arrival that month, made good the shortfall. Wethers were castrated males raised for meat, which is why the import consisted of them alone and no breeding animals. Shoats were young pigs past weaning but not yet grown, standing between piglets and adult hogs. Neat cattle, the term used in the heading, meant cattle of the ox kind, distinguishing them from other livestock.
118	114	14th November Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of October 1763 vizt 23 Bottles Lisbon Wine £1 14s 6d 14 Do Mountain £1 1s 0d 72 Do Arrack £3 7s 1½d 24 Do Beer £0 6s 6d 350 lb Flour £2 3s 9d 120 fresh Beef £1 10s 0d 34 fresh Pork £0 17s 0d 9 lb Salt Pork £1 2s 10½d 233¼ Mutton £4 17s 2¼d 88 lb Goat £1 9s 4d 2 Lambs £1 0s 0d 10 Fowls £0 15s 0d 2 Ducks £0 3s 0d 3 Turkeys £0 15s 0d 35¼ lb fresh Butter £1 15s 3d 103 lb Candy £1 14s 4d 1 Pig £0 5s 0d £24 16s 10¼d We this day Executed the Renewal of a Lease to Mr Matthew Purling for nine Acres of Land lying in the East Division of this Island near the head of James Valley. Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Goods used at the East India Company's table during October 1763 were entered on 14 November 1763 as follows. 23 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 14s 6d 14 bottles of mountain wine, £1 1s 0d 72 bottles of arrack, £3 7s 1½d 24 bottles of beer, £0 6s 6d 350 pounds of flour, £2 3s 9d 120 pounds of fresh beef, £1 10s 0d 34 pounds of fresh pork, £0 17s 0d 9 pieces of salt pork, £1 2s 10½d 235¼ pounds of mutton, £4 17s 2¼d 88 pounds of goat meat, £1 9s 4d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 10 fowls, £0 15s 0d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 35¼ pounds of fresh butter, £1 15s 3d 103 pounds of sugar candy, £1 14s 4d 1 pig, £0 5s 0d Total, £24 16s 10¼d On the same day the Council completed the formal renewal of Matthew Purling's lease of nine acres in the island's East Division, near the head of James Valley. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** The Company's table was the official dining table kept at the Castle, where the Governor entertained councillors, senior officers and the commanders and officers of visiting ships at the Company's expense. It served as an instrument of hospitality and diplomacy, and its cost was accounted for monthly like any other charge. Lisbon wine was a white wine from the Lisbon region, often fortified for the voyage, while mountain was a sweet wine from the hills around Málaga in Spain. Both were standard table wines in Georgian England, and the arrack served alongside them was the Company's own Asian spirit. The table account ties closely to the livestock account for the same month. The 10 fowls, 2 ducks and 3 turkeys matched exactly the poultry recorded as killed in October 1763, and the mutton, lambs and goat meat drew on the 28 sheep and 7 goats slaughtered. The fresh beef was perhaps the heifer killed for the officers of the *Mercury* and the *Fly*. The two accounts therefore checked each other, since every animal the plantation manager wrote off had to appear as meat consumed somewhere in the Company's records. The grant of Purling's renewal on 7 November 1763 had been only a decision in principle. The entry of 14 November recorded the execution of the lease itself, the signed document that gave him legal title to the land for a further term. Placing the plot near the head of James Valley put it within easy reach of the town and the Castle, where land was most sought after.
119	115	21st November At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st Day of November 1763 at the Castle	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 21 November 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as

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		Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed, dated the 14th November 1763 Wednesday the 16th Died John Caffin Drummer We this day Executed the Renewal of a Lease to William Moore for ten Acres of Land lying in Sandy Bay Valley Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of October last, which is as follows vizt	councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 14 November 1763 were read, approved and signed. John Caffen, a drummer, died on Wednesday 16 November 1763. The Council completed the formal renewal of William Moore's lease of ten acres in Sandy Bay Valley on the same day. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for the month of October 1763. **Interpretations** The Council had agreed to renew Moore's lease on 7 November 1763, and his old term ran out on 10 November, yet the new deed was executed only on 21 November. For almost a fortnight he therefore held the land on the strength of the Council's recorded decision alone. The gap shows that the minute of a grant, rather than the signed lease, was treated as securing a tenant's continued occupation, with the formal document following when the clerk had drawn it up.
120	116	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1763 October 1st To Balance remaining £5919 19s 5d 3d To Rents received of the Exrs of Thomas Cotgrave Deceased for renewing one life in a Lease of twenty seven Acres and a half £3 8s 9d 6th To Ship Clinton received the Balance of her Account £106 18s 5d £6030 6s 7d 1763 Oct 31st By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 8061 Pagodas 8/- £3224 8s 0d 620 Rupees 2/3 £69 15s 0d 441 French pieces -/2 £3 13s 6d 1484 Double Ryals 1/3 £92 15s 0d 4254 Pistereens 1/- £212 14s 0d 7549 Dollars 5/- £1887 5s 0d Odd Money £0 0s 11d £5490 11s 7d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £6030 6s 7d £6030 6s 7d Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 21st November	The Company's cash account for October 1763 recorded a small inflow of money and no payments, closing with a fresh count of the coin in the treasury. Receipts: 1 October 1763, balance in hand, £5,919 19s 5d 3 October 1763, rent from the executors of the late Thomas Cotgrave for adding a new life to a lease of 27½ acres, £3 8s 9d 6 October 1763, balance of the account of the ship *Clinton*, £106 18s 5d Receipts total, £6,030 6s 7d Balance on 31 October 1763: Balance held in the following coin: 8,061 pagodas at 8s each, £3,224 8s 0d 620 rupees at 2s 3d each, £69 15s 0d 441 French pieces at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 1,484 double reals at 1s 3d each, £92 15s 0d 4,254 pistareens at 1s each, £212 14s 0d 7,549 dollars at 5s each, £1,887 5s 0d Odd money, £0 0s 11d Coin total, £5,490 11s 7d Cash notes no longer of use, £539 15s 0d Balance total, £6,030 6s 7d Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The payment by Thomas Cotgrave's executors shows that some Company land was let on leases for lives rather than for a fixed number of years. Under this system a lease lasted as long as any of the people named in it remained alive, and when one died the tenant could pay a fine to insert a new name and so extend the term. The executors paid £3 8s 9d to renew one life on 27½ acres, keeping the holding in the Cotgrave family after his death. The practice was widespread on church and landed estates in the west of England at the time, and its use here shows the Company managing island land on the model of an English estate. Set against the count of 30 September 1763, the coin reveals how money moved through the treasury. No payments were made in October, since salaries were advanced to the paymaster quarterly and the last advance had covered the quarter to 30 September. The holdings of pagodas, rupees, French pieces and double reals stood exactly as before. The whole increase of £110 7s 2d lay in 441 more dollars and 2 more pistareens, so the *Clinton*'s settlement and the Cotgrave fine were paid in Spanish silver. The Indian gold held in the treasury was evidently a reserve that rarely changed hands, while dollars were the working currency brought ashore by the ships. The cash notes of no use stood unchanged at £539 15s 0d, confirming that they were a dead

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			balance carried from month to month rather than money in circulation.
121	117	28th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th Day of November 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 21st November 1763. Saturday the 26th Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Grosvenor from China Yesterday sailed the Snow Mercury Simon Whaley this day presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Simon Whaley Sheweth That your Petitioner being possessed of five Acres of the Honorable Company's Lease Land, humbly begs that he may be permitted to dispose of the same to Mr Matthew Purling And your Petitioner will ever pray St Helena (signed) Simon Whaley 28th November 1763 Granted Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 28 November 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 21 November 1763 were read, approved and signed. The East India Company's ship *Grosvenor* arrived from China on Saturday 26 November 1763. The snow *Mercury* sailed on Sunday 27 November 1763. Simon Whaley submitted a petition to the Governor and Council on 28 November 1763. He held five acres of the Company's leased land and asked for permission to transfer it to Matthew Purling. The Council granted the request, and the Governor, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order. **Interpretations** A tenant of Company land could not sell or pass on his holding at will. Because the Company remained the owner, any transfer of a lease needed the Council's consent, which let it control who held land on the island and keep a check on the reliability of each new tenant. Whaley's petition was the formal step that made the sale lawful. The buyer was Matthew Purling, a sitting member of the Council that approved the transfer and signed the order. Within the same month the Council had also renewed and executed his lease of nine acres near the head of James Valley, on 7 and 14 November 1763. Purling was steadily adding to his holdings, and the record gives no sign that he stood aside while his colleagues considered applications in his own favour. The *Mercury* left carrying the two honeycombed guns condemned in the gunner's account of 14 November 1763 as ballast. The *Grosvenor* was a homeward-bound ship from Canton, the kind of vessel that brought the tea, porcelain and sugar candy listed in the stores valuation.
122	118	1st December At a Consultation held on Thursday the 1st Day of December 1763 at the Castle. Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutt Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed, dated the 28th November 1763. Mr Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ship Grosvenor to Muster her Company, and inquire for deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows vizt Muster Roll of Ship Grosvenor David Saunders Comm Thos Mitchell Chief Mate Lynch Salisbury Cotton 2d Do Charles Wm Richards 3d Do Haddon Smith 4th Do Thomas Brown 5th Do William Green Surgeon David Mitchell Purser Richard Edisfeild Gunr Hugh Dennison Boatsn Isaac Parker Capts Stewd James Cowherd Shipd Isaac Lawrence Sailmr Alexander Russel Coopr Henry Hornby Armourr William Miller Shipd Stewd	The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 1 December 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 28 November 1763 were read, approved and signed. Matthew Purling reported that he had gone aboard the ship *Grosvenor* to check her crew against the roll and search for deserters. He found none. The muster roll of the *Grosvenor* ran as follows. David Saunders, commander Thomas Mitchell, chief mate Lynch Salusbury Cotton, second mate Charles [...] Richards, third mate Haddon Smith, fourth mate [...] Chown, fifth mate William Green, surgeon David Mitchell, purser Richard Edersfield, gunner Hugh Dennison, boatswain Isaac Fisher, captain's steward James Cowherd, ship's steward Isaac Lawrence, sailmaker Alexander Russel, cooper Henry Hornby, armourer William Miller, shipwright John Matthewson, sailmaker's mate George Rose, gunner's mate John Adams, boatswain's mate James Hammond, carpenter's mate David Mills, cooper's mate Stephen Tooley, butcher Thomas Dick, poulterer

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		John Matthewson Serjt Mte George Rose Gunners Mte John Adams Boatn Do James Hammond Capts Do David Mills Coopers Do Stephen Sooley Butch Thos Dick Poulterer William Deane Carpent Barnett Dougherty 2d Mate Henry Harrington Do John Lyell Do Nicholas Byrn Do Alexander Tolme Quarr James Haley Do Henry Richton Do Henry Leach Capts Servt John Saxon Do James Smith Chf Mates Do John Paine Gunners Do John Dove Boatn Do Joseph Balling Capt Cook John Howcroft Seaman John Cornick Do Archibald Younger Henry Liste James Stephens Christian Sass George Cartres John Bell James Smith James Butson Seaman Thos Samuel Patty Powel Carren Frederick Riest Hans Benson Baltzar Jacobson Andrew Christian Thos Bolleston Wm Taylor John Berkett Thos Alsworth Gavin Fullon Thos Bendell Sander Johnson James Whitfield Wm Ryley Hendrick Johnson Lawrence Stroum Alexr Stroum Fergus Ferguson Thos Ash John Walker Ordiny Seaman George Miller Do	William Deane, carpenter Barnet Dougherty, quartermaster Henry Harrington, quartermaster John Lyell, quartermaster Nicholas Byrn, quartermaster Alexander Tolmie, midshipman James Haley, midshipman Henry Richton, midshipman Henry Leach, captain's servant John Saxon, captain's servant James Smith, chief mate's servant John Paine, gunner's servant John Dore, boatswain's servant Joseph Balling, carpenter's servant John Howcroft, seaman John Cornick, seaman Archibald Younger Henry Lisle James Stephens Christian Sasse George Castles John Bell James Smith James Butson, seaman Samuel Patty Powel Carren Frederick Rust Hans Benson Baltzar Jacobson Andrew Christian Thomas Bolleston William Taylor John Berkett Thomas Alworth Gavin Fullon Thomas Bendell Sander Johnson James Whitfield William Ryley Hendrick Johnson Lawrence Stroum Alexander Stroum Fergus Ferguson Thomas Ash John Walker, ordinary seaman George Miller, ordinary seaman William [...] **Interpretations** The muster was a check against desertion from the garrison. Homeward Company ships were the only way off the island, so soldiers and servants tired of their service tried to slip aboard and hide among the crew. By calling every man on the roll to answer to his name, a councillor could spot anyone who had joined the ship at St Helena without authority. Purling's report that he found none cleared the *Grosvenor* to sail. The roll lays out the working hierarchy of an East Indiaman. Below the commander and his five mates stood the warrant officers, among them the surgeon, purser, gunner, boatswain and carpenter, each with mates and servants of his own. Servants were boys or young men attached to an officer, whose wages the officer drew, so the posts served both as apprenticeships and as a perquisite. The butcher and poulterer tended the livestock carried live aboard for fresh meat on the long voyage. Several names, among them Hans Benson, Baltzar Jacobson, Hendrick Johnson and the two Stroums, are Scandinavian or Dutch in form. Company ships lost many men to disease and desertion in Asia and made up their numbers with whatever seamen they could find in eastern ports. A crew that had sailed out largely English came home with a mixed company.

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123	119	1763 William Watson Ordiny Seaman John Powel Do Alexr Wilson Sea Lad John Willet Do John Duslend Do Daniel Lawrence Do Peter Duthie Do John Sheedy Do James Clare Do Richard Emery Do Morrice Carney Landsman George Staffo de Caut Mte William Clark Seaman Stephen Lee Ordinary Do John Holme Do Thos Haley Do James Cockley Sea Lad Richd Povin Seaman Thos Gibbans Landsman Francisco Joseph Cauk Mte Izebio Fickad Caukers Mate William Jones Seaman Ignacio de Garlos Landsman Johquin des Sandor Sea Lad Thos Lee Do Willm Gawles Seaman John Mulder Do Hendrick Funkman Do John Cornelius Do Damon Do French Prisoners Joes Kerneau Maurice Cornet Julien Brun Jean Baston Denis Choron Charles Grat Julien Robe Belouanneau Bastion Goyce [...] Claude du Plessis Claude Cogeat Mahir Jean Baptiste Raigne Dennis du Noir Pierre Gnor Seux Noel Hinnau Lamd Francois de l'Isle Pierre le Jaune Francois le Gendre Verdell Rousseau Begaune Louis Deplore Francois Bouvard Leger Soullet Pierre Chaventell [...] (signed) David Saunders We having signified to Captn Saunders of the Grosvenor, by our Letter dated the 26th of last Month that whatever Goods or Merchandize he, or any of his Officers might have to sell here were to be put up at Public Auction, but on hearing he had agreed, or bargained with some People for several Leagers of his Arrack we sent for, and acquainted him it must be Sold in the manner directed; He assured us that it should on Saturday next Cha Hutchinson	The muster roll of the *Grosvenor* continued with the following men. William Watson, ordinary seaman John Powel, ordinary seaman Alexander Wilson, sea lad John Willer, sea lad John Dusland, sea lad Daniel Lawrence, landsman Peter Duthie, landsman John Sheedy, landsman James Clare, landsman Richard Emery, landsman Morrice Carney, landsman George Staffo, cook's mate William Clark, seaman Stephen Lee, ordinary seaman John Holme, ordinary seaman Thomas Haley, ordinary seaman James Cockley, sea lad Richard Perrin, seaman Thomas Gibbons, landsman Francisco Joseph, [...] mate Izebio Fickad, caulker's mate William Jones, seaman Ignava de Garla, landsman Joquin des Sandor, sea lad Thomas Lee, sea lad William Gawler, seaman John Mulder, seaman Hendrick Funkman, seaman John Cornelius, seaman Damon, seaman The roll also listed French prisoners carried aboard. Ives Kerneau Maurice Cornet Julien Brun Jean Baston Denis Choron Charles Grat Julien Robe Belouanneau Bastion Goyce [...] Claude du Plessis Claude Cogeat Mahé, first name not recorded Jean Baptiste Raigne Dennis du Noir Pierre [...] Noël Hinnau Lamd, first name not recorded François de l'Isle Pierre le Jeune François le Gendre Verdell, first name not recorded Rousseau, first name not recorded Begaune, first name not recorded Louis Deplore François Bouvard Léger, first name not recorded Joullet, first name not recorded Pierre Choverdell David Saunders signed the roll. The Council had written to Captain Saunders of the *Grosvenor* on 26 November 1763, instructing that any goods he or his officers wished to sell on the island must be put up for public auction. It then learnt that he had struck a private bargain with some of the inhabitants for several leaguers of his arrack. The Council summoned him and told him the arrack must be sold in the way it had laid down. Saunders gave his assurance that the sale would take place on Saturday 3 December 1763. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry.

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		John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	**Interpretations** The order for public auction was a control on the private trade of ships' officers. Commanders and officers of East Indiamen were allowed to carry goods of their own and sell them for profit, a privilege that formed a large part of their earnings. At St Helena the Council insisted that such goods be sold openly to the highest bidder rather than disposed of in private deals. An auction let every inhabitant compete, prevented a few well-placed buyers from cornering scarce goods and reselling at a mark-up, and kept the sale under the Council's eye. Arrack mattered most of all, because the Company drew revenue from licensing its retail sale in the public houses, and a private bulk purchase would have let a single buyer undercut or bypass that system. A leaguer was a large cask used chiefly for arrack shipped from Batavia, holding roughly 150 gallons. Several leaguers therefore amounted to several hundred gallons, a substantial quantity beside the Company's own stock of just over 1,250 gallons valued on 30 September 1763. The ratings at the foot of the roll show the ladder of skill among the crew. Seamen and ordinary seamen had sea experience, while sea lads were boys learning the trade and landsmen were men with no previous time at sea. The Portuguese and Dutch names among them point again to men taken on in eastern ports to make up the crew. The French prisoners were carried home in the *Grosvenor* as part of her company. Their presence, with several recorded by surname alone, shows ships taking on prisoners from the recent war for passage to Europe, just as the *Clinton* had carried John Laroze before leaving him sick on the island.
124	120	5th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th Day of December 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 1st December 1763 We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable Company Vizt One Set to Captain David Saunders for one hundred and fifty pounds, payable to the Reverend Mr John Saunders for order. One Set to Mr David Mitchell for one hundred and forty six pounds payable to Mr Thomas Forbes or order both drawn at ninety days after sight Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 5 December 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 1 December 1763 were read, approved and signed. The Council issued two bills of exchange drawn on the East India Company in London. Captain David Saunders received one set for £150 0s 0d, payable to the Reverend John Saunders or to whomever he directed. David Mitchell received another set for £146 0s 0d, payable on the same terms to Thomas Forbes. Both bills fell due 90 days after they were presented in London. The Governor, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** A bill of exchange was the means by which money earned at St Helena was sent home without shipping coin. Saunders, commander of the *Grosvenor*, and Mitchell, her purser, paid cash into the island treasury, and in return the Council gave each a written order directing the Company in London to pay the same sum there. The arrangement suited both sides. The officers avoided the risk of carrying silver on the voyage, while the Company gained coin on the island to meet its local costs and settled the debt at home months later. The cash was perhaps the proceeds of the arrack sale Saunders had promised to hold by auction on 3 December 1763. Each bill was issued as a set, usually of three identical copies marked first, second and third, which were sent home by different ships. Whichever copy arrived first was paid, and the others then became void, protecting the holder against the loss of any one ship. The words "or order" made the bills negotiable, so the named payee could endorse them to someone else, and the 90-day term after sight gave the Company time to check its accounts before paying.

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			By making the bills payable to the Reverend John Saunders and Thomas Forbes, the two officers directed their money straight to family or agents in England.
125	121	12th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th Day of December 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 5th December 1763 Monday the 5th Passed by the Honorable Company's Snow Lapwing Tuesday the 6th sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Grosvenor for England The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of November last, were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in Month of November 1763 vizt 14 Bottles Lisbon £1 1s 0d 15 Do Mountain £1 2s 6d 61 Do of Arrack £2 16s 10½d 20 Do Beer £0 5s 5d 315 lb Flour £1 19s 3½d 99 lb fresh Beef £1 4s 9d 5 Ps Salt Pork £0 12s 8½d 249 lb Mutton £5 3s 9d 57 lb Goat £0 19s 0d 1 Kid £0 5s 0d 7 Fowls £0 10s 6d 2 Ducks £0 3s 0d 3 Geese £0 15s 0d 1 Turkey £0 5s 0d 37½ lb fresh Butter £1 17s 6d 98 lb Candy £1 12s 8d £20 13s 11½d	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 12 December 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 5 December 1763 were read, approved and signed. The East India Company's snow *Lapwing* sailed past the island on Monday 5 December 1763 without calling. The Company's ship *Grosvenor* left for England on Tuesday 6 December 1763. The Council received the plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for November 1763, examined them and approved them. Goods used at the Company's table during November ran as follows. 14 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 1s 0d 15 bottles of mountain wine, £1 2s 6d 61 bottles of arrack, £2 16s 10½d 20 bottles of beer, £0 5s 5d 315 pounds of flour, £1 19s 3½d 99 pounds of fresh beef, £1 4s 9d 5 pieces of salt pork, £0 12s 8½d 249 pounds of mutton, £5 3s 9d 57 pounds of goat meat, £0 19s 0d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 7 fowls, £0 10s 6d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 3 geese, £0 15s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 37½ pounds of fresh butter, £1 17s 6d 98 pounds of sugar candy, £1 12s 8d Total, £20 13s 11½d **Interpretations** Set beside the October account, the table's costs show that the Company charged its own goods at fixed internal rates rather than market prices. Beef stood at 3d a pound, mutton at 5d, goat at 4d, butter at 1s and sugar candy at 4d in both months, and the fowls, ducks and turkeys carried the same unit values. These were book prices used to transfer the cost of the Company's own livestock and stores to the table account, not what an inhabitant would pay. In England at the same date meat prices moved with the season and the market, but at St Helena the Company, as the chief producer and consumer, simply fixed the figures. The total fell from £24 16s 10¼d in October to £20 13s 11½d in November, with less wine, arrack, flour and beef consumed. October had seen the *Clinton* depart and the *Mercury* and *Fly* in the road, and the heifer killed for their officers accounts for much of that month's fresh beef. In November only the *Grosvenor* called, arriving on 26 November 1763, so the table entertained fewer ships' officers. Mutton rose slightly, perhaps because the 155 wethers imported from the Cape in October gave a larger flock to draw on.
126	122	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of November 1763 vizt Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses Jasses, Asses Sasses, Asses Total	The account of the East India Company's livestock for November 1763 recorded the herds and flocks at the start of the month, the changes during it and the numbers left at the end. Cattle: Remaining on 1 November 1763: 4 bulls, 84 cows, 62 calves, 64 yearlings, 19 heifers, 39 steers, 15 oxen, 287 cattle in all Increase: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 4 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 4 cattle in all Total: 4 bulls, 84 cows, 66 calves, 64 yearlings, 19 heifers, 39 steers, 15 oxen, 291 cattle in all

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		Remaining 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 62, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 39, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 287, Sheep Ewes 296, Sheep Weathers 231, Sheep Lambs 174, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 709, Goats Ewes 140, Goats Weathers 18, Goats Kids 100, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 267, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 3, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 20, Poultry Fowls 91, Poultry Ducks 26, Poultry Turkeys 29, Poultry Geese 33, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 4, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 21, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 21, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 10, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 10, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 12, Poultry Ducks 32, Poultry Turkeys 18, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 66, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 39, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 291, Sheep Ewes 296, Sheep Weathers 231, Sheep Lambs 195, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 730, Goats Ewes 140, Goats Weathers 18, Goats Kids 110, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 277, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 3, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 20, Poultry Fowls 103, Poultry Ducks 58, Poultry Turkeys 47, Poultry Geese 33, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 2, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 2, Sheep Ewes 4, Sheep Weathers 30, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 34, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Weathers 4, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 7, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 1, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Poultry Fowls 7, Poultry Ducks 2, Poultry Turkeys 1, Poultry Geese 3, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 1, Sheep Weathers 5, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 6, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Remaining 30th: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 66, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 37, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 288, Sheep Ewes 291, Sheep Weathers 196, Sheep Lambs 195, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 690, Goats Ewes 138, Goats Weathers 14, Goats Kids 109, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 270, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 19, Poultry Fowls 90, Poultry Ducks 56, Poultry Turkeys 40, Poultry Geese 30, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 Good Yam Expended for Slaves 26540 lb Refuse yam for Stock 7565 lb 34105 lb (signed) John Skottowe	Killed: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 2 steers, 0 oxen, 2 cattle in all Died: 0 bulls, 1 cow, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 1 animal in all Remaining on 30 November 1763: 4 bulls, 83 cows, 66 calves, 64 yearlings, 19 heifers, 37 steers, 15 oxen, 288 cattle in all Sheep: Remaining on 1 November 1763: 296 ewes, 231 wethers, 174 lambs, 8 rams, 709 sheep in all Increase: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 21 lambs, 0 rams, 21 sheep in all Total: 296 ewes, 231 wethers, 195 lambs, 8 rams, 730 sheep in all Killed: 4 ewes, 30 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 34 sheep in all Died: 1 ewe, 5 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 6 sheep in all Remaining on 30 November 1763: 291 ewes, 196 wethers, 195 lambs, 8 rams, 690 sheep in all Goats: Remaining on 1 November 1763: 140 nannies, 18 wethers, 100 kids, 9 billies, 267 goats in all Increase: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 10 kids, 0 billies, 10 goats in all Total: 140 nannies, 18 wethers, 110 kids, 9 billies, 277 goats in all Killed: 2 nannies, 4 wethers, 1 kid, 0 billies, 7 goats in all Died: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, 0 goats in all Remaining on 30 November 1763: 138 nannies, 14 wethers, 109 kids, 9 billies, 270 goats in all Pigs: Remaining on 1 November 1763: 5 sows, 3 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 20 pigs in all Increase: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all Total: 5 sows, 3 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 20 pigs in all Killed: 0 sows, 1 shoat, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 1 pig in all Died: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all Remaining on 30 November 1763: 5 sows, 2 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 19 pigs in all Poultry: Remaining on 1 November 1763: 91 fowls, 26 ducks, 29 turkeys, 33 geese Increase: 12 fowls, 32 ducks, 18 turkeys, 0 geese Total: 103 fowls, 58 ducks, 47 turkeys, 33 geese Killed: 7 fowls, 2 ducks, 1 turkey, 3 geese Died: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Remaining on 30 November 1763: 96 fowls, 56 ducks, 46 turkeys, 30 geese Horses: Remaining on 1 November 1763: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Increase: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Total: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Killed: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Died: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Remaining on 30 November 1763: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Donkeys: Remaining on 1 November 1763: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all Increase: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Total: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all Killed: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Died: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Remaining on 30 November 1763: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all Yams: Good yams issued to the slaves, 26,540 pounds

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		Margin Notes: 12th December	Poor-quality yams fed to the livestock, 7,565 pounds Total yams used, 34,105 pounds John Skottowe signed the account. **Interpretations** The increases reflect the breeding season of the southern spring. October and November fell in the island's spring, and the account shows it in the 32 ducklings, 18 young turkeys, 12 chickens, 21 lambs, 10 kids and 4 calves added in November, well above the October figures. The flocks were therefore growing just as the Company's demand for fresh meat rose with the arrival of ships from the East, which tended to call in the southern summer on their way home. The heavy slaughter of wethers stands out. Thirty were killed in November against 22 in October, while the table account for the month recorded only 249 pounds of mutton, far less than 30 carcasses would yield. Most of the meat therefore went elsewhere, perhaps to the *Grosvenor* for her homeward voyage or to the hospital and garrison. The flock could bear the loss because the 155 wethers brought from the Cape in October had been bought for exactly this purpose, and the number of wethers fell back from 231 to 196 by the end of the month. The yam issue to the slaves rose from 21,930 pounds in October to 26,540 pounds in November, while the refuse yams fed to stock fell from 9,265 to 7,565 pounds. Total yams used grew by about 3,000 pounds, but a larger share was graded fit for the slaves. The shift perhaps reflected a better lifting from the plantation's grounds as the season advanced, leaving less damaged or undersized root to pass to the animals.
127	123	1763 Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of November 1763 Guns Fired, 4 Pounder, 3 Pounder, 2 Pounder, 1 Pounder, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 8th An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns Fired 6, 4 Pounder 2, 3 Pounder 2, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 26th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 Pounder 2, 3 Pounder 2, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Grosvenor returned the Salute: Guns Fired 11, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 11, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 11, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended oz 0 27th Powder for blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 0 30th Powder for Do at Do: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder for the Funeral of John Caffyn: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 2, Powder Expended oz 4 Do for compleating the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 4, Powder Expended oz 0 Do for Signals: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended oz 0 Total: Guns Fired 23, 4 Pounder 4, 3 Pounder 4, 2 Pounder 11, 1 Pounder 4, Powder Expended lb 56, Powder Expended oz 4 Tallow for the use of the Long Boat 4 lb	The gunner's account of artillery stores used in November 1763 ran as follows, with the guns fired entered by total and then by calibre. 8 November 1763, alarm for a ship that passed by: 6 guns fired in all, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders and 2 one-pounders; 12 pounds 0 ounces of powder 26 November 1763, alarm: 6 guns fired in all, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders and 2 one-pounders; 12 pounds 0 ounces of powder 26 November 1763, return of the salute of the ship *Grosvenor* on her arrival: 11 guns fired in all, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 11 two-pounders and 0 one-pounders; 11 pounds 0 ounces of powder. 26 November 1763, powder for priming, 2 pounds 0 ounces 27 November 1763, powder for blasting limestone at Rupert's, 6 pounds 0 ounces 30 November 1763, powder for blasting limestone at Rupert's, 6 pounds 0 ounces Powder for the funeral of John Caffen, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder for completing the cartridges at the Main Guard, 4 pounds 0 ounces Powder for signals, 1 pound 0 ounces Totals: 23 guns fired in all, 4 four-pounders, 4 three-pounders, 11 two-pounders and 4 one-pounders; 56 pounds 4 ounces of powder The gunner also accounted for the following stores used or damaged. Tallow for the longboat, 4 pounds Worms broken at the Alarm House, 1 Sponge staves for the use of the bakehouse, 1 Sponge staves for repairing sponges, 3 Sponge heads for repairing sponges, 2 Rammer heads for repairing rammers, 3 Sheepskins for covering sponges, 5 Trunk nails for covering and repairing sponges, 326 Paper for the use of the snow *Mercury*, 16 [...].

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		Worms broke at the Alarm House 1 No. Spunge Staves for the use of the Bakers 1 No. Do for repairing Spunges 3 No. Spunge Heads for Do 2 No. Rammer Heads for Do 3 No. Sheep Skins for Coating Spunges 5 No. Trunk Nails for Coating and repairing Spunges 326 No. Paper for the use of the Snow Mercury 16 Qrs (Signed) Thos Hall William Cooksey Centinel this day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time Granted Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Thomas Hall signed the gunner's account. William Cooksey, a private soldier, petitioned for his discharge from the garrison on the grounds that he had completed the term of service in his contract. The Council granted his request. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order. **Interpretations** The most unusual use of powder was for blasting limestone at Rupert's. Limestone was burnt in kilns to make lime for mortar and plaster, and the Company needed it for building and repairing its forts, barracks and houses. Using gunpowder to break the rock was a practical economy on an island with few labourers, but it drew on the same scarce stock that defended the island, so the gunner recorded each charge. The alarms of November show the watch system responding to every sail. On 8 November 1763 the guns were fired for a ship that did not stop, the same day a French vessel was recorded passing to leeward. On 26 November 1763 the alarm sounded again, and on the same day the *Grosvenor* was saluted on her arrival. The pattern suggests that the garrison stood to arms whenever a ship appeared, and stood down only once she was known to be a friendly Company vessel. A worm was a corkscrew-shaped iron on a staff, used to draw out a charge or wad that had failed to fire, and the one broken at the Alarm House belonged to the signal guns kept there. The paper issued to the *Mercury* was perhaps cartridge paper for making up her guns' charges before she sailed on 27 November 1763. The unit attached to it could not be read. Cooksey's petition shows that soldiers enlisted for a fixed term, as John Dobson had done for five years on 17 October 1763, and could claim their release when it expired. The request still required a formal petition and the Council's consent, since a discharged man had to be struck off the pay list and could no longer be held under military law. Once freed, a former soldier might settle on the island, take a lease of Company land or seek a passage home.
128	124	19th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th Day of December 1763 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 12th December 1763 Messrs Samuel Alexander Gabriel Alexander Harper Benjamin Seale Executors, and Susannah Worrall Widow and Executrix to the last Will and Testament of John Worrall deceased this day presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Samuel Alexander, Gabriel Alexander Harper, Benjamin Seale Executors, and Susannah Worrall [...] Executrix of John Worrall deceased Sheweth That a Lease for forty two Acres and an half of the Honorable Company's Land late belonging to John Worrall deceased is expired, Your Petitioners therefore humbly begs the Renewal of the same And your Petitioners will ever pray &ca	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 19 December 1763. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 12 December 1763 were read, approved and signed. Samuel Alexander, Gabriel Alexander Harper and Benjamin Seale, executors of the will of the late John Worrall, joined with his widow Susannah Worrall, who was also an executrix, in presenting a petition to the Governor and Council. The petitioners explained that the lease of 42½ acres of Company land held by John Worrall had expired, and they asked for it to be renewed. Samuel Alexander, Gabriel Alexander Harper, Benjamin Seale and Susanna Worrall signed the petition at St Helena on 19 December 1763. The Council granted the renewal. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for the month of November 1763. **Interpretations** A lease of Company land formed part of a dead tenant's estate, so responsibility for it passed to his executors. Worrall's executors and widow had to petition jointly because together they held legal control of his property until the estate was settled. Renewal kept the holding within the estate, where it could support the widow or pass to heirs under the will, rather than reverting to the Company for re-letting to another settler. The arrangement differed from the Cotgrave holding renewed on 3 October 1763, where a lease for lives was extended by paying to insert a new name, and shows that the Company

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		(signed) St Helena Saml Alexander 19th Decr 1763 Gabl Alexander Harper Benjn Seale Granted Susana Worrall Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of November last, which is as follows vizt	used both fixed-term leases and leases for lives on the island.
129	125	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1763 Novr 1st To Balance remaining £6030 6s 7d £6030 6s 7d 1763 Novr 30th By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 8061 Pagodas @ 8/- £3224 8s 0d 620 Rupees 2/3 £69 15s 0d 441 French pieces -/2 £3 13s 6d 1484 Double Ryals 1/3 £92 15s 0d 4254 Pistereens 1/- £212 14s 0d 7549 Dollars 5/- £1887 5s 0d Odd Money £0 0s 11d £5490 11s 7d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £6030 6s 7d £6030 6s 7d **Margin Notes:** 1763	The East India Company's cash account for November 1763 recorded no receipts and no payments, and the coin in the treasury stood unchanged at the end of the month. 1 November 1763, balance in hand, £6,030 6s 7d Receipts total, £6,030 6s 7d Balance held on 30 November 1763 in the following coin: 8,061 pagodas at 8s each, £3,224 8s 0d 620 rupees at 2s 3d each, £69 15s 0d 441 French pieces at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 1,484 double reals at 1s 3d each, £92 15s 0d 4,254 pistareens at 1s each, £212 14s 0d 7,549 dollars at 5s each, £1,887 5s 0d Odd money, £0 0s 11d Coin total, £5,490 11s 7d Cash notes no longer of use, £539 15s 0d Balance total, £6,030 6s 7d
130	126	19th December Ordered the following Advertizement to be published Island St Helena 19th December 1763 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants upon the said Island, that they are hereby required to send into the Secretary's Office on or before the 1st day of January next ensuing, an exact signed Account of their Number of Cattle each of them have for Slaughter for the Year 1764 which they will be expected punctually to supply, unless an Accident should happen to any of them, in that case, they are to Send a return in writing within three days after such Accident, to the Secretary's Office aforesaid in neglect of which, no excuse will be admitted. but in failure thereof the Owner Obliged to furnish another Beast Notice is hereby further given that they are likewise to transmit an Account on, or before, the time abovementioned, of their Number of Horses, and to distinguish them by their several Denominations also of their respective Stocks of Sheep, and what they intend for Sale. The Widow and Executors to the Last Will and Testament of John Worrall deceased, this day presented an Inventory of His Effects, appraised by Messrs John Desfountain, and George Alexander who being duly sworn that they valued the same to the best of their Judgment	The Council ordered a public notice to be issued, dated 19 December 1763. It required every inhabitant to deliver to the Secretary's office, by 1 January 1764, a signed and accurate return of the cattle each of them had available for slaughter during 1764. Each owner would then be held to supply those animals on time. If an accident befell any beast, the owner had to report it in writing to the Secretary's office within three days. An owner who failed to report would be allowed no excuse and would have to provide another animal in its place. The notice further required inhabitants to submit by the same date a return of their horses, listed by type, and of their flocks of sheep, stating how many they meant to sell. The widow and executors of the late John Worrall presented an inventory of his belongings, valued by John Desfountain and George Alexander. The two valuers swore that they had priced the goods as fairly as they could judge. The widow swore that she had produced every item in the estate. The Council ordered the inventory to be entered in the register. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** The notice set up an annual quota system for the island's beef supply. Settlers declared in advance how many cattle they would provide for slaughter in the coming year, and each declaration became a binding commitment. The Company could then plan the fresh meat needed by the garrison, the hospital and the ships expected in the road, knowing which farms would supply it. The penalty of providing a substitute beast for any unreported loss stopped owners from quietly withdrawing animals once better prices or

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		and the Widow that she produced every Article, it was ordered to be Registered Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	other uses appeared, and the three-day reporting rule let the Secretary's office verify any claimed accident while the evidence was fresh. The returns of horses and sheep gave the Council a similar picture of transport animals and mutton available across the island. The Worrall inventory shows the safeguards around a dead settler's estate. Independent valuers swore to their prices so that the goods could not be undervalued to the loss of creditors or heirs. The widow's oath that she had produced everything guarded against the concealment of property, a real risk where she was both an heir and one of the executors. Registering the inventory created an official record against which the executors' later dealings could be checked, and it followed the renewal of Worrall's 42½-acre lease granted earlier the same day.
131	127	2d January At a Consultation held on Monday the 2d Day of January 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 19th December 1763 The Accountant Reports that the Honorable Company's Books of Accounts, are Copied, and examined, and ready to be transmitted to their Honors by the first Opportunity Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th Day of January 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 2d January 1764 Wednesday the 4th Died William Oakman Inhabitant Yesterday Do Henry Cooter Soldier The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of December last, were this day brought in which were examined and approved, and are as follow vizt	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 2 January 1764. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 19 December 1763 were read, approved and signed. The accountant reported that the copies of the Company's books had been made and checked. They were ready to be sent to the Court of Directors by the first available ship. The Governor, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met again at the Castle on Monday 9 January 1764, with the same four members present. The minutes of 2 January 1764 were read, approved and signed. William Oakman, an inhabitant of the island, died on Wednesday 4 January 1764. Henry Cooter, a soldier, died on Sunday 8 January 1764. The Council received the plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for December 1763, examined them and approved them. **Interpretations** The copying of the books took just over two months. The Council had ordered it on 31 October 1763, as soon as the accounts were balanced to 30 September 1763, and urged the accountant to work as fast as he could. The copies were still unfinished when the *Grosvenor* sailed for England on 6 December 1763, the only homeward ship to call in the interval. The island's reports to London therefore depended entirely on the chance of a passing ship, and missing one could delay the Court's sight of the year's accounts by months.
132	128	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of December 1763 vizt Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses Jasses, Asses Sasses, Asses Total Remaining the 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 66, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 37, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 288, Sheep Ewes 291, Sheep Weathers 196, Sheep Lambs 195, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 690, Goats Ewes 138, Goats Weathers 14, Goats Kids 109, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 270, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 19, Poultry Fowls 96,	The account of the East India Company's livestock for December 1763 recorded the herds and flocks at the start of the month, the changes during it and the numbers left at the end. Cattle: Remaining on 1 December 1763: 4 bulls, 83 cows, 66 calves, 64 yearlings, 19 heifers, 37 steers, 15 oxen, 288 cattle in all Increase: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 6 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 6 cattle in all Total: 4 bulls, 83 cows, 72 calves, 64 yearlings, 19 heifers, 37 steers, 15 oxen, 294 cattle in all Killed: 1 bull, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 1 steer, 0 oxen, 2 cattle in all Died: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 0 cattle in all Remaining on 31 December 1763: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 72 calves, 64 yearlings, 19 heifers, 36 steers, 15 oxen, 292 cattle in all Sheep:

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		Poultry Ducks 56, Poultry Turkeys 46, Poultry Geese 30, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 6, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 6, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 10, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 10, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 20, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 7, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 4, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 72, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 37, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 294, Sheep Ewes 291, Sheep Weathers 196, Sheep Lambs 195, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 690, Goats Ewes 138, Goats Weathers 14, Goats Kids 119, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 280, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 19, Poultry Fowls 116, Poultry Ducks 56, Poultry Turkeys 53, Poultry Geese 30, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 1, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 1, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 2, Sheep Ewes 4, Sheep Weathers 20, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 24, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Weathers 4, Goats Kids 2, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 8, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 14, Poultry Ducks 4, Poultry Turkeys 3, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 1, Sheep Weathers 3, Sheep Lambs 1, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 5, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Remaining 31st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 72, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 36, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 286, Sheep Weathers 173, Sheep Lambs 194, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 661, Goats Ewes 136, Goats Weathers 10, Goats Kids 117, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 272, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 19, Poultry Fowls 102, Poultry Ducks 52, Poultry Turkeys 50, Poultry Geese 30, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 Yam Expended for Blacks 16,100 lb Do for the Stock 6,325 lb 22425 lb (signed) John Skottowe **Margin Notes:** 9th January	Remaining on 1 December 1763: 291 ewes, 196 wethers, 195 lambs, 8 rams, 690 sheep in all Increase: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all Total: 291 ewes, 196 wethers, 195 lambs, 8 rams, 690 sheep in all Killed: 4 ewes, 20 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 24 sheep in all Died: 1 ewe, 3 wethers, 1 lamb, 0 rams, 5 sheep in all Remaining on 31 December 1763: 286 ewes, 173 wethers, 194 lambs, 8 rams, 661 sheep in all Goats: Remaining on 1 December 1763: 138 nannies, 14 wethers, 109 kids, 9 billies, 270 goats in all Increase: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 10 kids, 0 billies, 10 goats in all Total: 138 nannies, 14 wethers, 119 kids, 9 billies, 280 goats in all Killed: 2 nannies, 4 wethers, 2 kids, 0 billies, 8 goats in all Died: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, 0 goats in all Remaining on 31 December 1763: 136 nannies, 10 wethers, 117 kids, 9 billies, 272 goats in all Pigs: Remaining on 1 December 1763: 5 sows, 2 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 19 pigs in all Increase: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all Total: 5 sows, 2 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 19 pigs in all Killed: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all Died: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all Remaining on 31 December 1763: 5 sows, 2 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 19 pigs in all Poultry: Remaining on 1 December 1763: 96 fowls, 56 ducks, 46 turkeys, 30 geese Increase: 20 fowls, 0 ducks, 7 turkeys, 0 geese Total: 116 fowls, 56 ducks, 53 turkeys, 30 geese Killed: 14 fowls, 4 ducks, 3 turkeys, 0 geese Died: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Remaining on 31 December 1763: 102 fowls, 52 ducks, 50 turkeys, 30 geese Horses: Remaining on 1 December 1763: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Increase: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Total: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Killed: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Died: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Remaining on 31 December 1763: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Donkeys: Remaining on 1 December 1763: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all Increase: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Total: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all Killed: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Died: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Remaining on 31 December 1763: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all Yams: Yams issued to the slaves, 16,100 pounds Yams fed to the livestock, 6,325 pounds Total yams used, 22,425 pounds John Skottowe signed the account. **Interpretations** The yam issue fell sharply in December. The slaves received 16,100 pounds against 26,540 pounds in November and 21,930 pounds in October, a drop of almost two fifths in a single month, and the yams given to stock also declined. The account gives no

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			reason, but December fell in the early southern summer, and the fall perhaps marked the gap between one lifting of the crop and the next. If so, the shortfall in the slaves' ration was probably made up from the large reserve of rice and paddy held in the stores, which the Company kept precisely to cover such gaps. The flock of wethers continued to shrink, from 231 at the start of November to 196 at the start of December and 173 by the end of the year. Twenty were killed in December and three died. The 155 wethers imported from the Cape in October were being eaten steadily, and at this rate the flock would need replenishing again within a few months. Sheep bred on the island supplied lambs but too few grown wethers for the Company's needs, which explains why the stock of meat animals depended on periodic purchases from the Cape. The slaughter of a bull was unusual, since bulls were kept for breeding and the herd held only four. With 72 calves and 83 cows, the Company perhaps judged that three bulls would suffice, and an older animal was killed for meat.
133	129	1764 Artillery Stores expended in the Month of December 1763 Guns Fired, 4 Pounder, 3 Pounder, 2 Pounder, 1 Pounder, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended oz 5th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 Pounder 2, 3 Pounder 2, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 2, Powder Expended lb 12, Powder Expended oz 0 Arrived the Lapwing returned the Salute: Guns Fired 7, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 7, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 7, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended oz 8 6th Departed the Grosvenor returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 9, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 9, Powder Expended oz 0 Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended oz 8 8th Powder for Blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 0 12th Do fired by the Recruits at Exercise: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 36, Powder Expended oz 0 13th Do: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 36, Powder Expended oz 0 14th Do: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 36, Powder Expended oz 0 15th Do: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 36, Powder Expended oz 0 19th Do: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 36, Powder Expended oz 0 Do for Blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 0 20th Do fired by the Recruits at Exercise: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 36, Powder Expended oz 0 21st Do: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 36, Powder Expended oz 0 Do Do for Blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1	The gunner's account of artillery stores used in December 1763 ran as follows, with the guns fired entered by total and then by calibre. 5 December 1763, alarm: 6 guns fired in all, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders and 2 one-pounders; 12 pounds 0 ounces of powder 5 December 1763, return of the salute of the snow *Lapwing* on her arrival: 7 guns fired in all, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 7 two-pounders and 0 one-pounders; 7 pounds 0 ounces of powder. 5 December 1763, powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 6 December 1763, return of the salute of the ship *Grosvenor* on her departure: 9 guns fired in all, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders and 0 one-pounders; 9 pounds 0 ounces of powder. 6 December 1763, powder for priming, 1 pound 8 ounces 8 December 1763, powder for blasting limestone at Rupert's, 6 pounds 0 ounces 12 December 1763, powder fired by the recruits at exercise, 36 pounds 0 ounces 13 December 1763, powder fired by the recruits at exercise, 36 pounds 0 ounces 14 December 1763, powder fired by the recruits at exercise, 36 pounds 0 ounces 15 December 1763, powder fired by the recruits at exercise, 36 pounds 0 ounces 19 December 1763, powder fired by the recruits at exercise, 36 pounds 0 ounces 19 December 1763, powder for blasting limestone at Rupert's, 6 pounds 0 ounces 20 December 1763, powder fired by the recruits at exercise, 36 pounds 0 ounces 21 December 1763, powder fired by the recruits at exercise, 36 pounds 0 ounces 21 December 1763, powder for blasting limestone at Rupert's, 6 pounds 0 ounces Powder for refilling the cartridges at the Main Fort, 1 pound 4 ounces Totals: 22 guns fired in all, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 16 two-pounders and 2 one-pounders; 302 pounds 8 ounces of powder The gunner also accounted for the following stores used. Tallow for the carts at Longwood, 4 pounds Tallow for the carts at Plantation House, 4 pounds Tallow for the cutter *Fly*, 76 pounds. Tallow for the carpenters, 1 pound Paper for making cannon cartridges, 10 quires Needles broken in making cannon cartridges, 6

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		Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 6, Powder Expended oz 0 Do for replenishing the Cartridges at the main fort: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 2 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expended lb 1, Powder Expended oz 4 Total: Guns Fired 22, 4 Pounder 2, 3 Pounder 2, 2 Pounder 16, 1 Pounder 2, Powder Expended lb 302, Powder Expended oz 8 Tallow for the use of the Carts in the Long Wood 4 lb Do for the use of the Carts at Plantation House 4 lb Do for the use of the Fly Cutter 76 lb Do for the use of the Carpenters 1 lb Paper for making Cannon Cartridges 10 Qrs Needles broke with Do 6 No. Paper for making Muskett Cartridges 9 Qrs (signed) Thos Hall	Paper for making musket cartridges, 9 quires Thomas Hall signed the gunner's account. **Interpretations** Powder use rose steeply in December, to 302 pounds 8 ounces against 75 pounds 4 ounces in October and 56 pounds 4 ounces in November. Almost all the increase came from seven days of firing practice by recruits between 12 and 21 December 1763, which consumed 252 pounds. New soldiers such as John Dobson, enlisted on 17 October 1763, had to be trained to load and fire before they were of any use on the batteries, and live firing was the only way to teach them. The Company accepted this heavy draw on its scarce powder because an untrained garrison was worthless in an emergency. Cannon cartridges were bags sewn from stout paper and filled with a measured charge of powder, so that a gun could be loaded quickly and safely without ladling loose powder into the barrel. The six broken needles show that the bags were stitched by hand in the island's laboratory. Musket cartridges were simpler paper tubes holding powder and ball, which a soldier bit open when loading. The 76 pounds of tallow for the *Fly* was perhaps for greasing her hull below the waterline or for her rigging and blocks. The Council's minute of 12 December 1763 recorded that the *Lapwing* passed by on 5 December, while the gunner recorded a salute returned on her arrival that day. The two entries are reconciled if the snow came close enough to the anchorage to exchange salutes but did not stop to anchor.
134	130	9th January Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of December 1763 vizt 16 Bottles Lisbon Wine £1 4s 0d 15 Do Mountain £1 2s 6d 62 Do Arrack £2 17s 9½d 18 Do Beer £0 4s 10½d 315 lb Flour £1 19s 4½d 96 lb F. Beef £1 4s 0d 38 lb F. Pork £0 19s 0d 9 Ps Salt Pork £1 3s 2½d 225 lb Mutton £4 13s 9d 65 lb Goat £1 1s 8d 2 Kids £0 10s 0d 14 Fowls £1 1s 0d 4 Ducks £0 6s 0d 3 Turkeys £0 15s 0d 91 lb Cape Mutton £1 17s 11d 38¾ lb fresh Butter £1 18s 9d 98 lb Candy £1 12s 8d £24 11s 6d We this day Executed the renewal of a Lease to the Widow	Goods used at the East India Company's table during December 1763 were entered on 9 January 1764 as follows. 16 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 4s 0d 15 bottles of mountain wine, £1 2s 6d 62 bottles of arrack, £2 17s 9½d 18 bottles of beer, £0 4s 10½d 315 pounds of flour, £1 19s 4½d 96 pounds of fresh beef, £1 4s 0d 38 pounds of fresh pork, £0 19s 0d 9 pieces of salt pork, £1 3s 2½d 225 pounds of mutton, £4 13s 9d 65 pounds of goat meat, £1 1s 8d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 14 fowls, £1 1s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 91 pounds of Cape mutton, £1 17s 11d 38¾ pounds of fresh butter, £1 18s 9d 98 pounds of sugar candy, £1 12s 8d Total, £24 11s 6d On the same day the Council completed the formal renewal of the lease of 42½ acres at Sandy Bay to the widow and executors of the late John Worrall. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** The table account for December separated Cape mutton from island mutton for the first time in the series, although both were charged at the same book rate of 5d a pound. The distinction let the Company track how the 155 wethers imported from the Cape in October 1763 were being consumed, as distinct from sheep bred on its own plantation. Taken together, the 316 pounds of mutton served in December was the largest quantity in the three months recorded, and the total cost rose from £20 13s 11½d in November to £24 11s 6d. The increase coincided with the calls of the *Lapwing* and the *Grosvenor* in the first week of the month, when the

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		and Executors of John Worrall deceased for forty two Acres and an half of Land lying in Sandy Bay Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Governor's table would have entertained their officers. The Worrall renewal completed a sequence that shows the time the Council's clerical work took. The executors' petition was granted on 19 December 1763, the inventory of the estate was registered the same day, and the signed lease followed three weeks later.
135	131	16th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th Day of January 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 9th January 1764 Saturday the 14th Passed by a Ship at a great distance The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1st October and ending December the 31st 1763 which were examined, and approved and are as follow vizt Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Company's Stores from the 1st October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 P Cent. Beef and Pork vizt 1662 Ps Beef £166 4s 0d 3606 Ps Pork £360 12s 0d £526 16s 0d Sugar and Candy vizt 6157 Sugar £102 12s 4d 2745 Candy £64 12s 6d £167 4s 10d Flour vizt 2985 Flour £21 10s 3d 363. 3. 10 Do Baked £344 5s 0d £366 0s 3d Arrack 244 1/8 Galls £61 3s 1d Salt 16¼ Bushels £2 10s 10d Sope 241 lb £8 15s 8d Rice and Paddy vizt 22. 2. 15 Rice £11 12s 9d 47. 1. 16 Paddy £9 13s 6d £21 6s 3d Carried over £1154 2s 11d	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 16 January 1764. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 9 January 1764 were read, approved and signed. A ship sailed past the island at a great distance on Saturday 14 January 1764. The storekeeper presented his record of sales and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1763. The Council examined and approved them. The storekeeper's record of goods sold and issued from the Company's stores during the quarter began with sales to the Company's employees at an advance of 10% on cost. Beef and pork: 1,662 pieces of salt beef, £166 4s 0d 3,606 pieces of salt pork, £360 12s 0d Beef and pork total, £526 16s 0d Sugar and sugar candy: 6,157 pounds of sugar, £102 12s 4d 2,745 pounds of sugar candy, £64 12s 6d Sugar and sugar candy total, £167 4s 10d Flour: 2,985 pounds of flour, £21 15s 3d 363 hundredweight 3 quarters 10 pounds of flour baked into bread, £344 5s 0d Flour total, £366 0s 3d 244⅛ gallons of arrack, £61 3s 1d 16½ bushels of salt, £2 16s 10d 241 pounds of soap, £8 15s 8d Rice and paddy: 22 hundredweight 2 quarters 15 pounds of rice, £11 12s 9d 47 hundredweight 1 quarter 16 pounds of paddy, £9 13s 6d Rice and paddy total, £21 6s 3d Carried forward, £1,154 2s 11d **Interpretations** The Company's employees bought their provisions from its stores at cost plus a fixed advance of 10%. The rate covered freight, wastage and handling while keeping food within reach of soldiers, artificers and clerks on modest pay. It also tied the garrison's living costs directly to the Company's own supplies, since there was little else to buy on the island, and every purchase returned a margin to the treasury. These sales produced the large quarterly sum paid in by the storekeeper, as with the £2,039 2s 3d received from James Powell for the quarter to 30 September 1763. The salt beef and pork were sold by the piece, a standard cut of about 4 to 8 pounds packed in brine casks for ships and garrisons, which made issue simple without weighing. The very large sale of flour baked into bread, over 18 tons in three months, shows that the Company's bakehouse supplied the garrison's daily loaf, and it far outweighed the small quantity of flour sold unbaked for private use.
136	132	18th January Brought over £1154 2s 11d Candles 94 lb £10 3s 8d Chellows 21 Ps £13 17s 11d	The storekeeper's record of goods sold to the Company's employees in the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £1,154 2s 11d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £1,154 2s 11d 94 pounds of candles, £10 3s 8d 21 pieces of chelloes, £13 17s 11d 27 pounds of pepper, £0 15s 2d

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		Pepper 27 lb £0 15s 2d Flannel 9 Yards £0 12s 0d Oars 8 £1 14s 4d Starch 14¼ lb £0 5s 5d Pease 2 5/8 £1 4s 4d Blankets 6 £1 13s 0d Buckram 14 Yards £0 14s 0d Cordage 206¼ lb £4 1s 9d Kersey 9 Yards £0 15s 5d Sago 2 lb £0 0s 10d Coffee 20 lb £0 18s 4d Hats 4 Boys £1 6s 6d Lead 50 lb Shot £0 6s 10d Desotees 2 Ps £1 1s 6d Long Ells 29 Yards £2 13s 2d Oil vizt 14 G. Train £2 19s 6d 9 7/8 G. Linseed £1 18s 9d 14 Bottles Florence £2 3s 9d £7 2s 0d Hooks and Lines vizt 350 No 1 £0 18s 4½d 450 2 £0 15s 0d 250 3 £0 5s 1d 225 13 Hooks £0 1s 0½d 200 14 150 15 175 16 £0 4s 8d 10 doz 1 No 2 £2 19s 8d 7 doz & No 3 Lines £1 12s 6d 10 Loz £0 10s 5d 5 Hambro £0 7s 6d £7 14s 3d Tea vizt 123 Bohea £5 12s 9d 679 Congo £49 10s 2½d 33 Singlo £2 8s 1½d £57 11s 1d Carried over £1268 14s 5d	9 yards of flannel, £0 12s 0d 8 oars, £1 14s 4d 14¼ pounds of starch, £0 5s 5d 2⅝ bushels of pease, £1 4s 4d 6 blankets, £1 13s 0d 14 yards of buckram, £0 14s 0d 206¼ pounds of cordage, £4 1s 9d 9 yards of kersey, £0 15s 5d 2 pounds of sago, £0 0s 10d 20 pounds of coffee, £0 18s 4d 4 boys' hats, £1 6s 6d 50 pounds of lead shot, £0 6s 10d 2 pieces of dosooties, £1 1s 6d 29 yards of long ells, £2 13s 2d Oil: 14 gallons of train oil, £2 19s 6d 9⅜ gallons of linseed oil, £1 18s 9d 14 bottles of Florence oil, £2 3s 9d Oil total, £7 2s 0d Fish hooks and lines: 350 fish hooks of size 1, £0 18s 4½d 450 fish hooks of size 2, £0 15s 0d 250 fish hooks of size 3, £0 5s 1d 225 fish hooks of size 13, £0 1s 0½d 200 fish hooks of size 14, 150 of size 15 and 175 of size 16 together, £0 4s 8d 10 dozen fishing lines of size 2, £2 19s 8d 7 dozen fishing lines of size 3, £1 12s 6d 10 dozen fishing lines of other sizes, £0 10s 5d 5 hanks of fishing line, £0 7s 6d Fish hooks and lines total, £7 14s 3d Tea: 123 pounds of bohea tea, £5 12s 9d 679 pounds of congou tea, £49 10s 2½d 33 pounds of singlo tea, £2 8s 1½d Tea total, £57 11s 1d Carried forward, £1,268 14s 5d **Interpretations** The fishing gear shows how much the island's inhabitants relied on the sea for food. Over 1,800 hooks and some 17 dozen lines went out in three months, sold in graded sizes from large hooks for deep-water fish down to the small numbers used for rock fishing along the shore. Fresh meat was scarce and closely controlled by the Company, so fish caught from the rocks and from small boats supplied much of the protein eaten by soldiers, settlers and slaves. A hank was a coiled skein of line sold for making up tackle at home. The tea sales reveal a marked preference among the Company's employees. Congou made up more than four fifths of the tea sold, although the stock valued on 30 September 1763 had held almost equal amounts of congou and the cheaper bohea. Congou cost the buyer about 17½d a pound, the stock value of 15d plus the 10% advance, while bohea sold at around 11d. Even at the dearer rate, a pound of good black tea at St Helena cost a fraction of the several shillings charged in England, where heavy duties applied, so the servants could afford the better grade. Several of the textiles were English woollens. Kersey was a coarse, hard-wearing twilled cloth from the West Country and Yorkshire, used for working clothes and soldiers' breeches. Long ells were a light worsted serge made in Devon, named for the length of the piece, and widely traded to the East. Buckram was linen stiffened with glue or gum, used for linings and to give shape to coats and hats. Flannel was a soft, loosely woven wool for shirts and underclothes.
137	133	1764 Brought over £1268 14s 5d Twine vizt 65 Skns Twine	The storekeeper's record of sales to the Company's employees for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £1,268 14s 5d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £1,268 14s 5d

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		£2 0s 7d 1¾ Cotton Wick £0 5s 5d £2 6s 0d Corks vizt 7½ Gross £0 19s 0d ½ Sheet £0 0s 4d £0 19s 4d Paint vizt 5½ Sky Blue £0 11s 2¾d 16 Ven. Red mixed £0 8s 4d 52 W Lead mixed £1 1s 8d 185 Whiting £0 7s 8d 13½ Blue Smalts £1 0s 3d 6 Yellow Oaker dry £0 1s 3d ½ Copperas £0 0s 6¼d 1 Oz Prussian Blue £0 1s 10d 3 Barl Blacking £0 1s 9¾d 7¼ Indico £0 13s 10d 5 Red Lead £0 1s 1¼d 4 Ven Red Dry £0 0s 10½d £4 15s 11d Ironmongers Ware vizt 11 Scythe Stones £0 3s 2½d 4 Iron Locks wh Brass Knobs £1 13s 0d 4 Prs C. Tail Hinges £0 1s 9d 7 Stock Locks £1 1s 0d 3 Prs Butt Hinges £0 5s 6d 4 Splinter Locks £0 2s 1d 1 Large Fr. Pan £0 3s 8d 1 Small Do £0 2s 9d 7 Hand Hatchets £0 13s 3d 1 Bricklayers Trowel £0 1s 9d 3 Garden Hoes £0 4s 6d 1 Broad Hoe £0 2s 6d 1 Grubb Do £0 3s 2½d 2 Prs Sheep Shears £0 3s 10½d 7 Doz. Wood Screws £0 2s 7½d Ironmongers Ware Carried over £5 5s 6d Carried over £1276 15s 8d	Twine: 65 skeins of twine, £2 0s 7d 1¼ pounds of cotton candlewick, £0 5s 5d Twine total, £2 6s 0d Corks: 7½ gross of corks, £0 19s 0d ½ sheet of cork, £0 0s 4d Corks total, £0 19s 4d Paint: 5½ pounds of sky blue paint, £0 11s 2¾d 16 pounds of mixed Venetian red, £0 8s 4d 52 pounds of mixed white lead, £1 1s 8d 185 pounds of whiting, £0 7s 8d 13½ pounds of blue smalt, £1 0s 3d 6 pounds of dry yellow ochre, £0 1s 3d ½ pound of copperas, £0 0s 6¼d 1 ounce of Prussian blue, £0 1s 10d 3 barrels of blacking, £0 1s 9¾d 7¼ pounds of indigo, £0 13s 10d 5 pounds of red lead, £0 1s 1¼d 4 pounds of dry Venetian red, £0 0s 10½d Paint total, £4 15s 11d Ironmongery: 11 scythe stones, £0 3s 2½d 4 iron locks with brass knobs, £1 13s 0d 4 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 1s 9d 7 stock locks, £1 1s 0d 3 pairs of butt hinges, £0 5s 6d 4 spring locks, £0 3s 8d 1 large frying pan, £0 2s 9d 1 small frying pan, £0 1s 9d 7 hand hatchets, £0 13s 3d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 9d 3 garden hoes, £0 4s 6d 1 broad hoe, £0 2s 6d 1 grubbing hoe, £0 3s 2½d 2 pairs of sheep shears, £0 3s 10½d 7 dozen wood screws, £0 2s 7½d Ironmongery carried forward, £5 5s 6d Carried forward, £1,276 15s 8d **Interpretations** The ironmongery shows the Company's employees furnishing and working their own homes and gardens with goods they could obtain nowhere else. Stock locks were door locks set in a wooden case fixed to the face of the door, the cheap everyday kind, while iron locks with brass knobs were the better fittings for a main door. Butt hinges were fitted into the edge of a door and its frame, and dovetail hinges, shaped with flared leaves, suited lighter doors and shutters. Scythe stones were whetstones for sharpening scythes and bills, and a grubbing hoe was a heavy mattock for rooting out stumps and breaking new ground. Garden hoes, sheep shears and hatchets point to the small plots and flocks that employees kept alongside their Company work. The corks served the bottling of wine, arrack and beer, which reached the island in casks and were drawn off into bottles for use. A sheet of cork was sold for cutting into bungs and stoppers of any size needed. Cotton wick went to the making of candles at home from tallow, a cheaper course than buying finished candles from store.
138	134	16th January Brought over £1276 15s 8d Ironmongers Ware brought over	The storekeeper's record of sales to the Company's employees for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £1,276 15s 8d brought forward.

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		£5 5s 6d 1 Pr Large H. Hinges £0 8s 5½d 2 Rag Stones £0 0s 7d 3 Chest Locks £0 10s 9d 2 Files £0 1s 6d 1 Barrack Cupd Lock £0 1s 6¼d 1 Pr Sm. H. Hinges £0 1s 10d 2 Pickaxes £0 6s 2½d 3 Shod Shovels £0 6s 4½d 1 Coffee Mill £0 9s 1¼d 2 Blank Keys £0 1s 4d 1 Pruning Saw £0 1s 8d 1 Helve £0 0s 8d 1 Farriers Rasp £0 1s 3d 1 Claw Hammer £0 1s 7d 3 Closet Locks £0 10s 9d 2 Ditchg Shovels £0 7s 4d £8 16s 4d Bunting 2 Yds Red £0 1s 6d Nails vizt 10½ 2 £0 8s 1d 17½ 3 £0 13s 10¼d 22½ 4 £0 14s 6¼d 52 6 £1 10s 4d 21½ 10 £0 13s 2d 6 20 £0 2s 6d 7½ 40 £0 2s 9¾d 2 Spike £0 0s 7½d ½ Tacks £0 0s 8¼d 3¼ Glazg Brads £0 6s 6d £4 13s 1d Broad Cloth vizt 13¼ Yards Blue £12 2s 11½d 4¾ Scarlet £5 1s 2½d 13 7/8 Fr. Grey £12 18s 7d 5¾ Brown £5 10s 8d 3½ Compadore £3 13s 4d £39 6s 9d Carried over £1329 13s 4d	Balance brought forward, £1,276 15s 8d Ironmongery: Ironmongery brought forward, £5 5s 6d 1 pair of large H hinges, £0 8s 5½d 2 rag stones, £0 0s 7d 3 chest locks, £0 10s 9d 2 files, £0 1s 6d 1 barrack cupboard lock, £0 1s 6¼d 1 pair of small H hinges, £0 1s 10d 2 pickaxes, £0 6s 2½d 3 shod shovels, £0 6s 4½d 1 coffee mill, £0 9s 4½d 2 blank keys, £0 1s 4d 1 pruning saw, £0 1s 8d 1 tool handle, £0 0s 8d 1 farrier's rasp, £0 1s 3d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 7d 3 closet locks, £0 10s 9d 2 ditching shovels, £0 7s 4d Ironmongery total, £8 16s 4d 2 yards of red bunting, £0 1s 6d Nails: 10½ pounds of 2d nails, £0 8s 1d 17½ pounds of 3d nails, £0 13s 10¼d 22½ pounds of 4d nails, £0 14s 6¼d 52 pounds of 6d nails, £1 10s 4d 21½ pounds of 10d nails, £0 13s 2d 6 pounds of 20d nails, £0 2s 6d 7½ pounds of 40d nails, £0 2s 9¾d 2 pounds of spike nails, £0 0s 7½d ½ pound of tacks, £0 0s 8¼d 3¼ pounds of glazing brads, £0 6s 6d Nails total, £4 13s 1d Broadcloth: 13¼ yards of blue broadcloth, £12 2s 11½d 4¾ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £5 1s 2½d 13⅞ yards of French grey broadcloth, £12 18s 7d 5¼ yards of brown broadcloth, £5 10s 8d 3⅓ yards of pompadour broadcloth, £3 13s 4d Broadcloth total, £39 6s 9d Carried forward, £1,329 13s 4d **Interpretations** Broadcloth was the finest grade of English woollen cloth, woven wide on a broad loom and then heavily fulled and sheared to give a smooth, felted surface. At around 18s to 22s a yard it was by far the dearest cloth on the island, dearer by the yard than a pound of good tea by a factor of more than ten. The buyers were therefore officers, senior clerks and better-off employees having coats made for themselves, and the colours reflect Georgian taste. Pompadour was a fashionable crimson-purple shade named after Madame de Pompadour, mistress of Louis XV, and its appearance on a remote island within a few years of its vogue in London shows how quickly fashion travelled with the Company's ships. Several tools belonged to farming and building. A shod shovel had a wooden blade edged with iron, cheaper than an all-iron shovel and adequate for light soil, while the ditching shovels were long and narrow for cutting drains and field boundaries. Rag stones were coarse sandstone whetstones for sharpening tools. The farrier's rasp was a large file for trimming horses' hooves before shoeing, and the helve was a replacement wooden handle for an axe or hatchet. The coffee mill ground roasted beans for the coffee also sold from store, and the red bunting was light woollen cloth used for making flags and signals.
139	135	1764 Brought over £1329 13s 4d	The storekeeper's record of sales to the Company's employees for the quarter to 31

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		Serge vizt 3½ Blue Serge £0 18s 0d 19 7/8 Scarlet Do £6 7s 1d 1 Ps Sagatha £4 4s 0d £11 9s 1d Shalloon vizt 79 5/8 yds Coloured £7 13s 9d 41¼ yds Scarlet £5 8s 3d £13 7s 0d Hosiers Ware vizt 1 Pr Womens Stockgs £0 3s 7½d 26 Prs Mens Thread Do £3 16s 11d 8 Prs Engl Cotton Do £3 3s 4d 5 Prs India Cotton Do £1 8s 11½d 2 Prs Wove Do £0 7s 4d £9 0s 2d Tin Ware vizt 3 Glass Lanthorns £1 0s 7½d 1 Riveted Horn Do £0 5s 4½d 1 Small Horn Do £0 3s 7½d 2 Qt Sauce Pans £0 0s 11d 1 Pudding Pan £0 1s 7½d £1 11s 7d Canvas vizt 21¼ Yds Engl Canvas £1 5s 3d 31½ Osenbrigs £1 6s 3d 4 Ticklenburgs £0 4s 8d £2 16s 2d Deals vizt 12 Double Deals £2 0s 3d 13 Single Do £1 8s 5¼d 1 Baulk £0 9s 9d 7 Bundles Lathes £0 8s 9d 1 Elm Board £0 7s 3¼d ½ Wainscot Board £0 3s 8½d £4 18s 4d Glass Ware vizt 20 Sqs 6 by 8 £0 6s 3d Glass Ware Carried over £0 6s 3d Carried over £1372 15s 8d	December 1763 continued with £1,329 13s 4d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £1,329 13s 4d Serge and similar cloth: 3½ yards of blue serge, £0 18s 0d 19⅞ yards of scarlet serge, £6 7s 1d 1 piece of sagathy, £4 4s 0d Serge and similar cloth total, £11 9s 1d Shalloon: 79⅓ yards of coloured shalloon, £7 18s 9d 41¼ yards of scarlet shalloon, £5 8s 3d Shalloon total, £13 7s 0d Hosiery: 1 pair of women's stockings, £0 3s 0½d 26 pairs of men's linen thread stockings, £3 16s 11d 8 pairs of English cotton stockings, £3 3s 4d 5 pairs of Indian cotton stockings, £1 8s 11½d 2 pairs of woven stockings, £0 7s 11d Hosiery total, £9 0s 2d Tinware: 3 glass lanterns, £1 0s 7½d 1 riveted horn lantern, £0 5s 1½d 1 small horn lantern, £0 3s 0½d 2 quart saucepans, £0 0s 11d 1 pudding pan, £0 0s 1½d Tinware total, £1 11s 7d Canvas and coarse linen: 21¼ yards of English canvas, £1 5s 3d 31½ yards of osnaburg, £1 6s 3d 4 yards of tecklenburg, £0 4s 8d Canvas and coarse linen total, £2 16s 2d Timber: 12 double deals, £2 0s 3d 13 single deals, £1 8s 5¼d 1 baulk, £0 9s 9d 7 bundles of laths, £0 8s 9d 1 elm board, £0 7s 5¼d ½ wainscot board, £0 3s 8½d Timber total, £4 18s 4d Glassware: 20 window panes, 6 by 8 inches, £0 6s 3d Glassware carried forward, £0 6s 3d Carried forward, £1,372 15s 8d **Interpretations** Osnaburg and tecklenburg were coarse, unbleached linens woven in Westphalia and named after the towns of Osnabrück and Tecklenburg. They were among the cheapest cloths in the Atlantic trade and served above all for the clothing of slaves, as well as for sacking, bedding and work shirts. Their sale to Company employees suggests that settlers who owned or hired slaves bought the cloth from store to clothe them, as the Company itself did. Timber was scarce on the island and all of it here was imported. Deals were sawn planks of Baltic fir or pine, graded as double or single by thickness, and they formed the ordinary building material for floors, doors and partitions. A baulk was a roughly squared log used for beams and joists, and laths were thin strips nailed across studs to carry plaster. Wainscot was quartered Baltic oak of fine, straight grain used for panelling, and at over 7s a board it was bought in halves. The quantities show employees building and repairing their own houses with materials that came from northern Europe by way of London. Thread stockings were knitted from linen yarn and wore cooler than wool in the island's summer. Woven stockings were made on the stocking frame rather than by hand, and the Indian cotton pairs came in the Company's Asian cargoes, sold at a lower price than the English cotton. 16th January Brought over £1372 15s 8d Glass Ware brought over

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			£0 6s 3d 57 Sqs 8 by 10 £1 18s 0d 1 Do 10 by 12 £0 0s 11d 4 Tumblers £0 2s 7d 2 Beer Glasses £0 2s 7d £2 10s 4d Pewter vizt 2 Basons £0 3s 5d 2 Chamber Pots £0 6s 5d £0 9s 10d Leather vizt 90 lb Sole £4 11s 10d 9 Calf Skins £3 12s 9d £8 4s 7d Books vizt 1 Spelling £0 1s 3½d 1 Bible £0 3s 8d 1 Common Prayr Book £0 3s 0½d £0 8s 0d Braziers Ware vizt 3¼ lb Copper Plate £0 4s 9½d 2½ Brass Do £0 4s 4½d 3½ Brass Wire £0 7s 4d 1 Bottling Cock £0 3s 4d £0 19s 10d Thread vizt 11 lb W Brown £3 19s 11½d 11½ Coloured £2 1s 2½d £6 1s 2d Camblet vizt 10 Yards Scarlet £2 6s 8d 13½ Blue £2 8s 4½d 3 Brown £0 10s 0½d £5 5s 1d Cutlery Ware vizt 15 Shoe Knives £0 5s 7½d 8 Butchers Do £0 3s 10d 18 St. Horn Knives & Forks £0 16s 6d Cutlery Ware Carried over £1 5s 11½d Carried over £1396 14s 0d
140	136	16th January Brought over £1372 15s 8d Glass Ware brought over £0 6s 3d 57 Sqs 8 by 10 £1 18s 0d 1 Do 10 by 12 £0 0s 11d 4 Tumblers	The storekeeper's record of sales to the Company's employees for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £1,372 15s 8d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £1,372 15s 8d Glassware: Glassware brought forward, £0 6s 3d 57 window panes, 8 by 10 inches, £1 18s 0d 1 window pane, 10 by 12 inches, £0 0s 11d 4 tumblers, £0 2s 7d 2 beer glasses, £0 2s 7d

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		£0 2s 7d 2 Beer Glasses £0 2s 7d £2 10s 4d Pewter vizt 2 Basons £0 3s 5d 2 Chamber Pots £0 6s 5d £0 9s 10d Leather vizt 90 lb Sole £4 11s 10d 9 Calf Skins £3 12s 9d £8 4s 7d Books vizt 1 Spelling £0 1s 3½d 1 Bible £0 3s 8d 1 Common Prayr Book £0 3s 0½d £0 8s 0d Braziers Ware vizt 3¼ lb Copper Plate £0 4s 9½d 2½ Brass Do £0 4s 4½d 3½ Brass Wire £0 7s 4d 1 Bottling Cock £0 3s 4d £0 19s 10d Thread vizt 11 lb W Brown £3 19s 11½d 11½ Coloured £2 1s 2½d £6 1s 2d Camblet vizt 10 Yards Scarlet £2 6s 8d 13½ Blue £2 8s 4½d 3 Brown £0 10s 0½d £5 5s 1d Cutlery Ware vizt 15 Shoe Knives £0 5s 7½d 8 Butchers Do £0 3s 10d 18 St. Horn Knives & Forks £0 16s 6d Cutlery Ware Carried over £1 5s 11½d Carried over £1396 14s 0d	Glassware total, £2 10s 4d Pewter: 2 basins, £0 3s 5d 2 chamber pots, £0 6s 5d Pewter total, £0 9s 10d Leather: 90 pounds of sole leather, £4 11s 10d 9 calf skins, £3 12s 9d Leather total, £8 4s 7d Books: 1 spelling book, £0 1s 3½d 1 Bible, £0 3s 8d 1 Book of Common Prayer, £0 3s 0½d Books total, £0 8s 0d Copper and brass goods: 3¼ pounds of copper plate, £0 4s 9½d 2½ pounds of brass plate, £0 4s 4½d 3½ pounds of brass wire, £0 7s 4d 1 bottling tap, £0 3s 4d Copper and brass goods total, £0 19s 10d Thread: 11 pounds of whited-brown thread, £3 19s 11½d 11½ pounds of coloured thread, £2 1s 2½d Thread total, £6 1s 2d Camlet: 10 yards of scarlet camlet, £2 6s 8d 13½ yards of blue camlet, £2 8s 4½d 3 yards of brown camlet, £0 10s 0½d Camlet total, £5 5s 1d Cutlery: 15 shoemaker's knives, £0 5s 7½d 8 butcher's knives, £0 3s 10d 18 stag-horn handled knives and forks, £0 16s 6d Cutlery carried forward, £1 5s 11½d Carried forward, £1,396 14s 0d **Interpretations** The Company stocked books as well as goods, and the three sold this quarter reflect the core of household reading. The spelling book was the basic primer used to teach children their letters and words, and its sale points to families on the island educating their children at home or in the small school. The Bible and the Book of Common Prayer were the standard texts of the Church of England, whose services were read on the island by the Company's chaplain. Supplying them from store ensured that religious observance, which the Company regarded as part of good order in the garrison, did not depend on what private traders chose to bring. The leather sales show that shoes were made and mended locally. Sole leather and calf skins went to shoemakers, who also bought the shoemaker's knives listed with the cutlery, and the island's own craftsmen supplemented the ready-made shoes shipped from England. Camlet was a light cloth originally woven from goat or camel hair, but by this date usually made of worsted or of wool mixed with silk. It was used for cloaks, coats and petticoats. The stag-horn cutlery had handles made from deer antler, a durable and inexpensive material for everyday table knives and forks. The bottling tap was a brass cock fitted to a cask for drawing off liquor into bottles.
141	137	1764 Brought over £1396 14s 6d Cutlery Ware brought over £1 5s 11½d 48 Horn Combs £0 3s 0d 6 Ivory Combs £0 6s 3d 9 Ps Leathr Garters £0 3s 4½d 1 Pr Knee Buckles	The storekeeper's record of sales to the Company's employees for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £1,396 14s 0d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £1,396 14s 0d Cutlery and small wares: Cutlery brought forward, £1 5s 11½d 48 horn combs, £0 3s 0d 6 ivory combs, £0 6s 3d 9 pairs of leather garters, £0 3s 4½d 1 pair of knee buckles, £0 0s 4d Cutlery and small wares total, £1 18s 11d

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		£0 0s 4d £1 18s 11d Turners Ware vizt 12 Shoe Brushes £0 7s 6d 4 Hair Brooms £0 10s 0d 1 Hair Sieve £0 2s 3d 1 Birch Broom £0 0s 6d 1 Paint Brush £0 0s 7d 5 Labrs Baskets £0 4s 2d £1 5s 0d China Ware vizt 3 B & W. Bakg Dishes £0 6s 7½d 1 Sallad Do £0 0s 10d 1 Set Dishes and Plates £1 0s 7d 55 Bowls £3 4s 3d 99 B & W Beekers £1 17s 1½d 1 Enamd Do £0 0s 5d 7 Tea Pots £0 8s 2d 12 Half Pint Cups and Saucers £0 10s 9½d 30 Quarter Pt Do and Do £0 12s 11d 1 B & W. Guglet and Bason £0 3s 0½d 2 Chamber Pots £0 3s 4d £8 8s 1d Pitch and Tar vizt 29 lb Pitch £0 6s 0½d 6½ Gs Tar £0 5s 5d 12 Rozin £0 2s 6½d £0 14s 0d Shirts vizt 52 Shirts £13 0s 0d 30 Yds B Holland £3 1s 3d 2¾ Ps I. Linen £4 14s 10d £20 16s 1d Carried over £1429 16s 7d	Turned and wooden ware: 12 shoe brushes, £0 7s 6d 4 hair brooms, £0 10s 0d 1 hair sieve, £0 2s 3d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 6d 1 paint brush, £0 0s 7d 5 labourers' baskets, £0 4s 2d Turned and wooden ware total, £1 5s 0d China ware: 3 blue and white baking dishes, £0 6s 7½d 1 blue and white salad dish, £0 0s 10d 1 set of dishes and plates, £1 0s 7d 55 bowls, £3 4s 3d 99 blue and white beakers, £1 17s 1½d 1 enamelled beaker, £0 0s 5d 7 teapots, £0 8s 2d 12 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 10s 9½d 30 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 12s 11d 1 blue and white water jug and basin, £0 3s 0½d 2 chamber pots, £0 3s 4d China ware total, £8 8s 1d Pitch and tar: 29 pounds of pitch, £0 6s 0½d 6½ gallons of tar, £0 5s 5d 12 pounds of rosin, £0 2s 6½d Pitch and tar total, £0 14s 0d Shirts and shirting: 52 shirts, £13 0s 0d 30 yards of brown holland, £3 1s 3d 2¼ pieces of Irish linen, £4 14s 10d Shirts and shirting total, £20 16s 1d Carried forward, £1,429 16s 7d **Interpretations** The water jug recorded in the manuscript as a guglet was a long-necked porcelain or earthenware jug, the name taken from Anglo-Indian usage. Its narrow neck kept out dust and insects, and it was the standard vessel for drinking water in the Company's eastern settlements, which explains its presence among the china brought back from Asia. The shirts sold ready-made at 5s each, while the brown holland and Irish linen were bought by employees who preferred to have shirts cut and sewn at home. Together they formed the largest single category on the page, showing how much of the Company's store trade was in clothing. The china sold to employees came from the same Chinese export stock valued in September 1763, and the quantities, 99 beakers, 55 bowls and 42 cups and saucers in a single quarter, confirm that porcelain was everyday tableware on the island rather than a luxury.
142	138	16th January Brought over £1429 16s 7d Shoes vizt 4 Ps Girls £0 8s 10d 14 Prs Boys £2 7s 10d 1 Pr Mens fine £0 6s 1d 1 Pr Mens Pumps £0 5s 6d 1 Pr Channell Do £0 6s 7½d 9 Prs Womens Calimanco £1 18s 3d 4 Prs Womens Spanish	The storekeeper's record of sales to the Company's employees for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £1,429 16s 7d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £1,429 16s 7d Shoes: 4 pairs of girls' shoes, £0 8s 10d 14 pairs of boys' shoes, £2 7s 10d 1 pair of men's fine shoes, £0 6s 1d 1 pair of men's pumps, £0 5s 6d 1 pair of channel-soled pumps, £0 6s 7½d 9 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £1 18s 3d 4 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £0 17s 0d 1 pair of women's calfskin shoes, £0 2s 10½d 51 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £11 5s 3d Shoes total, £17 18s 3d

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		£0 17s 0d 1 Pr Womens Calf £0 2s 10½d 51 Prs Mens Ordinary £11 5s 3d £17 18s 3d Haberdashery vizt 63 Skns Silk £1 11s 6d 50 Skns Mohair £1 0s 10d 12 Ps Holland Tape £0 8s 3d 14 Gross Horn Moulds £0 5s 10d 6½ Doz Gilt Bt Buttons £0 10s 11d 1 Gross Shirt Do £0 2s 5d 6 doz. Plated Ct Do £0 11s 0d 4 doz. Plated Bt Do £0 3s 8d 8 Doz. Mohair Ct Do £0 6s 0d 5½ doz Do Bt Do £0 2s 1d 2 Doz. Silver Wire Bt Do £0 4s 7d 4 doz Silver Breast Do £0 9s 0d 1 doz. Gilt Coat Do £0 3s 4d £5 19s 5d Long Cloth vizt 4½ Ps A £27 16s 10d 1 Do B £5 5s 8d 3 Do D £11 19s 0d 1 Do E £3 4s 0d 1 Do F £3 2s 1d 7 Do G £20 3s 8d 19 Do H £51 15s 6d 2 Do I £3 0s 10d 14 Do K £15 2s 2d 1 Ps No 7 £1 10s 1d £143 6s 10d £1597 1s 1d	Haberdashery: 63 skeins of silk thread, £1 11s 6d 50 skeins of mohair thread, £1 0s 10d 12 pieces of holland tape, £0 8s 3d 14 gross of horn button moulds, £0 5s 10d 6½ dozen gilt waistcoat buttons, £0 10s 11d 1 gross of shirt buttons, £0 2s 5d 6 dozen plated coat buttons, £0 11s 0d 4 dozen plated waistcoat buttons, £0 3s 8d 8 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 6s 0d 5½ dozen mohair waistcoat buttons, £0 2s 1d 2 dozen silver wire waistcoat buttons, £0 4s 7d 4 dozen silver waistcoat buttons, £0 9s 0d 1 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 3s 4d Haberdashery total, £5 19s 5d Long cloth: 4½ pieces of long cloth marked A, £27 16s 10d 1 piece of long cloth marked B, £5 5s 8d 3 pieces of long cloth marked D, £11 19s 0d 1 piece of long cloth marked E, £3 11s 0d 1 piece of long cloth marked F, £3 2s 1d 7 pieces of long cloth marked G, £20 3s 8d 19 pieces of long cloth marked H, £51 15s 6d 2 pieces of long cloth marked I, £3 0s 10d 14 pieces of long cloth marked K, £15 2s 2d 1 piece of grade 7 long cloth, £1 10s 1d Long cloth total, £143 6s 10d Total of sales to employees, £1,597 1s 1d **Interpretations** The buttons show how Georgian clothes were made up locally from separate parts. Coat buttons were the larger size for the front and cuffs of a coat, while breast buttons, rendered here as waistcoat buttons, were the smaller size used on the waistcoat worn beneath. Buyers chose by price and status, from cheap mohair-covered buttons through plated and silver wire to gilt and solid silver. Horn button moulds were plain discs to be covered with cloth or thread by the tailor or at home, the cheapest way to match buttons to a garment, and 14 gross, over 2,000 moulds, shows how widely the practice was followed. Channel pumps had soles in which the stitching was sunk into a groove cut in the leather, so that it did not wear through on the ground. The sale of only 51 pairs of men's ordinary shoes against the 707 pairs held on 30 September 1763 indicates that most of the stock was reserved for issue to the soldiers rather than sold. Long cloth was the largest single item of the quarter's sales after bread and salt meat, and employees bought every grade from A to K. The pieces were perhaps sent on to the Cape or to passing ships, or made up into shirts, sheets and clothing for households and slaves on the island.
143	139	1764 Sold to the Planters at 25 P Cent Broad Cloth vizt 9¼ Yds Brown £10 2s 4d 3½ Yds Blue £3 18s 9d 3¼ Fr. Grey £3 14s 7d 2 1/8 Black £2 3s 8d 2 11/12 Compadore £3 4s 7d £23 3s 11d Shoes vizt 2 Prs Mens fine £0 13s 9d 6 Prs Boys	The storekeeper's record for the quarter to 31 December 1763 went on to list goods sold to the planters at an advance of 25% on cost. Broadcloth: 9¼ yards of brown broadcloth, £10 2s 4d 3½ yards of blue broadcloth, £3 18s 9d 3¼ yards of French grey broadcloth, £3 14s 7d 2⅛ yards of black broadcloth, £2 3s 8d 2 11/12 yards of pompadour broadcloth, £3 4s 7d Broadcloth total, £23 3s 11d Shoes: 2 pairs of men's fine shoes, £0 13s 9d 6 pairs of boys' shoes, £1 3s 2d 3 pairs of girls' shoes, £0 7s 6d 2 pairs of calamanco shoes, £0 9s 6d 1 pair of Spanish leather shoes, £0 4s 9d Shoes total, £2 18s 8d

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		£1 3s 2d 3 Prs Girls £0 7s 6d 2 Prs Calimanco £0 9s 6d 1 Pr Spanish £0 4s 9d £2 18s 8d Shalloon 30¼ Yds Coloured £3 19s 4d Desotees 1 Ps £0 11s 9d Flannel 18½ Yards £0 18s 9d Serge &ca vizt 6½ Yds Scarlet Serge £2 9s 2d 4 3/8 Yds Blue Do £1 5s 6d 1¾ Fr. Grey Do £0 8s 0d ¼ Ps Fustian £0 12s 8d £4 15s 4d Buckram 3½ Yards £0 3s 10d Chellows 9 Ps £5 5s 4d Long Ells 14 Yards £1 9s 2d Canvas vizt 8 Yards Osenbrigs £0 7s 6d 1 Yard Eng. Canvas £0 1s 3d £0 8s 9d Hosiers Ware 1 Pr Womens Stockgs £0 3s 6d Long Cloth vizt 1 Piece A £7 0s 6d 2 Do H £6 3s 9d £13 4s 3d Shirts 5½ Yards B. Holland £0 12s 7d Camblet 2 Yards Scarlet £0 10s 7d Carried Over £58 5s 9d	30¼ yards of coloured shalloon, £3 19s 4d 1 piece of dosooties, £0 11s 9d 18½ yards of flannel, £0 18s 9d Serge and similar cloth: 6½ yards of scarlet serge, £2 9s 2d 4⅜ yards of blue serge, £1 5s 6d 1¼ yards of French grey serge, £0 8s 0d ¼ piece of fustian, £0 12s 8d Serge and similar cloth total, £4 15s 4d 3½ yards of buckram, £0 3s 10d 9 pieces of chelloes, £5 5s 4d 14 yards of long ells, £1 9s 2d Canvas and coarse linen: 8 yards of osnaburg, £0 7s 6d 1 yard of English canvas, £0 1s 3d Canvas and coarse linen total, £0 8s 9d Hosiery: 1 pair of women's stockings, £0 3s 6d Long cloth: 1 piece of long cloth marked A, £7 0s 6d 2 pieces of long cloth marked H, £6 3s 9d Long cloth total, £13 4s 3d Shirting: 5½ yards of brown holland, £0 12s 7d 2 yards of scarlet camlet, £0 10s 7d Carried forward, £58 5s 9d **Interpretations** The Company ran a two-tier price system from its stores. Its own employees paid cost plus 10%, while the planters, the free settlers who farmed Company land but were not in its pay, paid cost plus 25%. The difference shows clearly in the long cloth marked A, which employees bought at about £6 3s 8d a piece and planters at £7 0s 6d, and in blue broadcloth, which rose from around 18s 4d to 22s 6d a yard. The lower rate was a benefit of service that stretched the modest wages of soldiers, artificers and clerks, and made the Company's pay worth more than its cash value. The higher rate charged to planters produced a better return on goods the Company had carried at its own risk, while still offering the settlers supplies they could obtain nowhere else on the island. The planters' purchases were small beside those of the employees, amounting to £58 5s 9d on this page against almost £1,600 for the employees over the whole quarter. Most of the island's store trade therefore ran through the garrison and the Company's own establishment rather than through the settler community.
144	140	16th January Brought over £58 5s 9d Sold at 40 P Cent China Ware vizt 2 Salts £0 1s 9d 2 Tea pots £0 3s 0d 30 Qr Pt Cups and Saucers £0 16s 8d 1 Set Dishes and Plates £1 6s 4d 7 Blue & White Beekers £0 3s 6d 2 Bowls £0 3s 0d £2 14s 3d Arrack 41 6½ Galls £12 4s 9d Haberdashery Ware vizt 19 lb Silk £0 14s 3d 3½ Doz Mohair Ct Buttons £0 3s 6d	The storekeeper's record for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £58 5s 9d brought forward and went on to list goods sold at an advance of 40% on cost. Balance brought forward, £58 5s 9d China ware: 2 salt cellars, £0 1s 9d 2 teapots, £0 3s 0d 30 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 16s 8d 1 set of dishes and plates, £1 6s 4d 7 blue and white beakers, £0 3s 6d 2 bowls, £0 3s 0d China ware total, £2 14s 3d 416½ gallons of arrack, £124 19s 0d Haberdashery: 19 skeins of silk thread, £0 14s 3d 3½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 3s 6d 19 skeins of mohair thread, £0 11s 10½d 3 dozen mohair waistcoat buttons, £0 1s 6d 1 gross of horn button moulds, £0 0s 6½d Haberdashery total, £1 11s 8d Fish hooks and lines: 50 fish hooks of size 1, 200 of size 12 and 25 of size 13 together, £0 4s 8d

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		19 Skns Mohair £0 11s 10½d 3 doz Mohair Bt Do £0 1s 6d 1 Gross Horn Moulds £0 0s 6½d £1 11s 8d Hooks and Lines vizt 60 No 1 200 12 Hooks 25 13 £0 4s 8d 24 2 18 3 Lines 1 Hambro 4 Log £1 5s 5d £1 10s 1d Paint vizt 97 lb Whiting £0 6s 0d 9 Ven Red mixed £0 6s 4½d 3 Barl Blackg £0 2s 4½d 3½ Indico £0 8s 9d 2 Blue Smalts £0 3s 11d 38 W Lead mixed £1 0s 7d 1 Sky Blue £0 2s 7½d ½ Copperas £0 0s 4½d £2 11s 0d Nails vizt 2. 2 £0 2s 0½d 3. 40 £0 1s 6d Nails Carried over £0 3s 6½d Carried over £79 1s 11d	24 fishing lines of size 2, 18 of size 3, 1 hank of line and 4 log lines together, £1 5s 5d Fish hooks and lines total, £1 10s 1d Paint: 97 pounds of whiting, £0 6s 0d 9 pounds of mixed Venetian red, £0 6s 4½d 3 barrels of blacking, £0 2s 4½d 3½ pounds of indigo, £0 8s 9d 2 pounds of blue smalt, £0 3s 11d 38 pounds of mixed white lead, £1 0s 7d 1 pound of sky blue paint, £0 2s 7½d ¼ pound of copperas, £0 0s 4½d Paint total, £2 11s 0d Nails: 2 pounds of 2d nails, £0 2s 0½d 3 pounds of 40d nails, £0 1s 6d Nails carried forward, £0 3s 6½d Carried forward, £191 14s 9d **Interpretations** The 40% rate formed a third and highest tier of the Company's store prices, above the 10% charged to employees and the 25% charged to planters. The record does not say who paid it, but arrack dominated the sales at this rate, with 416½ gallons fetching £124 19s 0d at 6s a gallon, far more than the 244⅛ gallons sold to employees at the lower rate. The pattern suggests that the dearest tier fell on arrack bought for resale, perhaps by the licensed keepers of the ten public houses, so that the Company took a large share of the profit on drink before it ever reached the tavern counter. The Company thus drew revenue from arrack twice, first through the licence fees and then through the wholesale margin. Log lines were knotted lines wound on a reel and paid out astern with a wooden float, the log, while a half-minute glass timed the run. The number of knots that passed in that interval gave a ship's speed. Their sale alongside fishing lines shows the island's boatmen equipping small craft for work offshore.
145	141	1764 Brought over £191 11s 9d Nails brought over £0 3s 6½d 13 lb 4 £0 10s 10d 22 6 £0 16s 11½d 11 10 £0 7s 6¾d 8 20 £0 4s 4d ¼ Tacks £0 1s 5¼d ½ Gl. Brads £0 1s 3d £2 4s 11d Rice and Paddy vizt 2. 0. 22 Rice £1 6s 0d 5 Paddy £1 5s 10d £2 11s 10d Starch 1 lb £0 0s 6d Cutlery Ware vizt 10 Shoe Knives £0 4s 7d 6 Horn Combs	The storekeeper's record of goods sold at an advance of 40% during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £191 11s 9d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £191 11s 9d Nails: Nails brought forward, £0 3s 6½d 13 pounds of 4d nails, £0 10s 10d 22 pounds of 6d nails, £0 16s 11½d 11 pounds of 10d nails, £0 7s 6¾d 8 pounds of 20d nails, £0 4s 4d ¼ pound of tacks, £0 1s 5¼d ½ pound of glazing brads, £0 1s 3d Nails total, £2 4s 11d Rice and paddy: 2 quarters 22 pounds of rice, £0 16s 0d 5 hundredweight of paddy, £1 15s 10d Rice and paddy total, £2 11s 10d 1 pound of starch, £0 0s 6d Cutlery and small wares: 10 shoemaker's knives, £0 4s 7d 6 horn combs, £0 0s 9d 1 pruning knife, £0 1s 0d 2 butcher's knives, £0 1s 3d Cutlery and small wares total, £0 7s 7d 14 pounds of candles, £1 19s 1d Turned and wooden ware: 4 shoe brushes, £0 3s 2d 2 hair brooms, £0 6s 5d 3 plasterers' brushes, £0 4s 6d 3 paint brushes, £0 2s 3d

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		£0 0s 9d 1 Pruning Knife £0 1s 0d 2 Butchers Do £0 1s 3d £0 7s 7d Candles 14 lb £1 19s 1d Turners Ware vizt 4 Shoe Brushes £0 3s 2d 2 Hair Brooms £0 6s 5d 3 Plaisterers Brushes £0 4s 6d 3 Paint Do £0 2s 3d £0 16s 4d Oil vizt ¼ G. Train £0 1s 4½d 9¼ G. Linseed £2 10s 10½d £2 12s 3d Ironmongers Ware vizt 1 Pad Lock £0 2s 2d 1 Small Fr. Pan £0 3s 6d 1 Large £0 4s 8d 6 Prs D. Tail Hinges £0 2s 9¾d 3 Splinter Locks £0 2s 1½d 2 Prs Sheep Sheers £0 5s 0d 1 Hand Hatchet £0 2s 5½d Ironmongers Ware Carried over £1 2s 8¾d Carried over £202 4s 3d	Turned and wooden ware total, £0 16s 4d Oil: ¼ gallon of train oil, £0 1s 4½d 9¼ gallons of linseed oil, £2 10s 10½d Oil total, £2 12s 3d Ironmongery: 1 padlock, £0 2s 2d 1 small frying pan, £0 3s 6d 1 large frying pan, £0 4s 8d 6 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 2s 9¾d 3 spring locks, £0 2s 1½d 2 pairs of sheep shears, £0 5s 0d 1 hand hatchet, £0 2s 5½d Ironmongery carried forward, £1 2s 8¾d Carried forward, £202 4s 3d
146	142	16th January Brought over £202 4s 3d Ironmongers Ware brought over £1 2s 8¾d 1 Rag Stone £0 0s 5d 1 Pr Garden Sheers £0 5s 10d 4 Scythe Stones £0 1s 8d ½ Gr Wood Screws £0 0s 3d 1 Back Cupd Lock £0 1s 11¼d £1 12s 10d Salt 8¼ Bushels £1 17s 2d Coffee 10 lb £0 11s 0d Sugar and Candy vizt 1835 Sugar £19 1s 10d 107 Candy £3 11s 4d £22 13s 2d Flour 455 lb £4 14s 9d Sope 75 lb £3 16s 5d Tea vizt 206 Congo	The storekeeper's record of goods sold at an advance of 40% during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £202 4s 3d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £202 4s 3d Ironmongery: Ironmongery brought forward, £1 2s 8¾d 1 rag stone, £0 0s 5d 1 pair of garden shears, £0 5s 10d 4 scythe stones, £0 1s 8d ½ dozen wood screws, £0 0s 3d 1 barrack cupboard lock, £0 1s 11¼d Ironmongery total, £1 12s 10d 8¼ bushels of salt, £1 17s 2d 10 pounds of coffee, £0 11s 0d Sugar and sugar candy: 1,835 pounds of sugar, £19 1s 10d 107 pounds of sugar candy, £3 11s 4d Sugar and sugar candy total, £22 13s 2d 455 pounds of flour, £4 14s 9d 73 pounds of soap, £3 16s 5d Tea: 206 pounds of congou tea, £20 12s 0d 15 pounds of bohea tea, £0 17s 6d 25 pounds of singlo tea, £2 10s 0d Tea total, £23 19s 6d 77¼ pounds of cordage, £2 0s 2d 3 pounds of pepper, £0 2s 3d Glassware: 4 window panes, 10 by 12 inches, £0 4s 8d 9 window panes, 8 by 10 inches, £0 7s 8d 30 window panes, 6 by 8 inches, £0 13s 1d Glassware total, £1 5s 5d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£20 12s 0d 15 Bohea £0 7s 6d 25 Singlo £2 10s 0d £23 19s 6d Cordage 77¼ lb £2 0s 2d Pepper 5 lb £0 2s 3d Glass Ware vizt 4 Sqs 10 by 12 £0 4s 8d 9 Do 8 by 10 £0 7s 8d 30 Do 6 by 8 £0 13s 1d £1 5s 5d Twine 3 Skns £0 2s 3d Pitch and Tar vizt 2¼ Gs Tar £0 2s 9d 6 lb Pitch £0 1s 6d £0 4s 3d Corks 1 Gross £0 3s 2d Deals vizt 1 Elm Board £0 9s 6d 2 Sing Deals £0 5s 7d £0 15s 1d Pewter 2 Basons £0 4s 5d Carried over £266 6s 1d	3 skeins of twine, £0 2s 3d Pitch and tar: 2¼ gallons of tar, £0 2s 9d 6 pounds of pitch, £0 1s 6d Pitch and tar total, £0 4s 3d 1 gross of corks, £0 3s 2d Timber: 1 elm board, £0 9s 6d 2 single deals, £0 5s 7d Timber total, £0 15s 1d 2 pewter basins, £0 4s 5d Carried forward, £266 6s 1d
147	143	1764 Brought over £266 6s 1d Thread vizt 2½ W Brown £1 3s 2d 2 Coloured £0 9s 2d £1 12s 4d £267 18s 5d Sold to the Honorable Company's Ships at 40 P Cent vizt Hook and Lines vizt 25 No 14 Hooks £0 0s 3d 6 2 Lines £0 2s 2d 12 Log Do £0 18s 0d £1 0s 5d Oil 36 Galls Linseed £7 3s 0d Paint vizt 98 lb Ven Red dry £0 10s 6d 4 Verdigrease £1 2s 8d £1 13s 2d Nails vizt 14 lb 6 £0 11s 1½d 3 lb Coopers Rivets £0 2s 1½d £0 13s 0d Turners Ware 6 Paint Brushes £0 5s 0d Glass Ware 4 Half Minute Glasses	The storekeeper's record of goods sold at an advance of 40% during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £266 6s 1d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £266 6s 1d Thread: 2½ pounds of whited-brown thread, £0 13s 2d 2 pounds of coloured thread, £0 9s 2d Thread total, £1 2s 4d Total of sales at 40%, £267 18s 5d The record then listed goods sold to the East India Company's ships, also at an advance of 40%. Fish hooks and lines: 25 fish hooks of size 14, £0 0s 3d 6 fishing lines of size 2, £0 2s 2d 12 log lines, £0 18s 0d Fish hooks and lines total, £1 0s 5d 26 gallons of linseed oil, £7 3s 0d Paint: 98 pounds of dry Venetian red, £0 10s 6d 4 pounds of verdigris, £1 2s 8d Paint total, £1 13s 2d Nails: 14 pounds of 6d nails, £0 11s 1½d 3 pounds of coopers' rivets, £0 2s 1½d Nails total, £0 13s 0d 6 paint brushes, £0 5s 0d 4 half-minute glasses, £0 3s 0d Ironware: 100 sail needles, £0 12s 6d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 1s 7d Ironware total, £0 14s 1d Twine: 25 skeins of twine, £1 11s 11d 6 skeins of marline, £0 1s 9d Twine total, £1 13s 8d Pitch and tar: 4 barrels of pitch, £10 0s 4d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 3s 0d Iron Ware vizt 100 Sail Needles £0 12s 6d 1 Pr Sheep Sheers £0 1s 7d £0 14s 1d Twine vizt 25 Skns Twine £1 1s 11d 6 Skns Marline £0 1s 9d £1 3s 8d Pitch and Tar vizt 4 Barl Pitch £10 0s 4d 2 Do Tar £3 2s 6d £13 2s 10d Anchors vizt C qrs lb 1 Anchor is 32. 12 £76 19s 4d 1 Do Stock 16 Feet long £9 12s 6d £86 11s 10d Carried over £112 10s 6d	2 barrels of tar, £3 2s 6d Pitch and tar total, £13 2s 10d Anchors: 1 anchor weighing 32 hundredweight 0 quarters 12 pounds, £76 19s 4d 1 anchor stock, 16 feet long, £9 12s 6d Anchors total, £86 11s 10d Carried forward, £112 10s 6d **Interpretations** The Company charged its own ships at the highest 40% rate because the ships were not strictly its own. East Indiamen were built and owned by private syndicates and hired to the Company for each voyage, so stores taken at St Helena were charged to the ship's account for the owners to bear. The storekeeper's sales were settled when each ship's balance was paid into the treasury before sailing, as with the sums received from the *Clinton* and the *Prince of Wales* in September and October 1763. Pricing ships' stores at a full commercial margin ensured that the island's scarce supplies were not drawn down cheaply by vessels that could have fitted out in England or India. An anchor weighing over 32 hundredweight, more than a ton and a half of iron, was a main bower anchor for a large ship, and its sale suggests a ship had lost or damaged one in the road. The anchor stock was the long wooden crossbar fitted at the top of the shank, set at right angles to the arms so that the anchor would turn and bite into the seabed. A stock of 16 feet matched an anchor of this size and had to be supplied separately because the timber was made up by shipwrights rather than cast with the iron. Sail needles were heavy three-sided needles used with a leather palm to stitch canvas, and 100 of them implies a ship's sailmaker restocking for a long voyage. Verdigris mixed into paint was also used as a protective coating on ships' timbers.
148	144	16th January Brought over £112 10s 6d Cordage 570 lb £14 16s 11d Salt 6 Bushels £1 6s 6d £128 13s 11d Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Nails vizt 3 2 to repair the Shed on the £0 2s 3½d 3 3 Line, Banks's Guard £0 2s 1½d 3 4 Room Gunners Barracks £0 1s 9d 13 6 Horns for the Jury, and £0 6s 9d 21 10 to make Hand Barrows £0 9s 9¼d 1 20 Ladders and Centry £0 0s 4½d 26 40 Boxes £0 5s 5d 1 Tacks £0 1s 3d 15 Spike £0 4s 8¼d 1 Gl Brads for Baskets £0 1s 2½d £1 18s 7d Twine 6 Skains to mend Rice Bags & to make Cart £0 3s 1d Paint vizt 1 Red Lead to paint the Covering	The storekeeper's record of goods sold to the East India Company's ships during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £112 10s 6d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £112 10s 6d 570 pounds of cordage, £14 16s 11d 6 bushels of salt, £1 6s 6d Total of sales to the Company's ships, £128 13s 11d The storekeeper then entered the stores issued for the Company's own use from 1 October to 31 December 1763, charged to the general charges account. The nails were used to repair the shed on the Line, Banks's guard room and the gunners' barracks, to make benches for the jury and to build hand barrows, ladders and sentry boxes. Nails: 3 pounds of 2d nails, £0 2s 0¾d 3 pounds of 3d nails, £0 2s 1½d 3 pounds of 4d nails, £0 1s 9d 13 pounds of 6d nails, £0 6s 9d 21 pounds of 10d nails, £0 9s 9¼d 1 pound of 20d nails, £0 0s 4½d 26 pounds of 40d nails, £0 8s 8d 1 pound of tacks, £0 1s 3d 15 pounds of spike nails, £0 4s 8¼d 1 pound of glazing brads for baskets, £0 1s 8½d Nails total, £1 18s 7d 6 skeins of twine to mend rice bags and make cartridges, £0 3s 1d The paint went to cover a chest for small arms and to paint the officers' guard room at Banks's and the ladders for the garden. Paint: 1 pound of red lead, £0 0s 2¾d 12 pounds of mixed Venetian red, £0 3s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 0s 2½d 12 Ven Red Mixed of a Chest for Small £0 3s 6d 20 Whiting Arms Officers Guard £0 0s 5d 27 White Lead mixed Room at Banks's and £0 10s 11½d 9 Barl Black Ladders for the Garden £0 4s 10¼d ½ Copperas £0 0s 5½d 4 Chocolate £0 2s 4d 10 Blue Smalts £0 13s 6½d 6 Indico £0 10s 4½d £2 7s 10d Iron Ware vizt ¾ lb Yellow Spelter £0 1s 5¼d 5 Smiths Rubbers £0 18s 1½d 8 Files for the Armr £0 5s 4d ½ Borax £0 6s 2½d ¼ Wt Spelter £0 2s 4½d Iron Ware Carried over £1 14s 10d Carried over £4 9s 6d	20 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 5d 27 pounds of mixed white lead, £0 10s 1½d 9 barrels of blacking, £0 4s 10½d ½ pound of copperas, £0 0s 5½d 4 pounds of chocolate-coloured paint, £0 2s 4d 10 pounds of blue smalt, £0 13s 6½d 6 pounds of indigo, £0 10s 4½d Paint total, £2 7s 10d The ironware went to the armourer. Ironware: ¾ pound of yellow spelter, £0 1s 5¼d 5 smith's rubbers, £0 18s 1½d 8 files, £0 5s 4d ½ pound of borax, £0 0s 6¼d ¼ pound of white spelter, £0 2s 4½d Ironware carried forward, £1 7s 10d Carried forward, £4 9s 6d **Interpretations** The general charges account recorded stores the Company consumed itself rather than sold, and it was valued at cost with no advance added. Every issue had to carry its purpose, so the storekeeper could show that goods leaving the warehouse without payment had gone to public works. The entries amount to a record of the quarter's maintenance on the island's defences and buildings, from sentry boxes and guard rooms to the gunners' barracks. The benches made for the jury show that civil and criminal cases on the island were tried by jury in the English manner. The Company's charter allowed it to hold courts at St Helena, and it provided the furniture for them from its stores like any other public building. Spelter was a zinc alloy used by the armourer as a hard solder. Yellow spelter, rich in copper, brazed iron and brass joints on musket locks and fittings, while borax served as the flux that kept the metal clean so that the solder would flow and bond. Smith's rubbers were coarse, heavy files for dressing rough ironwork before finishing with the finer files listed beside them.
149	145	1764 Brought over £4 9s 6d Iron Ware brought over £1 4s 10d 1 Sledge Hammer 1 Hand Do for the Armr £0 8s 2½d 2 Plaisterers Trowels for the Masons £0 2s 9d 4 Rasps for the Coopr Armr & Carpenter £0 3s 4d 20 Helves for the Armr Hospital Masons and Bake £0 2s 9d House £0 12s 1d 3 Blank Keys for the Hospital & Stores £0 1s 9d 1 Splinter Lock for the Stable £0 1s 3¾d 1 Sail Needle for Charles Taylor £0 0s 1d 2 Hatchet Helves for Banks's £0 0s 7d 4 Wood Screws 2 Chest Locks For Fuzee Chests £0 1s 4d £0 6s 6d 1 Flour Emery for the Armoury & Armourer £0 0s 2d 7 Pickaxes for the Masons £1 1s 3½d 1 Bricklayers Trowell £0 1s 7d	The general charges account of stores issued for the Company's own use during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £4 9s 6d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £4 9s 6d Ironware: Ironware brought forward, £1 4s 10d 1 sledgehammer for the armourer, £0 8s 2½d 1 hand hammer for the armourer, £0 2s 9d 2 plasterers' trowels for the masons, £0 3s 4d 4 rasps for the cooper, armourer and carpenter, £0 2s 9d 20 tool handles for the armourer, hospital, masons and bakehouse, £0 12s 1d 3 blank keys for the hospital and stores, £0 1s 9d 1 splinter lock for the stable, £0 1s 3¼d 1 sail needle for Charles Taylor, £0 0s 1d 2 hatchet handles for Banks's, £0 0s 7d 4 wood screws for the fusil chests, £0 1s 4d 2 chest locks for the fusil chests, £0 6s 6d 1 pound of flour emery for the armoury and armourer, £0 0s 2d 7 pickaxes for the masons, £1 1s 3½d 1 bricklayer's trowel for the masons, £0 1s 7d 1 maul for the masons, £0 8s 2½d 4 ditching shovels for the workmen, £0 13s 4d ¼ pound of binding wire for the armoury, £0 0s 3½d 1 stock lock for one of the barracks, £0 2s 8½d 1 rag stone for the cooper's use, £0 0s 3d 1 pair of pliers for the armourer, £0 0s 11d Ironware total, £6 0s 5d 23⅞ gallons of arrack for drams given to the workmen in the stores, to the men who hauled up

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		1 Maul Do £0 8s 2½d 4 Ditchg Shovels for the Workmen £0 13s 4d ¼ Binding Wire for the Armoury £0 0s 3½d 1 Stock Lock for one of the Barracks £0 2s 8½d 1 Rag Stone Coopers use £0 0s 3d 1 Pr Plyers for the Armourer £0 0s 11d £6 0s 5d Arrack 23 7/8 Gallons for Drams to Sundries, Workmen in the Stores haulg up and Launchg the L Boat, Sheep Shearers killg Wild Cats & Guard Boatmen £3 15s 8d Oil vizt 10¼ Gs Linseed, to Paint Armr Chests Officers Guard Room at Banks's Ladders Fort Garden & Centry Boxes £1 19s 3½d 9 Gallons Train for the Armourer & Kitchen £1 14s 6d 2 Bottl Florence for the Armr Shop & Armr £0 5s 8½d £3 19s 6d Turners Ware vizt 9 Ps Brushes for painting £0 4s 6d 1 Plaistr Brush for the Masons £0 1s 1d 1 Hair Broom £0 2s 3½d 1 Labr Basket Castle £0 0s 9d 1 Shoe Brush £0 0s 6½d £0 9s 2d Carried over £18 17s 3d	and launched the longboat, to the sheep shearers, to the men who killed wild cats and to the guard boatmen, £3 15s 8d Oil: 10½ gallons of linseed oil to paint the armoury chests, the officers' guard room at Banks's, the ladders, the fort, the garden and the sentry boxes, £1 19s 3½d 9 gallons of train oil for the armourer and the kitchen, £1 14s 6d 2 bottles of Florence oil for the armourer's shop and the armoury, £0 5s 8½d Oil total, £3 19s 6d Turned and wooden ware: 9 paint brushes, £0 4s 6d 1 plasterer's brush for the masons, £0 1s 1d 1 hair broom for the Castle, £0 2s 3½d 1 labourer's basket for the Castle, £0 0s 9d 1 shoe brush for the Castle, £0 0s 6½d Turned and wooden ware total, £0 9s 2d Carried forward, £18 14s 3d **Interpretations** The arrack issued as drams shows how the Company rewarded extra or unpleasant labour. A measure of spirit was the customary payment, on top of wages or rations, for heavy or out-of-hours work such as hauling the longboat up the beach and launching it again, shearing the flock and manning the guard boat. Giving drams from store cost the Company little in cash, kept the work moving and tied the labourers' goodwill to its own supply of drink. The drams for killing wild cats point to a standing problem: cats that had run wild on the island preyed on poultry, young goats and the birds kept on the plantations, and the Company encouraged men to hunt them by paying in arrack. Flour emery was emery ground to a fine powder and used with oil to polish and clean the bright metal of muskets, bayonets and locks, which explains why it went to the armoury together with Florence oil. Fusil chests held the fusils, lighter muskets carried by officers, sergeants and artillerymen, and they needed sound locks because the Company kept its spare arms under close control. A maul was a heavy wooden hammer used by masons to drive stakes and wedges.
150	146	16th January Brought over £18 17s 3d Starch 30 lb £0 10s 7d Sope 70 lb for Linen £2 5s 2d Candles vizt 98½ lb Castle £9 12s 11d 155 Council £15 3s 5d 4 Doctor Shop £0 7s 10d 3 Secry Office £0 5s 10½d 3½ delivered to the Officers of the Guard £0 6s 10½d £25 16s 11d Deals vizt 6 Single Deals to repr the Stores, Gunnrs Barrack, Sandy Bay Guard Room and to make Centry Box £6 0s 9d 2 Double Deals to make a Chest for Fuzees and repair a Chair to carry the Sick to the Hospl £0 6s 1d 4 Coffins to repair the Shed on the Line and Ladder for Banks's £0 16s 4d	The general charges account of stores issued for the Company's own use during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £18 17s 3d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £18 17s 3d 30 pounds of starch, £0 10s 7d 70 pounds of soap for washing linen, £2 5s 2d Candles: 98½ pounds for the Castle, £9 12s 11d 155 pounds for the Council, £15 3s 5d 4 pounds for the doctor's shop, £0 7s 10d 3 pounds for the Secretary's office, £0 5s 10½d 3½ pounds for the officers of the guard, £0 6s 10½d Candles total, £25 16s 11d Timber: 61 single deals to repair the stores, the gunners' barracks and the Sandy Bay guard room and to make a sentry box, £6 0s 9d 2 double deals to make a chest for fusils and repair a chair for carrying the sick to the hospital, £0 6s 1d 4 rafters to repair the shed on the Line and a ladder for Banks's, £0 16s 4d 1½ baulks for the ladder for the garden and the whipping post, £0 13s 3d ½ piece of oak plank for the ladder for the garden and the whipping post, £1 4s 0d 1⅓ pieces of Riga timber to repair the stores, £3 16s 4d

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		½ Baulks for the Ladder for the £0 13s 3d ½ Ps Oak planks Garden & Whipg Post £0 14s 0d 1½ Ps Riga Timber to repr the Stores £3 16s 4d ½ Ps Oak plank of 6 Inr for a Block for the Butchers £1 2s 9d ½ Ps Oak plank of 5 Inr to repair the Stores £1 0s 3d ½ Elm plank, to repair a Chair to carry the Sick to the Hospital £0 8s 9d £15 8s 6d Canvas vizt 6½ Yds Eng. for Umbrelloes for the Castle Windows and a Black Armrs Apron £0 7s 0½d 2½ Osenbrigs for Buckets £0 1s 10½d £0 8s 11d Pitch 7 lb Rozin for Dammer & Tining £0 1s 6d Tin Ware 3 Solder for Tining £0 0s 10d Cordage 85 lb for a Crane Rope £1 9s 9d Earthen Ware 1 Milk Pan for the Castle £0 0s 9d Glass Ware vizt 13 Sqs 6 by 6 for Banks's Gd Room and Officers Room at Mundens point £0 3s 6½d 1 Sq 8 by 10 for the Castle £0 0s 7½d 1 Half Hour Glass for Banks's £0 0s 6½d £0 4s 8d Carried over £65 4s 10d	½ piece of 6-inch oak plank for a chopping block for the butchers, £1 2s 9d ½ piece of 5-inch oak plank to repair the stores, £1 0s 3d ½ elm plank to repair a chair for carrying the sick to the hospital, £0 8s 4d Timber total, £15 8s 6d Canvas: 6½ yards of English canvas for sun awnings for the Castle windows and a black apron for the armourer, £0 7s 0½d 2½ yards of osnaburg for baskets, £0 1s 10½d Canvas total, £0 8s 11d Pitch and rosin for making dammer and for tinning, £0 1s 6d 3 pounds of solder for tinning, £0 0s 10d 8[...] pounds of cordage for a crane rope, £1 9s 9d 1 earthenware milk pan for the Castle, £0 0s 9d Glassware: 13 window panes, 6 by 8 inches, for Banks's guard room and the officers' room at Munden's Point, £0 3s 6½d 1 window pane, 8 by 10 inches, for the Castle, £0 0s 7½d 1 half-hour glass for Banks's, £0 0s 6½d Glassware total, £0 4s 8d Carried forward, £65 4s 10d **Interpretations** The candle allocations show lighting as a charge borne by the Company for its officials. The Council's 155 pounds and the Castle's 98½ pounds together took over nine tenths of the candles issued, against small amounts for the doctor's shop, the Secretary's office and the guard. Free candles for the Governor's household and the Council were a perquisite of office, and at over £25 a quarter they amounted to a significant cost. The whipping post built from Company timber was an instrument of discipline for soldiers and slaves alike. Flogging was the standard punishment for both, and the post stood in public view so that punishment served as a warning to others. Its construction from the same stores that supplied sentry boxes and guard rooms shows that corporal punishment was treated as part of the island's ordinary apparatus of order. The chair for carrying the sick to the hospital was a carrying chair borne on poles by two men, the only practical way to move a patient on the island's steep paths. Riga timber was Baltic pine shipped from the port of Riga, prized for its long, straight, resinous grain and used for heavy repairs where ordinary deals would not serve. Dammer was a mixture of pitch and resin used for caulking seams and sealing timber, the name taken from an East Indian resin used in the same way. The half-hour glass at Banks's timed the watches kept by the guard.
151	147	1764 Brought over £65 4s 10d China Ware 2 Bowls for the Castle £0 2s 0d Sugar 4 lb £0 1s 2d Pork 2 Pieces for the Sheep Shearers Rice 12 lb £0 6s 3d Cutlery 6 Butchers Knives for the Butchers £0 0s 10d Thread 1 lb Coloured to make Cartridges £0 2s 8d Cart Wheels 2 Wheel Barrows for the Fortifications £0 3s 3d Iron Pots vizt	The general charges account of stores issued for the Company's own use during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £65 4s 10d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £65 4s 10d 2 china bowls for the Castle, £0 2s 0d 4 pounds of sugar for the sheep shearers, £0 1s 2d 2 pieces of salt pork for the sheep shearers, £0 6s 3d 12 pounds of rice for the sheep shearers, £0 0s 10d 6 butcher's knives for the butchers, £0 2s 8d 1 pound of coloured thread for making cartridges, £0 3s 3d 2 wheelbarrows for the fortifications, £1 8s 0d Iron and steel:

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		£1 8s 0d 230 Iron for Wedges and Jumpers for the Masons £2 7s 11d 18½ Steel for Do £0 6s 11d £2 14s 10d Pewter 1 Cullender for the Castle £0 7s 7d Lines vizt 6 No 2 for the Carpenters £0 1s 8d 1 Log for the Castle £0 0s 11d 2 4 for the Masons £0 0s 9½d 1 Whipcord for the Marshal £0 2s 10½d £0 6s 3d £70 17s 8d Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Flour 8. 2. 18 £6 1s 3d Beef and Pork vizt 35 Ps Pork £5 10s 0d 2 Ps Beef £0 8s 3d £5 18s 3d Rice C qrs lb 3. 1. 16 £1 7s 10d Arrack 66 Gallons £10 10s 4d Salt 4 Bushels £0 12s 8d Tea vizt 8 Congo £0 10s 0d 2 Singlo £0 2s 6d £0 12s 6d Sugar and Candy vizt 30 Sugar £0 8s 9d 316 Candy £6 11s 8d £7 0s 5d Coffee 10 lb £0 8s 4d Pease ½ Bushel £0 4s 3d £32 15s 10d	230 pounds of iron for wedges and rock drills for the masons, £2 7s 11d 18½ pounds of steel for wedges and rock drills for the masons, £0 6s 11d Iron and steel total, £2 14s 10d 1 pewter colander for the Castle, £0 7s 7d Lines: 6 lines of size 2 for the carpenters, £0 1s 8d 1 log line for the Castle, £0 0s 11d 2 lines of size 4 for the masons, £0 0s 9½d 1 whipcord for the marshal, £0 2s 10½d Lines total, £0 6s 3d General charges total, £70 17s 8d The storekeeper then entered the stores issued to the diet account from 1 October to 31 December 1763. 8 hundredweight 2 quarters 18 pounds of flour, £6 1s 3d Beef and pork: 35 pieces of salt pork, £3 10s 0d 2 barrels of salt beef, £2 8s 3d Beef and pork total, £5 18s 3d 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 16 pounds of rice, £1 7s 10d 66 gallons of arrack, £10 10s 4d 4 bushels of salt, £0 12s 8d Tea: 8 pounds of congou tea, £0 10s 0d 2 pounds of singlo tea, £0 2s 6d Tea total, £0 12s 6d Sugar and sugar candy: 30 pounds of sugar, £0 8s 9d 316 pounds of sugar candy, £6 11s 8d Sugar and sugar candy total, £7 0s 5d 10 pounds of coffee, £0 8s 4d ½ bushel of pease, £0 4s 3d Diet account total, £32 15s 10d **Interpretations** The whipcord issued to the marshal was the cord for the lash used in floggings. The marshal carried out sentences of corporal punishment on soldiers and slaves, and the issue appears in the same quarter as the timber for a new whipping post. The two entries together show the Company equipping the machinery of punishment from its ordinary stores, with the cost charged to general expenses like any other public work. The iron and steel went to make wedges and jumpers, the latter being long iron bars tipped with steel that masons drove into rock with hammers to bore holes for blasting charges. They were the tools behind the powder used to blast limestone at Rupert's in November and December 1763, and the steel gave a hard cutting edge that iron alone could not hold. The sheep shearers received salt pork, rice and sugar as well as the arrack drams recorded on the previous page. Shearing was seasonal work done by men drawn from other duties, and feeding them at the Company's cost was part of the reward for the task. The diet account was separate from general charges and covered provisions consumed at the Company's expense by those it fed directly, chiefly the Governor's household and table. The large quantity of sugar candy, 316 pounds in a quarter, reflects its use for sweetening tea, punch and cooking at the Castle, where the arrack and tea on the same account were also served.
152	148	16th January Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Twine 6 Skains £0 3s 1d Canvas 138 Yards English £7 9s 6d	The storekeeper then entered the stores issued to the garrison from 1 October to 31 December 1763. 6 skeins of twine, £0 3s 1d 138 yards of English canvas for cots, £7 9s 6d Nails for cots: 4 pounds of 2d nails, £1 8s 10½d 24 pounds of 3d nails, £0 17s 0d

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		Nails vizt 4 lb 2 for Cots £1 8s 10½d 24 3 £0 17s 0d 3 4 £0 1s 9d 6 6 £0 3s 1½d ½ Tack for Drums £0 0s 7d £2 11s 4d Iron Ware vizt 1 Sm. Fr. Pan for the 3 Company £0 2s 6d 2 Hd Hatchet Helves for Sandy Bay Gd £0 0s 7d 2 Large Fr. Pans 2 Compy & Sandy Bay £0 6s 8d 2 Hd Hatchets 4 Compy & Prospt Bay £0 3s 5d 1 Helve for the Cooks at the Main Fort £0 0s 7½d 1 Maul for Banks's Guard for Splitg their Wood with Wedges £0 8s 2½d 2 Stock locks Turk Cap and Sandy Bay £0 5s 5d £1 7s 5d Tin Ware 3 Lamps for the 3 Company £0 3s 4d Oil 140 Galls Train for the Sevl Guards £26 16s 8d Tea 97 lb Bohea £4 0s 10d Deals vizt 8 Doubles for Cots £1 4s 4d 3 2/3 Baulks for Do £1 12s 4d £2 16s 8d Lines vizt 18 3 for Whips £0 5s 9d 24 2 £0 6s 8d 2 Hambro Prosperous Bay Gd & Brad £0 2s 8d £0 15s 1d Paint vizt 24 Whiting to Clean their £0 0s 6½d 10 Yell. Oaker dry Accoutrements £0 1s 10½d £0 2s 5d Soldiers Cloths vizt 1 Mattrosses Coat & Breeches £2 2s 6d 1 Centinels Do & Do £1 9s 4d £3 11s 10d Carried over £49 18s 2d	3 pounds of 4d nails, £0 1s 9d 6 pounds of 6d nails, £0 3s 1½d ½ pound of tacks for drums, £0 0s 7d Nails total, £2 11s 4d Ironware: 1 small frying pan for the 3rd Company, £0 2s 6d 2 hand hatchet handles for the Sandy Bay guard, £0 0s 7d 2 large frying pans for the 2nd Company and Sandy Bay, £0 6s 8d 2 hand hatchets for the 4th Company and Prosperous Bay, £0 3s 5d 1 tool handle for the cook at the Main Fort, £0 0s 7½d 1 maul for Banks's guard for splitting firewood with wedges, £0 8s 2½d 2 stock locks for Turk's Cap and Sandy Bay, £0 5s 5d Ironware total, £1 7s 5d 3 tin lamps for the 3rd Company, £0 3s 4d 140 gallons of train oil for the guards, £26 16s 8d 97 pounds of bohea tea for the guards, £4 0s 10d Timber: 8 double deals for cots, £1 4s 4d 3⅔ baulks for cots, £1 12s 4d Timber total, £2 16s 8d Lines: 18 lines of size 3 for hoisting whips, £0 5s 9d 24 lines of size 2 for hoisting whips, £0 6s 8d 2 hamber lines for the Prosperous Bay guard and boat, £0 2s 8d Lines total, £0 15s 1d Paint for cleaning the soldiers' equipment: 24 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 6½d 10 pounds of dry yellow ochre, £0 1s 10½d Paint total, £0 2s 5d Soldiers' clothing: 1 matross's coat and breeches, £2 2s 6d 1 private soldier's coat and breeches, £1 9s 4d Soldiers' clothing total, £3 11s 10d Carried forward, £49 18s 2d **Interpretations** The issue of 97 pounds of bohea tea to the guards in a single quarter shows tea already serving as a regular ration for soldiers on duty at St Helena. In England at this date tea was still heavily taxed and was not issued to the army, whose men were given beer. On the island, where tea reached the Company direct from China at a fraction of the English price, it was cheap enough to hand out to men standing watch at night on the exposed batteries. The practice anticipated by several decades the later adoption of tea as a standard ration in the British forces. The train oil was by far the costliest item on the page at £26 16s 8d. It fuelled the lamps that burned through the night at every guard post and battery, part of the constant readiness that also consumed the slow match recorded in the gunner's accounts. The allocations to named posts, among them Sandy Bay, Prosperous Bay, Turk's Cap, Banks's and the Main Fort, trace the ring of guards maintained around the coast. Cots were hanging canvas beds slung from wooden frames, the standard sleeping arrangement in barracks and aboard ship. The canvas, deals, baulks and nails were issued together to make up a new batch. Whiting and yellow ochre served to clean and colour the soldiers' leather belts and pouches: whiting whitened them, while ochre gave buff leather its yellow tone. The whips were light hoisting tackles of a single block and rope, used at the batteries to raise stores and shot up the cliffs, and hamber line was a small, tightly laid cord used for lashings and boat work.

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153	149	1764 Brought over £49 18s 2d Hats 2 Centinels £0 5s 8d Shoes 2 Prs Ordinary £0 8s 0d Shirts vizt 2 Soldiers Shirts £0 9s 2d 2 Rolers £0 1s 3d £0 10s 5d Hosrs Ware 2 Prs Thd Stockings £0 5s 8d Blankets 3 £0 15s 0d Iron Pots vizt 1 of 2 Galls £0 2s 6d 1 of 1 Do £0 2s 2d £0 4s 8d Arrack 22½ Galls for Drams on Mustering £3 11s 8d Turners Ware 2 Birch Brooms for the Cook at the Main Fort £0 0s 10d £56 0s 1d Black Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Sugar 170 £2 9s 7d Flour 51 £0 6s 9d Tea 87½ Bohea £2 7s 11d Oil 2 Gallons Train £0 7s 8d Rice 86. 1. 7 £35 6s 5d Beef and Pork vizt 259 Ps F Pork £21 17s 1d 139 Ps F Beef £15 7s 0d 426 Ps Eng Pork £67 0s 1d 199 Ps E Beef £41 0s 10d £145 5s 0d Pewter 1 Close Stool Pan for the Sick £0 4s 9d Arrack 2½ Galls £0 7s 11d Long Cloth 3 Ps No 7 for Lying in Women £1 0s 6d Shoes 25 Prs Mens Ordinary for the Handycraftmen £5 0s 0d Blankets 40 £10 0s 0d Hooks and Lines vizt 25 No 2 £0 0s 9d 50 3 Hooks for the Fishingmen £0 0s 11d 18 2 Lines £0 5s 0d £0 6s 8d Carried over £263 3s 2d	The garrison's account for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £49 18s 2d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £49 18s 2d 2 private soldiers' hats, £0 5s 8d 2 pairs of ordinary shoes, £0 8s 0d Shirts: 2 soldiers' shirts, £0 9s 2d 2 roller towels, £0 1s 3d Shirts total, £0 10s 5d 2 pairs of thread stockings, £0 5s 8d 3 blankets, £0 15s 0d Iron pots: 1 two-gallon iron pot, £0 2s 6d 1 one-gallon iron pot, £0 2s 2d Iron pots total, £0 4s 8d 22½ gallons of arrack for drams at musters, £3 11s 8d 2 birch brooms for the cook at the Main Fort, £0 0s 10d Garrison account total, £56 0s 1d The storekeeper then entered the stores issued for the Company's slaves from 1 October to 31 December 1763. 170 pounds of sugar, £2 9s 7d 51 pounds of flour, £0 6s 9d 67½ pounds of bohea tea, £2 7s 11d 2 gallons of train oil, £0 7s 8d 86 hundredweight 3 quarters 7 pounds of rice, £35 6s 5d Beef and pork: 259 pieces of Irish salt pork, £21 17s 1d 139 pieces of Irish salt beef, £15 7s 0d 426 pieces of English salt pork, £67 0s 1d 199 pieces of English salt beef, £41 0s 10d Beef and pork total, £145 5s 0d 1 pewter close-stool pan for the sick, £0 4s 9d 2½ gallons of arrack, £0 7s 11d 3 pieces of grade 7 long cloth for women in childbirth, £1 0s 6d 25 pairs of men's ordinary shoes for the craftsmen, £5 0s 0d 40 blankets, £10 0s 0d Fish hooks and lines for the fishermen: 25 fish hooks of size 2, £0 0s 9d 50 fish hooks of size 3, £0 0s 11d 18 fishing lines of size 2, £0 5s 0d Fish hooks and lines total, £0 6s 8d Carried forward, £263 3s 2d **Interpretations** The account shows what the Company's slaves received beyond the yams recorded in the plantation's monthly returns. Rice and salt meat were the main additions, with over four tons of rice and more than 1,000 pieces of salt beef and pork issued in the quarter. The meat came from both Ireland and England, and the Irish provisions, packed in Cork and shipped widely to Atlantic plantations, were the cheaper of the two. The large issue of rice fits the sharp fall in yams issued to the slaves in December 1763, when rice from the stores perhaps made up the shortfall. The issues also reveal distinctions among the slaves. Only the craftsmen, the skilled carpenters, masons and smiths among them, received shoes, while the field workers were left to go barefoot. The fishermen were equipped with hooks and lines because fishing was one of the tasks the Company assigned to its slaves, supplying fish for its own tables and rations. The long cloth issued for women in childbirth provided wrappings and bedding for mothers and newborn infants. Such provision was in the Company's interest, since every child born to a slave became its property and added to its workforce. The arrack given as drams at musters was the traditional reward when the garrison paraded for

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			inspection. The roller towels listed with the shirts were long towels sewn into a loop and hung on a wooden roller.
154	150	16th January Brought over £203 3s 2d Twine 1 Skain for the Fishing men £0 0s 6d Deals 7 Single to repr their Houses £0 13s 10d Nails vizt 4 lb 4 to repr their Houses £0 2s 4d 5 6 £0 2s 7½d 2 10 £0 0s 10½d £0 5s 10d Iron Pots vizt 3 of 8 Gallons £1 7s 0d 1 of 2 Gallons £0 2s 6d £1 9s 6d Iron Ware 2 Stock Locks £0 5s 5d £205 18s 3d Mallay Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Beef 16 Pieces £3 6s 0d Rice 1. 2. 24 £0 14s 3d Sugar 32 lb £0 9s 4d Arrack 4 Gallons £0 12s 9d Flour 12 lb £0 1s 6d Tea 4 lb Bohea £0 3s 4d Oil vizt 1 Gall Train £0 3s 10d 1 Bott. Florence £0 2s 10d £0 6s 8d Broad Cloth 1¼ yds Scarlet £1 13s 11d Haberdashery vizt 2 Sks Silk £0 0s 5d 2 Sks Mohair £0 0s 9d 3 Doz. Mohair Bt Buttons £0 1s 0d £0 2s 2d Buckram 1 Yd £0 0s 10d Iron Ware vizt 1 Wood Ax £0 2s 9d 1 Helve £0 0s 7d £0 3s 4d Turners Ware 1 Cloth Brush £0 1s 4d Carried over £7 15s 5d	The account of stores issued for the Company's slaves during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £203 3s 2d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £203 3s 2d 1 skein of twine for the fishermen, £0 0s 6d 7 single deals to repair their houses, £0 13s 10d Nails to repair their houses: 4 pounds of 4d nails, £0 2s 4d 5 pounds of 6d nails, £0 2s 7½d 2 pounds of 10d nails, £0 0s 10½d Nails total, £0 5s 10d Iron pots: 3 eight-gallon iron pots, £1 7s 0d 1 two-gallon iron pot, £0 2s 6d Iron pots total, £1 9s 6d 2 stock locks, £0 5s 5d Slaves' account total, £205 18s 3d The storekeeper then entered the stores issued to the account headed "Mallay" from 1 October to 31 December 1763. 6 pieces of salt beef, £3 6s 0d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 24 pounds of rice, £0 14s 3d 32 pounds of sugar, £0 9s 4d 4 gallons of arrack, £0 12s 9d 12 pounds of flour, £0 1s 6d 4 pounds of bohea tea, £0 3s 4d Oil: 1 gallon of train oil, £0 3s 10d 1 bottle of Florence oil, £0 2s 10d Oil total, £0 6s 8d 1¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £1 13s 11d Haberdashery: 2 skeins of silk thread, £0 0s 5d 2 skeins of mohair thread, £0 0s 9d 3 dozen mohair waistcoat buttons, £0 1s 0d Haberdashery total, £0 2s 2d 1 yard of buckram, £0 0s 10d Ironware: 1 wood axe, £0 2s 9d 1 axe handle, £0 0s 7d Ironware total, £0 3s 4d 1 clothes brush, £0 1s 4d Carried forward, £7 15s 5d **Interpretations** The slaves' account included materials for their own housing, with deals and nails issued to repair their houses and large iron pots for cooking in common. The Company thus met the basic costs of shelter and food preparation for the people it owned, charging them to a separate account so that the cost of maintaining its slave workforce could be seen as a whole. Over the quarter that cost came to £205 18s 3d, before the yams grown on its own plantation were counted. The account headed "Mallay" was kept apart from both the garrison and the slaves. The record does not say who it covered, but the name suggests a Malay, perhaps an individual or small group from the East maintained at the Company's expense. The goods issued, which included scarlet broadcloth, silk, buttons and buckram for a tailored coat along with tea, sugar and arrack, point to someone supported at a standard well above that of the Company's slaves.
155	151	1764 Brought over £7 15s 5d Shirts 1½ Brown Holland £0 2s 9d	The account headed "Mallay" for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £7 15s 5d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £7 15s 5d 1½ yards of brown holland for shirts, £0 2s 9d

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		Hosiers Ware 2 Prs Cotton Stockings £0 14s 4d Shalloon 1¾ yds Scarlet £0 2s 4d Salt ¼ Bushel £0 0s 9d Pepper 1 lb £0 0s 6d Shoes 1 Pr Ordinary £0 4s 0d Sope 8 lb £0 5s 2d £9 5s 3d Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Iron Ware vizt 16 Helves for the Plantations £0 9s 8d 4 Garden Hoes for Do £0 5s 4d 1 Scythe Stone for the Mowers £0 0s 3d 3 Hand Hatchets for the Pastures £0 5s 1d 5 Prs Sheep Sheers £0 8s 9d 1 Spring Rat Trap for the Molding Garden £0 1s 6d 1 Wire Do £0 5s 6d £1 16s 1d Deals vizt ½ Baulk for the Great Wood gate Posts £0 4s 5d 3 S Deals to repr the Roof of the Old Plantation House £0 5s 11d 3 Coffins for Do and Carts £0 12s 3d £1 2s 7d Tar 5½ Gallons for Carts and Gate Posts £0 3s 11d Rice and Paddy vizt 13. 24 Rice for Horses & Poultry £0 8s 0d 56. 7 Paddy Do £10 3s 2d £10 11s 2d Nails vizt 1 3 to repr the Roof of the Old £0 0s 8½d 9 6 Plantation House Black £0 5s 2¾d 7 10 House in the wood, and making £0 3s 5¾d 13 20 and repairg Gates £0 4s 10½d 11 40 £0 3s 8d ½ Glz Brads £0 0s 10½d £0 18s 3d Carried over £14 12s 0d	2 pairs of cotton stockings, £0 14s 4d 1¼ yards of scarlet shalloon, £0 2s 4d ¼ bushel of salt, £0 0s 9d 1 pound of pepper, £0 0s 6d 1 pair of ordinary shoes, £0 4s 0d 8 pounds of soap, £0 5s 2d Account total, £9 5s 3d The storekeeper then entered the stores issued to the Company's plantation from 1 October to 31 December 1763. Ironware: 16 tool handles for the plantations, £0 9s 8d 4 garden hoes for the plantations, £0 5s 4d 1 scythe stone for the mowers, £0 0s 3d 3 hand hatchets for the pastures, £0 5s 1d 5 pairs of sheep shears, £0 8s 9d 1 spring rat trap for the [...] garden, £0 1s 6d 1 wire rat trap for the [...] garden, £0 5s 6d Ironware total, £1 16s 1d Timber: ½ baulk for the posts of the Great Wood gate, £0 4s 5d 3 single deals to repair the roof of the old plantation house, £0 5s 11d 3 rafters for the old plantation house roof and for carts, £0 12s 3d Timber total, £1 2s 7d 5½ gallons of tar for carts and gateposts, £0 3s 11d Rice and paddy for the horses and poultry: 3 quarters 24 pounds of rice, £0 8s 0d 56 hundredweight 7 pounds of paddy, £10 3s 2d Rice and paddy total, £10 11s 2d Nails to repair the roof of the old plantation house and the slaves' house in the Great Wood and to make and repair gates: 1 pound of 3d nails, £0 0s 8½d 9 pounds of 6d nails, £0 5s 0¾d 7 pounds of 10d nails, £0 3s 0¾d 13 pounds of 20d nails, £0 4s 10½d 11 pounds of 40d nails, £0 3s 8d ½ pound of glazing brads, £0 0s 10½d Nails total, £0 18s 3d Carried forward, £14 12s 0d **Interpretations** The plantation fed its horses and poultry on rice and paddy, drawing more than 2½ tons of unhusked rice in a single quarter at a cost of over £10. In England horses were kept on oats and hay and poultry on barley or kitchen scraps, but St Helena grew little grain and imported Asian rice was the cheapest feed to hand. Paddy suited the purpose because it kept well and needed no milling, and it formed the largest single cost of the plantation's stores for the quarter. The rat traps point to a persistent pest problem. Rats had come ashore from ships and multiplied on the island, attacking crops, stored grain and young poultry, and the Company fought them in its gardens with spring and wire traps as well as by encouraging the killing of wild cats and other vermin. The house for the slaves in the Great Wood shows that the Company quartered its plantation workers in buildings close to where they worked. Repairs to its roof were charged to the plantation account, alongside those to the old plantation house and the gates that enclosed the Company's pastures.
156	152	16th January Brought over £14 12s 0d Paint vizt 6 Ven. Red mixed to paint Gates in £0 2s 9d 41 Whiting the Pastures £0 0s 10d	The plantation account for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £14 12s 0d brought forward. The paint went to the gates in the pastures and the seats in the garden. Balance brought forward, £14 12s 0d Paint: 6 pounds of mixed Venetian red, £0 2s 9d 41 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 10d

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		12 White Lead mixed Seats in the £0 4s 6d 2 Barl Black Garden £0 1s 1d £0 9s 2d Oil vizt 2¼ Gs Linseed for Painting £0 8s 7½d 1¾ Gs Train for the Oxen in the Wood and to rub mangy Hogs £0 6s 8½d £0 15s 4d Glass Ware vizt 1 Sq 8 by 10 to repair the Windows in £0 0s 7¼d 5 Do 10 by 12 the Great Wood House £0 4s 2d 2 Do 6 by 8 to repair the Plantation £0 0s 6½d 10 Do 10½ by 12½ House Windows £0 12s 1¼d £0 17s 5d Turners Ware vizt 4 Ps Ox Bows for the Oxen £0 11s 0d 2½ Pr Yoaks £4 9s 8d 1 Plaisterers Brush for the Plantn £0 1s 1d 1 Paint Do House £0 0s 6d 1 Tray for the Great Wood £0 3s 7d £5 5s 10d Arrack 1 Gallon for the breaking Sugar 2 lb the Oxen £0 3s 2d £0 0s 7d Cordage 48¼ to thatch the Stable breakg the Oxen and ye Cask on a Cart for Water £0 17s 1d Cutlery Ware 12 Butchers Knives for the Plantn at Sandy Bay £0 5s 3d Iron 26 lb to make Pickaxes for the Plantations £0 5s 5d £23 11s 3d	12 pounds of mixed white lead, £0 4s 6d 2 barrels of blacking, £0 1s 1d Paint total, £0 9s 2d Oil: 2¼ gallons of linseed oil for painting, £0 8s 7½d 1¼ gallons of train oil for the oxen in the Great Wood and for rubbing pigs with mange, £0 6s 8½d Oil total, £0 15s 4d Glassware: 1 window pane, 8 by 10 inches, to repair the windows of the Great Wood house, £0 0s 7¼d 5 window panes, 10 by 12 inches, to repair the windows of the Great Wood house, £0 4s 2d 2 window panes, 6 by 8 inches, to repair the windows of the plantation house, £0 0s 6½d 10 window panes, 10½ by 12½ inches, to repair the windows of the plantation house, £0 12s 1¼d Glassware total, £0 17s 5d Turned and wooden ware: 4 pairs of ox bows for the oxen, £0 11s 0d 2½ pairs of ox yokes for the oxen, £4 9s 8d 1 plasterer's brush for the plantation house, £0 1s 1d 1 paint brush for the plantation house, £0 0s 6d 1 tray for the Great Wood, £0 3s 7d Turned and wooden ware total, £5 5s 10d 1 gallon of arrack for the men breaking in the oxen, £0 3s 2d 2 pounds of sugar for the men breaking in the oxen, £0 0s 7d 48¼ pounds of cordage to thatch the stable, break in the oxen and tie a water cask to a post, £0 17s 1d 12 butcher's knives for the plantation at Sandy Bay, £0 5s 3d 26 pounds of iron to make pickaxes for the plantations, £0 5s 5d Plantation account total, £23 11s 3d **Interpretations** Breaking in oxen meant training young steers to accept the yoke and pull as a team, heavy and dangerous work that could take weeks. The arrack and sugar issued for it were the makings of punch, given to the men as a reward in the same way as the drams for launching the longboat and shearing the sheep. The cordage served to rope the animals while they were trained. The new yokes and bows recorded on the same page, at almost £4 10s 0d, show the Company investing in its draught teams, which hauled timber, stone and supplies over the island's steep roads. Train oil was the standard remedy for mange in pigs, rubbed into the skin to smother the mites that caused it. The oil for the oxen in the Great Wood was perhaps used to dress their necks and shoulders against galling by the yoke. Both uses show how the plantation's livestock were doctored with whatever the Company's stores could supply. The butcher's knives for the plantation at Sandy Bay show that the Company worked a second holding there as well as its main plantation and the Great Wood, and that animals were slaughtered on the spot. Cordage used for thatching tied bundles of straw or grass to the roof timbers of the stable, a cheaper covering than the imported deals used for the plantation house.
157	153	1764 Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Deals 6 Elm Boards £2 0s 6d 1 Elm Plank of 4 Inr to repr the Long Boat £0 17s 6d 1 Wainscot Board	The storekeeper then entered the stores issued for the Company's boats from 1 October to 31 December 1763. The timber went to repair the longboat. Timber: 6 elm boards, £2 0s 6d 1 elm plank, 4 inches thick, £0 17s 6d 1 wainscot board, £0 6s 9d 4 single deals, £0 7s 11d

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		£0 6s 9d 4 Single Deals £0 7s 11d £3 12s 8d Nails vizt 1½ 2 £0 1s 0½d 1 3 £0 0s 8½d 1 4 £0 0s 7d 13 6 to repr the Long Boat & Pinnace £0 6s 9½d 7 10 £0 3s 0½d 19 20 £0 7s 1½d 3 40 £0 1s 0d 6 Deck Nails £0 2s 7½d £1 2s 11d Oil vizt ¾ Galls Train £0 2s 10½d 2¾ Galls Linseed £0 10s 6½d £0 13s 5d Pitch & Tar vizt 27 Galls Tar £1 0s 3d 1 Barl 12 lb Pitch £1 17s 9d 6 Rozin £0 1s 0d 6 Turpentine £0 1s 0d £3 0s 0d Paint vizt 34 lb Ven Red dry £0 7s 1d 10 Ven Red mixed to paint the Pinnace £0 4s 7d 2 Red Lead £0 0s 5d Paint Carried over £0 12s 1d Carried over £8 9s 0d	Timber total, £3 12s 8d The nails went to repair the longboat and the pinnace. Nails: 1½ pounds of 2d nails, £0 1s 0½d 1 pound of 3d nails, £0 0s 8½d 1 pound of 4d nails, £0 0s 7d 13 pounds of 6d nails, £0 6s 9½d 7 pounds of 10d nails, £0 3s 0½d 19 pounds of 20d nails, £0 7s 1½d 3 pounds of 40d nails, £0 1s 0d 6 pounds of deck nails, £0 2s 7½d Nails total, £1 2s 11d Oil: ¾ gallon of train oil, £0 2s 10½d 2¾ gallons of linseed oil, £0 10s 6½d Oil total, £0 13s 5d Pitch and tar: 27 gallons of tar, £1 0s 3d 1 barrel and 12 pounds of pitch, £1 17s 9d 6 pounds of rosin, £0 1s 0d 6 pounds of turpentine, £0 1s 0d Pitch and tar total, £3 0s 0d The paint went to the pinnace. Paint: 34 pounds of dry Venetian red, £0 7s 1d 10 pounds of mixed Venetian red, £0 4s 7d 2 pounds of red lead, £0 0s 5d Paint carried forward, £0 12s 1d Carried forward, £8 9s 0d **Interpretations** The longboat and the pinnace were the Company's working boats in James Bay, where there was no harbour and ships lay at anchor offshore. The longboat was a heavy, broad-beamed boat for landing stores, water casks and guns through the surf, and its hard use explains why it needed six elm boards and a thick elm plank in a single quarter. The pinnace was a lighter, faster rowing boat used to carry officials and messages to ships in the road. Elm was chosen for the longboat's repairs because it lasts well when kept constantly wet, making it the usual timber for planking below the waterline. Deck nails were long, square-shanked nails with flat heads, driven through deck planks into the beams beneath. The pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine were mixed and applied hot to seal the seams after caulking, and the Venetian red and red lead gave the pinnace a protective coat of paint.
158	154	16th January Brought over £8 9s 0d Paint brought over £0 12s 1d 12 lb W. Red mixed to Paint the £0 4s 6d 2 Yellow Oaker dry Pinnace £0 0s 4d 2 Chocolate £0 1s 2d £0 18s 1d Oars 9 £1 15s 1d Turners Ware 2 Birch Brooms £0 0s 10d Lead 4 lb Sheet £0 0s 9d Cordage 38 lb For the fishing Yaul £1 0s 6d Twine 1 Skain to mend Sails £0 0s 6d £12 4s 9d	The account of stores issued for the Company's boats during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £8 9s 0d brought forward. The paint went to the pinnace. Balance brought forward, £8 9s 0d Paint: Paint brought forward, £0 12s 1d 12 pounds of mixed white lead, £0 4s 6d 2 pounds of dry yellow ochre, £0 0s 4d 2 pounds of chocolate-coloured paint, £0 1s 2d Paint total, £0 18s 1d 9 oars, £1 15s 1d 2 birch brooms, £0 0s 10d 4 pounds of sheet lead, £0 0s 9d 38 pounds of cordage for the fishing yawl, £1 0s 6d 1 skein of twine to mend sails, £0 0s 6d Boats account total, £12 4s 9d **Interpretations** The fishing yawl was the Company's own fishing boat, rigged for sail as well as oars, and the cordage and sail twine kept it in working order. It was crewed by the slave fishermen supplied with hooks and lines on the slaves' account, so the Company equipped both the boat and the men who worked it, drawing

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			on the sea to feed its household, garrison and workforce.
159	155	1764 Fortifications Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 Octr to the 31st Decembr 1763 vizt Paint vizt 127 lb White Lead mixed £2 7s 7½d 2 Copperas to Paint Gun Carriages £0 1s 11d 43 Barl Blackg £1 3s 3½d 22 Whiting £0 0s 5½d 1 Umber £0 0s 3½d £3 13s 7d Oil 12½ Gal Linseed £2 7s 11d Turners Ware 4 Paint Brushes to Paint Gun Carrs £0 2s 0d Cordage 5½ for hallyards for Banks's Flag £0 1s 11d Deals vizt 18 Double £2 14s 9d 4 Single to repair Sandy Bay £0 7s 11d £3 2s 8d Nails vizt Guard House 4 10 £0 1s 9d 4 6 £0 2s 1d £0 3s 10d Thread 1 lb Coloured to make Cartridges £0 3s 3d Twine 2 Skains £0 1s 0d £9 16s 2d Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Sugar 398 lb £5 16s 1d Flour 398 £2 9s 9d Oil 13 Gallons Train £2 9s 10d Salt 1 Bushel £0 3s 2d Tea 8 lb Bohea £0 6s 8d Rice 5. 1. 12 £2 4s 0d Twine ¾ Cotton Yarn £0 2s 1d Tin Ware 1 Quart Sauce Pan £0 0s 5d £13 12s 0d	The storekeeper then entered the stores issued for the fortifications from 1 October to 31 December 1763. The paint, oil and brushes went to painting the gun carriages. Paint: 127 pounds of mixed white lead, £2 7s 7½d 2 pounds of copperas, £0 1s 11d 43 barrels of blacking, £1 3s 3½d 22 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 5½d 1 pound of umber, £0 0s 3½d Paint total, £3 13s 7d 12½ gallons of linseed oil, £2 7s 11d 4 paint brushes, £0 2s 0d 5½ pounds of cordage for halyards for the flag at Banks's, £0 1s 11d The timber and nails went to repair the Sandy Bay guard house. Timber: 18 double deals, £2 14s 9d 4 single deals, £0 7s 11d Timber total, £3 2s 8d Nails: 4 pounds of 10d nails, £0 1s 9d 4 pounds of 6d nails, £0 2s 1d Nails total, £0 3s 10d 1 pound of coloured thread for making cartridges, £0 3s 3d 2 skeins of twine for making cartridges, £0 1s 0d Fortifications account total, £9 16s 2d The storekeeper next entered the stores issued to the hospital over the same period. 398 pounds of sugar, £5 16s 1d 398 pounds of flour, £2 9s 9d 13 gallons of train oil, £2 9s 10d 1 bushel of salt, £0 3s 2d 8 pounds of bohea tea, £0 6s 8d 5 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 pounds of rice, £2 4s 0d ¼ pound of cotton yarn, £0 2s 1d 1 quart saucepan, £0 0s 5d Hospital account total, £13 12s 0d **Interpretations** The hospital's stores show what the sick were given in place of the ordinary ration of salt meat. Sugar, flour, rice and tea were the basis of a light diet of gruels, puddings, sweetened drinks and broths thought suitable for fevers and wounds, and none of the salt beef or pork issued to the garrison and slaves appears in the hospital's account. The sugar alone, at 398 pounds in a quarter, was more than twice the amount issued to the Company's whole slave workforce. The train oil lit the wards through the night, and the cotton yarn was perhaps for lamp wicks or for dressings. Painting the gun carriages protected their wooden frames and wheels from rot, since a carriage that failed under the recoil of the gun made the gun itself useless. The halyards for the flag at Banks's served the signal staff there, where flags were hoisted to pass warning of approaching ships along the chain of lookouts to the Castle.
160	156	16th January Mercury Snow Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Deals vizt 7 Single £0 13s 9d 3 Coffins £0 12s 3d 3 Wainscot Boards £1 0s 3d 1 Elm Board	The storekeeper then entered the stores issued to the snow *Mercury* from 1 October to 31 December 1763. Timber: 7 single deals, £0 13s 9d 3 rafters, £0 12s 3d 3 wainscot boards, £1 0s 3d 1 elm board, £0 6s 9d Timber total, £2 13s 0d 21 pounds of iron, £0 4s 4d Nails:

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		£0 6s 9d £2 13s 0d Iron 21 lb £0 4s 4d Nails vizt 18 lb 6 £0 9s 4½d 2 10 £0 0s 10½d 1 2 £0 0s 8d 5¼ Scupper £0 2s 3d 9 Coopers Rivets £0 4s 1d £0 17s 3d Iron Ware vizt 1 Rag Stone £0 0s 3d 2 Helves £0 1s 2½d 1 Lopping Ax £0 2s 9d 1 Hand Hatchet £0 1s 8½d £0 5s 11d Coals 2 Chaldrons £4 8s 6d Twine vizt 50 Sks Twine £1 5s 6d ½ lb Cotton Wick £0 1s 5d £1 6s 11d Pepper 6 lb £0 3s 0d Lines vizt 6 Log Lines £0 5s 7d 4 Hambro Do £0 5s 4d £0 10s 11d Pitch and Tar vizt 1 Barl Composition £2 8s 7d 20 lb Pitch £0 3s 4d 5 Gallons Tar £0 3s 9d £2 15s 8d Tin Ware 50 Lanthorn Leaves £0 10s 5d Beef 1 Puncheon £12 19s 3d Carried over £26 15s 2d	18 pounds of 6d nails, £0 9s 4½d 2 pounds of 10d nails, £0 0s 10½d 1 pound of 2d nails, £0 0s 8d 5¼ pounds of scupper nails, £0 2s 3d 9 pounds of coopers' rivets, £0 4s 1d Nails total, £0 17s 3d Ironware: 1 rag stone, £0 0s 3d 2 tool handles, £0 1s 2½d 1 lopping axe, £0 2s 9d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 8½d Ironware total, £0 5s 11d 2 chaldrons of coal, £4 8s 6d Twine: 50 skeins of twine, £1 5s 6d ½ pound of cotton candlewick, £0 1s 5d Twine total, £1 6s 11d 6 pounds of pepper, £0 3s 0d Lines: 6 log lines, £0 5s 7d 4 hamber lines, £0 5s 4d Lines total, £0 10s 11d Pitch and tar: 1 barrel of composition, £2 8s 7d 20 pounds of pitch, £0 3s 4d 5 gallons of tar, £0 3s 9d Pitch and tar total, £2 15s 8d 50 lantern panes, £0 10s 5d 1 puncheon of salt beef, £12 19s 3d Carried forward, £26 15s 2d **Interpretations** The *Mercury* drew her supplies on an account of her own, separate from the 40% sales made to the Company's hired ships. She was evidently employed on the Company's own service, carrying goods and men between the Cape and St Helena, and her refit before sailing on 27 November 1763 was charged directly as a Company expense. The stores amounted to a full fitting-out for a voyage, with timber and nails for repairs, composition and tar for her bottom and seams, log lines for navigation and a puncheon of beef to feed her crew. A chaldron was a large measure of coal, varying by port but generally more than a ton. Coal came out from England as ballast and cargo, since the island had no mineral fuel of its own, and the two chaldrons were perhaps for the snow's galley fire and for a forge carried aboard for repairs. A puncheon was a large cask holding around 70 to 80 gallons, packed with salt beef in brine, and a lopping axe was a light long-handled axe for trimming branches and cutting firewood.
161	157	1764 Brought over £26 15s 2d Sugar and Candy vizt 50 Sugar £0 13s 6d 50 Candy £1 0s 10d £1 14s 4d Canvas 9 Bolts English £19 8s 10d Candles 20 lb £1 19s 2d Turners Ware 6 Paint Brushes £0 3s 0d Cordage 14. 18 lb £25 2s 2d Leather 2¼ Sole £0 2s 1d	The account of stores issued to the snow *Mercury* during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £26 15s 2d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £26 15s 2d Sugar and sugar candy: 50 pounds of sugar, £0 13s 6d 50 pounds of sugar candy, £1 0s 10d Sugar and sugar candy total, £1 14s 4d 9 bolts of English canvas, £19 8s 10d 20 pounds of candles, £1 19s 2d 6 paint brushes, £0 3s 0d 14 hundredweight 18 pounds of cordage, £25 2s 2d 2¼ pounds of sole leather, £0 2s 1d Paint: 2 pounds of dry Venetian red, £0 0s 5d 1 pound of dry yellow ochre, £0 0s 2¼d 3 pounds of red lead, £0 0s 7½d 1 barrel of blacking, £0 0s 6¼d

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		Paint vizt 2 Ven Red dry £0 0s 5d 1 Yell Oaker dry £0 0s 2¼d 3 Red Lead £0 0s 7½d 1 Barl Blackg £0 0s 6¼d £0 1s 9d Oil vizt ½ G. Linseed £0 1s 11d ¼ G. Train £0 0s 11d £0 2s 10d Arrack 1½ Gallon £0 4s 9d £75 14s 1d Fly Cutter Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1763 vizt Beef and Pork vizt 1 Puncn Beef £12 19s 3d 1 Hds Pork £9 18s 9d £22 17s 5d Arrack 32 Gallons £5 1s 0d Cordage 185 lb £2 7s 10d Rice and Paddy vizt 5. 2. 12 Rice £2 6s 0d 1. 17 Candy £0 4s 2d £2 10s 2d Glass Ware 2 Sqs 10 by 8 £0 1s 2d Carried over £32 17s 7d	Paint total, £0 1s 9d Oil: ½ gallon of linseed oil, £0 1s 11d ¼ gallon of train oil, £0 0s 11d Oil total, £0 2s 10d 1½ gallons of arrack, £0 4s 9d Account total, £75 14s 1d The storekeeper then entered the stores issued to the cutter *Fly* from 1 October to 31 December 1763. Beef and pork: 1 puncheon of salt beef, £12 19s 3d 1 hogshead of salt pork, £9 18s 2d Beef and pork total, £22 17s 5d 32 gallons of arrack, £5 1s 0d 185 pounds of cordage, £2 7s 10d Rice and paddy: 5 hundredweight 2 quarters 12 pounds of rice, £2 6s 0d 1 hundredweight 17 pounds of paddy, £0 4s 2d Rice and paddy total, £2 10s 2d 2 window panes, 10 by 8 inches, £0 1s 2d Carried forward, £32 17s 7d **Interpretations** The canvas and cordage issued to the *Mercury* amounted to a new suit of sails and much of her running rigging. A bolt of canvas was a roll of standard length, about 39 yards, so nine bolts supplied some 350 yards of sailcloth, while over 14 hundredweight of rope replaced worn lines. Together these two items cost more than £44, well over half her account of £75 14s 1d, and show the heavy wear on a small vessel working the long passage to and from the Cape. A cutter was a small, fast single-masted vessel, handy for carrying messages and cruising off the island. The *Fly* drew mainly victuals, including a puncheon of beef, a hogshead of pork and 32 gallons of arrack, which suggests she was provisioning her crew for a period at sea rather than undergoing a refit. A hogshead was a large cask of around 60 gallons.
162	158	16th January Brought over £32 17s 7d Nails vizt 1 Gl. Brads £0 1s 8¾d 1 4 £0 0s 7d 8 Scupper £0 3s 6d ½ 2 £0 0s 4d 1 10 £0 0s 5¼d 1 3 £0 0s 8d £0 7s 3d Oil 1 Bottle Florence £0 2s 10d Bunting vizt 6 Yards White £0 3s 0d 6 Yards Red £0 4s 1d 4 Yards Blue £0 2s 2d £0 9s 3d Pepper 1 lb £0 0s 6d Iron Ware vizt 1 Helve £0 0s 7¼d 1 Hd Hatchet £0 1s 8½d	The account of stores issued to the cutter *Fly* during the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £32 17s 7d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £32 17s 7d Nails: 1 pound of glazing brads, £0 1s 8¾d 1 pound of 4d nails, £0 0s 7d 8 pounds of scupper nails, £0 3s 6d ½ pound of 2d nails, £0 0s 4d 1 pound of 10d nails, £0 0s 5¼d 1 pound of 3d nails, £0 0s 8d Nails total, £0 7s 3d 1 bottle of Florence oil, £0 2s 10d Bunting: 6 yards of white bunting, £0 3s 0d 6 yards of red bunting, £0 4s 1d 4 yards of blue bunting, £0 2s 2d Bunting total, £0 9s 3d 1 pound of pepper, £0 0s 6d Ironware: 1 tool handle, £0 0s 7¼d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 8½d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 5½d 2 gouges, £0 0s 8½d 1 rasp, £0 0s 8¼d 1 grafting saw, £0 1s 6d 1 taper bit, £0 0s 3½d 1 splinter lock, £0 0s 5½d Ironware total, £0 7s 5d Sugar and sugar candy: 20 pounds of sugar, £0 5s 10d 32 pounds of sugar candy, £0 13s 4d Sugar and sugar candy total, £0 19s 2d Paint:

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		1 Claw Hammer £0 1s 5½d 2 Gouges £0 0s 8½d 1 Rasp £0 0s 8¼d 1 Grafting Saw £0 1s 6d 1 Taper Bit £0 0s 3½d 1 Splinter Lock £0 0s 5½d £0 7s 5d Sugar and Candy vizt 20 Sugar £0 5s 10d 32 Candy £0 13s 4d £0 19s 2d Paint vizt 6 Ven Red mixed £0 0s 5½d 1 Red Lead £0 0s 2½d 20 W. Lead dry £0 5s 10d £0 6s 6d Salt ¼ Bushel £0 0s 9d Turners Ware 1 Mop £0 1s 5d Tar 2¼ Gallons £0 1s 8d Thread 1 lb Coloured £0 3s 3d £35 17s 7d St Helena Errors Excepted 31st Decembr 1763 (signed) J. Powell Storekeepr	6 pounds of mixed Venetian red, £0 0s 5½d 1 pound of red lead, £0 0s 2½d 20 pounds of dry white lead, £0 5s 10d Paint total, £0 6s 6d ¼ bushel of salt, £0 0s 9d 1 mop, £0 1s 5d 2¼ gallons of tar, £0 1s 8d 1 pound of coloured thread, £0 3s 3d Account total, £35 17s 7d J. Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 31 December 1763, adding the customary reservation that any errors were excepted. **Interpretations** The reservation that errors were excepted was a standard formula in 18th-century accounts. It allowed the storekeeper to correct any mistake in arithmetic or entry found later without being held to the figures as final, and it protected him from a charge of false accounting if a slip came to light after the books had gone to London. The Council's approval on 16 January 1764 turned the account into the official record of the quarter's issues, but the formula kept open the possibility of amendment. The red, white and blue bunting was issued to make up flags for the *Fly*, among them perhaps her ensign and the signal flags she needed to communicate with the lookouts and with ships at sea. The small carpenter's tools, including gouges, a rasp, a taper bit for boring tapered holes and a fine grafting saw, equipped her crew for running repairs away from the island.
163	159	1764 List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants on the Island St Helena with their Several Salarys Diet Money &ca for the Quarter commencing the 1st October and ending the 31st December 1763 vizt Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Salary £125 0s 0d Do Allowance for Servants as Usual £31 14s 9d £156 14s 9d John Skottowe Esqr Lieutent Governor Salary £62 10s 0d Do Diet Money £25 0s 0d £87 10s 0d Matthew Purling of Council Salary £15 0s 0d Do Accomptant £17 10s 0d Do Diet Money £15 0s 0d £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Salary £7 10s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £10 0s 0d William Lee Chaplain Salary £25 0s 0d Do Money £15 0s 0d £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett Secretary Salary £17 10s 0d Do Diet Money	The storekeeper's accounts for the quarter were followed by a list of the East India Company's officers and employees at St Helena, with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1763. Governor Hutchinson, salary, £125 0s 0d Governor Hutchinson, the usual allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d Governor Hutchinson, total, £156 14s 9d John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d John Skottowe, diet money, £25 0s 0d John Skottowe, total, £87 10s 0d Matthew Purling, councillor, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, pay as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, total, £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, councillor, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, total, £10 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d William Lee, diet money, £15 0s 0d William Lee, total, £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, total, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Powell, total, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, pay as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d William Wrangham, total, £25 0s 0d

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		£15 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d James Powell Storekeepers Salary £17 10s 0d Do Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d William Wrangham Factor Salary £7 10s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d Do Assistant Storekeeper £5 0s 0d £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham Factor Salary £7 10s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £20 0s 0d Richard Law Factor Salary £7 10s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d Do Assistant to the Governor £10 0s 0d £30 0s 0d Carried over £486 14s 9d	Francis Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, total, £20 0s 0d Richard Law, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Richard Law, diet money, £10 0s 0d Richard Law, house rent, £2 10s 0d Richard Law, pay as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d Richard Law, total, £30 0s 0d Carried forward, £486 14s 9d **Interpretations** The Company paid its civil officers through a basic salary topped up with allowances. Diet money was a cash payment in place of meals at the Company's table, and house rent covered lodging where no Company house was provided. For most officers the allowances were worth more than the salary itself: a factor received £7 10s 0d a quarter in salary but £12 10s 0d in diet money and rent. Additional posts carried their own pay, so that men could raise their income by taking on extra duties, as Purling did as accountant, William Wrangham as assistant storekeeper and Richard Law as assistant to the Governor. Purling's combined pay of £47 10s 0d a quarter made him the third best-paid official on the island. The ranks followed the Company's standard ladder of civil service, with factors as junior officers below the senior posts of secretary and storekeeper and the councillors above them. The Governor's salary of £500 a year, with over £125 more for servants, set him far above everyone else, while Thomas Kirkpatrick's modest £7 10s 0d as councillor probably reflected the fact that he also held a military command paid on a separate list.
164	160	16th January Brought over £486 14s 9d David Alcock Writers Salary £5 0s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £17 10s 0d Britannicus Wright Writers Salary £5 0s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay Surgeon Salary £9 15s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £22 5s 0d John Brichard Surgeon Mate Saly £6 5s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £18 15s 0d Richard Beale Judge Advocate £10 0s 0d Do Schoolmaster £3 8s 3d £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander Overseers £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett	The list of the Company's officers and employees for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £486 14s 9d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £486 14s 9d David Alcock, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d David Alcock, diet money, £10 0s 0d David Alcock, house rent, £2 10s 0d David Alcock, total, £17 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £10 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, total, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Barclay, total, £22 5s 0d John Prichard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Prichard, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Prichard, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Prichard, total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d Richard Beale, total, £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £7 10s 0d Overseers total, £15 0s 0d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d John Bland, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Bland, house rent, £1 10s 0d John Bland, total, £29 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stonemason, salary, £19 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d John Robinson, house rent, £0 15s 0d John Robinson, total, £13 5s 0d Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain, carpenter's mate, £7 10s 0d David Belford, gardener, £10 0s 0d

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		£7 10s 0d £15 0s 0d John Bland Master Masons Salary £17 10s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £1 10s 0d £29 0s 0d Thomas Townsend Stone Mason Salary £19 10s 0d John Robinson Carpenters Salary £12 10s 0d Do House Rent £0 15s 0d £13 5s 0d Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace £10 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain Carpenters Mate £7 10s 0d David Belford Gardener £10 0s 0d James Forbet Cooper £8 15s 0d Michael Frost Clock and Instmt Clean £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Sanderson Groom £2 0s 0d George Straight Armourer £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice Master at Arms £6 5s 0d John Cresswell Patron of the L Boat £7 10s 0d John Price Marshall and Goaler £7 10s 0d William Smith Clerk £5 0s 0d William Moore Steward £7 10s 0d £82 5s 0d Carried over £732 13s 0d	James Forbet, cooper, £8 15s 0d Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Sanderson, groom, £2 0s 0d George Stright, armourer, £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master-at-arms, £6 5s 0d John Cresswell, coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d William Smith, clerk, £5 0s 0d William Moore, steward, £7 10s 0d Total for this group, £82 5s 0d Carried forward, £732 13s 0d **Interpretations** The list shows the Company combining offices to cover the island's needs with few men. Richard Beale served both as judge advocate, the legal officer who prosecuted in courts martial and advised the island's courts, and as schoolmaster. John Price held the posts of marshal and gaoler together, so the same man who kept prisoners in custody carried out the floggings for which whipcord was issued from the stores. Matthew Bazett drew pay as an overseer on top of his post as secretary, and Samuel Alexander, one of John Worrall's executors, was the other overseer. The overseers probably supervised the Company's slaves and labourers at work. Skilled craftsmen were among the best-paid men on the island. Thomas Townsend the stonemason received £19 10s 0d in salary alone, more than the secretary or storekeeper, and John Bland the master mason earned £29 0s 0d with his allowances. Masons were scarce and in constant demand for the forts, lines and public buildings, and the Company had to pay well to keep them. Writers, the most junior grade of the civil service, earned only £5 0s 0d in salary, though diet money tripled their income. The coxswain of the longboat was recorded under the old title of "patron", a term for the master of a small boat borrowed from Mediterranean usage. The clerk of the peace kept the records of the island's courts, and the clock and instrument cleaner maintained the Castle clock and the Company's navigational and surveying instruments.
165	161	1764 Brought over £732 13s 0d First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob Adjutant Salary £22 16s 3d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Serjeants Robert Cager £7 12s 1d John Tull £7 12s 1d John Stewart	The list of the Company's officers and employees for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £732 13s 0d brought forward, followed by the pay of the First Company of the garrison. Balance brought forward, £732 13s 0d First Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Solomon St Maurice, total, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Desfountain, total, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacob, total, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants: Robert Eager, £7 12s 1d John Tull, £7 12s 1d John Stewart, £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £30 8s 4d Corporals: Jonathan Sikes, £5 6s 5½d Silvanus Relfe, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Payne, £5 6s 5½d William Bannester, £5 6s 5½d Corporals total, £21 5s 10d

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		£7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals Jonathan Sykes £5 6s 5½d Silvanus Rolfs £5 6s 5½d Thomas Payne £5 6s 5½d William Bannister £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers Henry Howell £5 6s 5½d Richard Blatfoot £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels John Ware Welch Cadet £7 12s 1d John Allis £3 16s 0½d John Artinstall £3 16s 0½d Hans Ulrick Algaver £3 16s 0½d John Alman £3 16s 0½d John Allen £3 16s 0½d John William Blank £3 16s 0½d Thomas Brewick £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over £34 4s 4½d Carried over £925 9s 5½d	Drummers: Henry Howell, £5 6s 5½d Richard Blatfoot, £5 6s 5½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Private soldiers: John Ware Welch, cadet, £7 12s 1d John Allis, £3 16s 0½d John Arkinstall, £3 16s 0½d Hans Ulrich Algauer, £3 16s 0½d John Alman, £3 16s 0½d John Allen, £3 16s 0½d John William Blank, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Burwick, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £34 4s 4½d Carried forward, £925 9s 5½d **Interpretations** The garrison's officers held civil posts alongside their commands, which confirms how the Company stretched a small establishment. Thomas Kirkpatrick drew £45 12s 6d as captain of the First Company on top of £7 10s 0d as a councillor, explaining the modest figure recorded for him among the civil officers. Solomon St Maurice combined his lieutenancy with the post of master-at-arms, and Phillip Mahoney served as both a sergeant and clerk of the peace. Such doubling gave able men extra income while sparing the Company the cost of separate appointments. A private soldier's pay of £3 16s 0½d for the quarter came to almost 10d a day. In the British army at the same date a private of foot received 8d a day before deductions, so the Company paid its island garrison somewhat more, perhaps to attract and keep men on a remote station with no prospect of leave. Pay was, however, only part of a soldier's living, since he also bought his food and clothing from the Company's stores at the 10% advance. The cadet, John Ware Welch, was a young man of good family serving in the ranks while waiting for a commission, which is why he received sergeant's pay rather than a private's. Names such as Hans Ulrich Algauer and John William Blank point to German or Swiss recruits, a common source of soldiers for the Company's garrisons.
166	162	16th January Brought over £925 9s 5½d Centinels brought over £34 4s 4½d John Brown £3 16s 0½d William Blackman £3 16s 0½d William Baker £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley £3 16s 0½d John Devis £3 16s 0½d David Davis £3 16s 0½d John Dove £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales £3 16s 0½d Adams Evans £3 16s 0½d John Freeim £3 16s 0½d Cornelious Fish £3 16s 0½d	The pay list for the private soldiers of the First Company continued with £925 9s 5½d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £925 9s 5½d Private soldiers brought forward, £34 4s 4½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d William Baker, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0½d Adams Evans, £3 16s 0½d John Finnim, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, £3 16s 0½d William French, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Godby, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, £3 16s 0½d William Hawkes, £3 16s 0½d William Hebert, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, £3 16s 0½d James Hodge, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d George Kebbett, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d William Luke, £3 16s 0½d Charles Lewis, £3 16s 0½d Richard Lawrence, £3 16s 0½d

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		William French £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Godby £3 16s 0½d James Hall £3 16s 0½d William Hawkes £3 16s 0½d William Hebert £3 16s 0½d William Henderson £3 16s 0½d James Hodge £3 16s 0½d William Johnson £3 16s 0½d George Kebbell £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight £3 16s 0½d William Luke £3 16s 0½d Charles Lewis £3 16s 0½d Richard Lawrence £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClaron £3 16s 0½d William Mumford £3 16s 0½d John May £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mar £3 16s 0½d Nathan Newman £3 16s 0½d John Pickering £3 16s 0½d William Pawson £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price £3 16s 0½d Michael Read £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reed £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over £174 17s 4½d Carried over £925 9s 5½d	Duncan McClaron, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d John May, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mar, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d William Pawson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price, £3 16s 0½d Michael Read, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reed, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £174 17s 11d Carried forward, £925 9s 5½d
167	163	1764 Brought over £925 9s 5½d Centinels brought over £174 17s 11d Thomas Roberts £3 16s 0½d William Roebuck £3 16s 0½d William Robinson £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds £3 16s 0½d George Roe £3 16s 0½d William Swaby £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp £3 16s 0½d Henry Souper £3 16s 0½d	The pay list for the private soldiers of the First Company continued with £925 9s 5½d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £925 9s 5½d Private soldiers brought forward, £174 17s 11d Thomas Roberts, £3 16s 0½d William Roebuck, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds, £3 16s 0½d George Roe, £3 16s 0½d William Swaby, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp, £3 16s 0½d Henry Souser, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d John Willingdale, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, £3 16s 0½d William Watkins, £3 16s 0½d

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		John Stewart £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry £3 16s 0½d John Taylor £3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon £3 16s 0½d John Willingdale £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise £3 16s 0½d William Watkins £3 16s 0½d Thomas Warne £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall £3 16s 0½d George Young £3 16s 0½d Richard Younes £3 16s 0½d William Oakes £3 16s 0½d £262 6s 10½d Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Michael Frost Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Serjeants John Bazett £7 12s 1d William Beale £7 12s 1d John Burnham £7 12s 1d William Conquest £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Carried over £1319 0s 11d	Thomas Warne, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, £3 16s 0½d George Young, £3 16s 0½d Richard Younis, £3 16s 0½d William Oakes, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers total, £262 6s 10½d Second Company: Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Michael Frost, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Leech, total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Bazett, £7 12s 1d William Beale, £7 12s 1d John Burnham, £7 12s 1d William Conquest, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £30 8s 4d Carried forward, £1,319 0s 11d **Interpretations** The First Company numbered 68 private soldiers, including the cadet, at a quarterly cost of £262 6s 10½d, and it formed only part of the garrison. The Second Company's officers show the same pattern of combined offices seen earlier: Michael Frost, a lieutenant, was also the clock and instrument cleaner on the civil list. The Bazett name recurs across the establishment, with Henry Bazett as captain of the Second Company, John Bazett as one of its sergeants and Matthew Bazett as secretary and overseer, pointing to a family that held several of the island's posts at once.
168	164	16th January Brought over £1319 0s 11d Corporals William Bell £5 6s 5½d Thomas Wiffington £5 6s 5½d John Forbes £5 6s 5½d William Hayes £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers John Caffyn Died Novr 16th 1763 £2 14s 10d Robert Davis	The list of the Company's officers and employees for the quarter to 31 December 1763 continued with £1,319 0s 11d brought forward, covering the rest of the Second Company. Balance brought forward, £1,319 0s 11d Corporals: William Bell, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Woffington, £5 6s 5½d John Forbes, £5 6s 5½d William Hayes, £5 6s 5½d Corporals total, £21 5s 10d Drummers: John Caffyn, died 16 November 1763, £2 14s 10d Robert Davis, £5 6s 5½d Francis Soane, entered from 17 November 1763, £2 12s 6d

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		£5 6s 5½d Francis Soane Ent Transfy Try Novr 17th 1763 £2 12s 6d £10 13s 9½d Centinels Samuel Alstone £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks £3 16s 0½d William Beckett £3 16s 0½d William Birch £3 16s 0½d William Brooks £3 16s 0½d Peter Brown £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushel £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bury £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bott £3 16s 0½d John Carr £3 16s 0½d Edward Couzens £3 16s 0½d John Cossley Died the 27th Octr 1763 £1 2s 6d Samuel Curd £3 16s 0½d William Clay £3 16s 0½d Thomas Chevorly £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey Transfd by Try Novr 14th 1763 £1 19s 2d John Dobson Ent October 17th 1763 £3 3s 4d Thomas Eastwood £3 16s 0½d Peter Eglestone £3 16s 0½d William Finch £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carrd Over £86 1s 10½d Carried Over £1351 0s 6½d	Drummers total, £10 13s 9½d Private soldiers: Samuel Alstone, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d William Beckett, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Peter Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushel, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Buy, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bott, £3 16s 0½d John Carr, £3 16s 0½d Edward Couzens, £3 16s 0½d John Cosslee, died 27 October 1763, £1 2s 6d Samuel Curd, £3 16s 0½d William Clay, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Chesworth, £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey, [...] 14 November 1763, £1 19s 2d John Dobson, enlisted 17 October 1763, £3 3s 4d Thomas Eastwood, £3 16s 0½d Peter Eglistone, £3 16s 0½d William Finch, £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £86 1s 10½d Carried forward, £1,351 0s 6½d **Interpretations** Pay was reckoned by the day, so a soldier who joined, left or died during the quarter received only the share he had earned. John Cosslee, whose death on 27 October 1763 the Council recorded, was paid £1 2s 6d for the four weeks he served. John Dobson, enlisted on 17 October 1763 with a £5 bounty, drew £3 3s 4d for the remainder of the quarter, and John Caffyn's pay stopped at his death on 16 November 1763. Francis Soane's pay as a drummer began the following day, and he perhaps filled the vacancy Caffyn's death had left. The daily reckoning meant the Company never paid for a man it did not have, and the pay list doubled as a record of every change in the garrison's strength.
169	165	1764 Brought over £1351 0s 6½d Centinels brought over £86 1s 10½d William Frolwood £3 16s 0½d William Fry £3 16s 0½d George Freeman £3 16s 0½d Thomas Greenslade £3 16s 0½d John Goodwall £3 16s 0½d John Hawring	The pay list for the private soldiers of the Second Company continued with £1,351 0s 6½d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £1,351 0s 6½d Private soldiers brought forward, £86 1s 10½d William Fealwood, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, £3 16s 0½d George Freeman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Greenslade, £3 16s 0½d John Goodwall, £3 16s 0½d John Hawring, £3 16s 0½d William Harris senior, £3 16s 0½d William Harris junior, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d John Hawkswood, £3 16s 0½d

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		£3 16s 0½d William Harris Senr £3 16s 0½d William Harris Junr £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding £3 16s 0½d John Hawkswood £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hiles £3 16s 0½d William Hockley £3 16s 0½d Arnold Harrison £3 16s 0½d John Holloway £3 16s 0½d John Holbrook £3 16s 0½d James Hudson £3 16s 0½d James Huxley £3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones £3 16s 0½d William Isharsort £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kittson £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles £3 16s 0½d Edmond Leach £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge £3 16s 0½d Samuel Povey £3 16s 0½d William Pinchen £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips £3 16s 0½d Abraham Reyno £3 16s 0½d Robert Saunders £3 16s 0½d John Strife £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stowers £3 16s 0½d John Slade £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer £3 16s 0½d William Taylor £3 16s 0½d John Tucker £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried Over £230 11s 5½d Carried over £1351 0s 6½d	Samuel Hiles, £3 16s 0½d William Hockley, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Harnson, £3 16s 0½d John Holloway, £3 16s 0½d John Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d James Huxley, £3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, £3 16s 0½d William J[...], £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kittson, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 0½d Edmond Leach, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Povey, £3 16s 0½d William Pinchen, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Reyno, £3 16s 0½d Robert Saunders, £3 16s 0½d John Stripe, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stowers, £3 16s 0½d John Slade, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £230 11s 5½d Carried forward, £1,351 0s 6½d
170	166	16th January Brought over £1351 0s 6½d Centinels brought over £230 11s 5½d Avery Freeman	The pay list for the private soldiers of the Second Company continued with £1,351 0s 6½d brought forward, followed by the Third Company. Balance brought forward, £1,351 0s 6½d Private soldiers brought forward, £230 11s 5½d Avery Truman, £3 16s 0½d

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		£3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell £3 16s 0½d George Watts £3 16s 0½d John Dickenson £3 16s 0½d William Greenough £3 16s 0½d £249 11s 8d Third Company Richard Beale Capt Salary £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d John Bridgwaters Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 5½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Serjeants Roger Wetwan £7 12s 1d George Bazett £7 12s 1d John Robinson £7 12s 1d John Semmen £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals William Hill £5 6s 5½d William Robinson £5 6s 5½d Fisher Gambel £5 6s 5½d John Maurice £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers John Traitts £5 6s 5½d George Garrard £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Richard Ashford £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abbey £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams £3 16s 0½d James Anderson £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried Over £19 0s 2½d Carried over £1763 15s 6½d	Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d George Watts, £3 16s 0½d John Dickenson, £3 16s 0½d William Greenough, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers total, £249 11s 8d Third Company: Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, total, £27 11s 10½d John Bridgwater, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Bridgwater, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Bridgwater, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Bridgwater, total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: Roger Welman, £7 12s 1d George Bazett, £7 12s 1d John Robinson, £7 12s 1d John Simmons, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £30 8s 4d Corporals: William Hill, £5 6s 5½d William Robinson, £5 6s 5½d Fisher Gambel, £5 6s 5½d John Maurice, £5 6s 5½d Corporals total, £21 5s 10d Drummers: John Traitt, £5 6s 5½d George Garrard, £5 6s 5½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Private soldiers: Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abbey, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £19 0s 2½d Carried forward, £1,763 15s 6½d **Interpretations** Richard Beale, captain of the Third Company, was the same man who drew pay on the civil list as judge advocate and schoolmaster. With his captain's salary he received almost £59 for the quarter, making him one of the best-paid men on the island. The Bazett family again appears in strength, with Thomas Bazett as a lieutenant and George Bazett as a sergeant of this company, alongside the Bazetts already serving as captain, sergeant and secretary elsewhere in the establishment.
171	167	1764 Brought over £1763 15s 6½d Centinels brought over £19 0s 2½d Jacob Brill £3 16s 0½d	The pay list for the private soldiers of the Third Company continued with £1,763 15s 6½d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £1,763 15s 6½d Private soldiers brought forward, £19 0s 2½d Jacob Brill, £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls, £3 16s 0½d

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		Mark Balls £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennet £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard £3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorn £3 16s 0½d James Brown £3 16s 0½d James Bottomly £3 16s 0½d John Cripps £3 16s 0½d John Cork £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain £3 16s 0½d William Clifton £3 16s 0½d Baron Delese £3 16s 0½d William Dicks £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey Ent from ye 2 Compy Novr 17th 1763 £1 17s 6d Charles Edgles £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eagle £3 16s 0½d William Foster £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard £3 16s 0½d John Herring £3 16s 0½d Robert Jewhurst £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson £3 16s 0½d James Kemp £3 16s 0½d James Lee £3 16s 0½d Edward Law £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney £3 16s 0½d John Long £3 16s 0½d John Landgridge £3 16s 0½d Edward Lambden £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris £3 16s 0½d William Mason £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over £157 15s 2½d Carried over	Benjamin Bennet, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, £3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorn, £3 16s 0½d James Brown, £3 16s 0½d James Bottomly, £3 16s 0½d John Cripps, £3 16s 0½d John Cork, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d William Clifton, £3 16s 0½d Baron Delefe, £3 16s 0½d William Dicks, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey, joined from the Second Company on 17 November 1763, £1 17s 6d Charles Edgles, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eagle, £3 16s 0½d William Foster, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, £3 16s 0½d Robert Tewhurst, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, £3 16s 0½d James Kemp, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d Edward Law, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lamblin, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, £3 16s 0½d William Mason, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £157 15s 2½d Carried forward, £1,763 15s 6½d **Interpretations** Michael Downey moved from the Second Company to the Third during the quarter, and each company paid him only for the days he served in it. The Second Company's list carried him to 14 November 1763 and the Third took him on from 17 November, so the pay lists tracked a soldier's movements as closely as his enlistment or death. Joseph Chamberlain appears here as a private soldier while the civil list also paid him as carpenter's mate. Soldiers with a trade were set to work on the Company's buildings and fortifications, drawing an extra wage on top of their military pay, which gave the Company a pool of skilled labour without recruiting separate artisans from England.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£1763 15s 6½d	
172	168	16th January Brought over £1763 15s 6½d Centinels brought over £157 5s 2½d Peter Nelson £3 16s 0½d Darby O'Brien £3 16s 0½d John Passwater £3 16s 0½d Thomas Povey £3 16s 0½d Joseph Phillips £3 16s 0½d James Porter £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen £3 16s 0½d William Roberts £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott £3 16s 0½d David Scott £3 16s 0½d John Smith £3 16s 0½d Francis Soane Transfd by ye 2 Compy Novr 16th 1763 £1 19s 2d Thomas Simkins £3 16s 0½d John Thompson £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan £3 16s 0½d John Wibbird £3 16s 0½d John Waters £3 16s 0½d John Ward £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch £3 16s 0½d James York £3 16s 0½d William Yates £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson £3 16s 0½d £250 19s 4½d Fourth Company John Howard Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Carried over £2113 1s 2d	The pay list for the private soldiers of the Third Company continued with £1,763 15s 6½d brought forward, followed by the Fourth Company. Balance brought forward, £1,763 15s 6½d Private soldiers brought forward, £157 15s 2½d Peter Nelson, £3 16s 0½d Darby O'Brien, £3 16s 0½d John Passwater, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Povey, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Phillips, £3 16s 0½d James Porter, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen, £3 16s 0½d William Roberts, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, £3 16s 0½d Francis Soane, transferred to the Second Company on 16 November 1763, £1 19s 2d Thomas Simkins, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d John Wiblet, £3 16s 0½d John Waters, £3 16s 0½d John Ward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch, £3 16s 0½d James York, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers total, £250 19s 4½d Fourth Company: John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Laune, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Henry De Laune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Henry De Laune, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, total, £25 1s 10½d Carried forward, £2,113 1s 2d **Interpretations** Francis Soane served as a private in the Third Company until 16 November 1763, the day the drummer John Caffyn of the Second Company died. He was transferred on that date and entered the Second Company as a drummer from 17 November, so the pay lists show the vacancy being filled within a day by moving a man already in the garrison. A drummer drew £5 6s 5½d a quarter against a private's £3 16s 0½d, so the transfer was also a promotion.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
173	169	1764 Brought over £2113 1s 1½d Serjeants John Flemming £7 12s 1d Thomas Faris £7 12s 1d George Hallesheim £7 12s 1d Richard Wright £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals Christian Hornicle £5 6s 5½d Thomas Bailey £5 6s 5½d John Carey £5 6s 5½d John Simcox £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers George Wills £5 6s 5½d John Smith £5 6s 5d £10 12s 11d Centinels Daniel Armin £3 16s 0½d John Allin £3 16s 0½d George Bennett £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell £3 16s 0½d Michael Brown £3 16s 0½d Jacob Barnard £3 16s 0½d John Brooks £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright £3 16s 0½d George Capeling £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Chandler £3 16s 0½d Henry Cossker £3 16s 0½d James Culsher £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham £3 16s 0½d William Cooksay Discharged Decr 12th 1763 £3 0s 10d Henry Davis £3 16s 0½d John Custone £3 16s 0½d George Green £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding £3 16s 0½d John Gillmore £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried Over £79 1s 8d Carried over £2175 8s 2d	The list of the Fourth Company continued with £2,113 1s 2d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £2,113 1s 2d Sergeants: John Flemming, £7 12s 1d Thomas Farr, £7 12s 1d George Hellesheim, £7 12s 1d Richard Wright, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £30 8s 4d Corporals: Christian Hornicle, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Bailey, £5 6s 5½d John Carey, £5 6s 5½d John Simcox, £5 6s 5½d Corporals total, £21 5s 10d Drummers: George Wills, £5 6s 5½d John Smith, £5 6s 5½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Private soldiers: Daniel Armin, £3 16s 0½d John Allin, £3 16s 0½d George Bennett, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Michael Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Barnard, £3 16s 0½d John Brooks, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Chandler, £3 16s 0½d Henry Cossler, £3 16s 0½d James Culsher, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksey, discharged 12 December 1763, £3 0s 10d Henry Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Custone, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £79 1s 8d Carried forward, £2,175 8s 2d **Interpretations** William Cooksey's pay ran to 12 December 1763, the day the Council granted his petition for discharge on completing his contracted service. His case shows the petition taking effect at once: his name came off the pay list on the date of the Council's order, and he received £3 0s 10d for the 73 days he had served in the quarter.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
174	170	16th January Brought over £2175 8s 2d Centinels brought over £79 1s 8d Christian Greenawald £3 16s 0½d Alexander Groombridge £3 16s 0½d Joseph Gilder £3 16s 0½d Edward Gurnan £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes £3 16s 0½d Henry Havenburg £3 16s 0½d James Hendry £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard £3 16s 0½d John Howston £3 16s 0½d Stephen John £3 16s 0½d Henry Jenkins £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson £3 16s 0½d William Lambon £3 16s 0½d William La Roche £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee £3 16s 0½d John Marsh £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton £3 16s 0½d Murdock McCloud £3 16s 0½d John Baptist Mitchland £3 16s 0½d John McAllister £3 16s 0½d William Mitchell £3 16s 0½d John Donald £3 16s 0½d John Newton £3 16s 0½d John Oswald £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perren £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell £3 16s 0½d John Piplen £3 16s 0½d James Richardson £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher £3 16s 0½d John Shaw £3 16s 0½d William Scotman £3 16s 0½d	The pay list for the private soldiers of the Fourth Company continued with £2,175 8s 2d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £2,175 8s 2d Private soldiers brought forward, £79 1s 8d Christian Greenawald, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Groombridge, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Gilder, £3 16s 0½d Edward German, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0½d Henry Hazenburg, £3 16s 0½d James Hendry, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Howiston, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Henry Jenkins, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d William Lambon, £3 16s 0½d William La Roche, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0½d Murdoch McCloud, £3 16s 0½d John Baptist Mitchland, £3 16s 0½d John McAllister, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchell, £3 16s 0½d John Donald, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perren, £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell, £3 16s 0½d John Piplen, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Scotman, £3 16s 0½d James Shaff, £3 16s 0½d John Swindall, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward, £219 15s 2½d Carried forward, £2,175 8s 2d **Interpretations** William La Roche, a private in the Fourth Company, was perhaps the soldier named as heir in the spoken will of the French prisoner John Laroze, recorded on 17 October 1763. The name suggests he was himself of French origin serving in the Company's garrison, which would explain why a dying French prisoner chose him to receive his few belongings. The names Christian Greenawald, Henry Hazenburg and John Baptist Mitchland likewise point to recruits from continental Europe mixed among the English, Scots and Irish in the ranks.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Shaw £3 16s 0½d John Swindall £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over £219 15s 2½d Carried over £2175 8s 2d	
175	171	1764 Brought over £2175 8s 2d Centinels brought over £219 15s 2½d John Shears £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer £3 16s 0½d William Steadman £3 16s 0½d Thomas Tuffnell £3 16s 0½d John Thompson £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Worrill £3 16s 0½d William Wells £3 16s 0½d William Waite £3 16s 0½d £253 19s 7d Artillery Company Thomas Hall Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Gunners Mates Nathan Sampell Chief Mate £11 8s 1½d John Whitchurch £9 2s 6d Adam Wilson £9 2s 6d James Long £9 2s 6d John Jacks £9 2s 6d Thomas Taylor £9 2s 6d John Shelley £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse £9 2s 6d £75 5s 7½d Quarter Gunners Andrew Barton £6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham £6 16s 10½d Daniel Jongue £6 16s 10½d William Fletcher £6 16s 10½d George Nelson £6 16s 10½d William Hodges £6 16s 10½d John Cox £6 16s 10½d £54 15s 0d Matrosses William Benson £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton	The pay list for the private soldiers of the Fourth Company continued with £2,175 8s 2d brought forward, followed by the Artillery Company. Balance brought forward, £2,175 8s 2d Private soldiers brought forward, £219 15s 2½d John Shearns, £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Sanderson, £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer, £3 16s 0½d William Steadman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Tuffnell, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Worrell, £3 16s 0½d William Wells, £3 16s 0½d William Waite, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers total, £253 19s 7d Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Gunner's mates: Nathan Tampell, chief mate, £11 8s 1½d John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Adam Wilson, £9 2s 6d James Long, £9 2s 6d John Jacks, £9 2s 6d Thomas Taylor, £9 2s 6d John Shirley, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, £9 2s 6d Gunner's mates total, £75 5s 7½d Quarter gunners: Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones, £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham, £6 16s 10½d Daniel Tongue, £6 16s 10½d William Fletcher, £6 16s 10½d George Nelson, £6 16s 10½d William Hodges, £6 16s 10½d John Cox, £6 16s 10½d Quarter gunners total, £54 15s 0d Matrosses: William Benson, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 3d William Brown, £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward, £18 5s 0d Carried forward, £2,605 0s 10½d **Interpretations** The artillery was paid on a higher scale than the infantry, reflecting the skill needed to work the guns. A matross, the lowest rank of gunner, received £4 11s 3d a quarter against a private soldier's £3 16s 0½d. Quarter gunners, each in charge of a small number of guns and their crews, earned £6 16s 10½d, and the gunner's mates who supervised the batteries earned £9 2s 6d, more than an infantry sergeant. Thomas Hall, the captain of the Artillery Company, was the officer who signed the monthly gunner's accounts of powder, match and tools, so the stores used at the batteries were answered for by the head of the company that fired them. Zedekiah Sanderson, a private in the Fourth Company, also drew pay on the civil list as groom, another soldier doubling in a Company post.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£4 11s 3d William Brown £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck £4 11s 3d Matrosses Carried over £18 5s 0d Carried over £2605 0s 10½d	
176	172	16th January Brought over £2605 0s 11½d Matrosses brought over £18 5s 0d Richard Broom £4 11s 3d John Bower £4 11s 3d John Cope £4 11s 3d John Cresswell £4 11s 3d Thomas Collier £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner £4 11s 3d William McCullough £4 11s 3d Andrew Crichton £4 11s 3d John Dowse £4 11s 3d Edward Durrant £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn £4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows £4 11s 3d John Grainger £4 11s 3d Robert Gilson £4 11s 3d Nicholas Houghton £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hill £4 11s 3d William Johnson £4 11s 3d John Jack £4 11s 3d Bryan Lynch £4 11s 3d Daniel Maloney £4 11s 3d John Martin £4 11s 3d Barnard Millard £4 11s 3d Evan Nowland £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble £4 11s 3d John Pluck £4 11s 3d William Phillips £4 11s 3d William Poulton £4 11s 3d John Robinson £4 11s 3d Christopher Reynolds	The pay list for the matrosses of the Artillery Company continued with £2,605 0s 11½d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £2,605 0s 11½d Matrosses brought forward, £18 5s 0d Richard Broom, £4 11s 3d John Bower, £4 11s 3d John Cope, £4 11s 3d John Criswell, £4 11s 3d Thomas Collier, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner, £4 11s 3d William McCullough, £4 11s 3d Andrew Crichton, £4 11s 3d John Dowse, £4 11s 3d Edward Durrant, £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn, £4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 3d John Grainger, £4 11s 3d Robert Gilson, £4 11s 3d Nicholas Houghton, £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hill, £4 11s 3d William Johnson, £4 11s 3d John Jack, £4 11s 3d Bryan Lynch, £4 11s 3d Daniel Maloney, £4 11s 3d John Martin, £4 11s 3d Bernard Millard, £4 11s 3d Evan Nowland, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 3d John Pluck, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, £4 11s 3d John Robinson, £4 11s 3d Christopher Reynolds, £4 11s 3d John Slater, £4 11s 3d John Stow, £4 11s 3d George Stright, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 3d Samuel Smith, £4 11s 3d John Smith, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward, £187 1s 3d Carried forward, £2,605 0s 11½d **Interpretations** George Stright, a matross, was also paid on the civil list as the Company's armourer, and John Robinson may be the carpenter paid there under the same name. The artillery was a natural source of such men, since matrosses handled iron, timber and tools in the daily care of the guns and carriages, and the Company drew on them to fill its skilled civil posts.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£4 11s 3d John Slater £4 11s 3d John Stow £4 11s 3d George Straight £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith £4 11s 3d Samuel Smith £4 11s 3d John Smith £4 11s 3d Matrosses Carried over £187 1s 3d Carried over £2605 0s 11½d	
177	173	1764 Brought over £2605 0s 11½d Matrosses brought over £187 1s 3d Andrew Sullivan £4 11s 3d William Snelson £4 11s 3d John Thomason £4 11s 3d John Turner £4 11s 3d Thomas Tylor £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts £4 11s 3d John Ward £4 11s 3d John Webley £4 11s 3d Eustace White £4 11s 3d Richard Wellman £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young £4 11s 3d James Hill £4 11s 3d Richard Kempton £4 11s 3d £246 7s 0d £2851 8s 5½d	The pay list for the matrosses of the Artillery Company continued with £2,605 0s 11½d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £2,605 0s 11½d Matrosses brought forward, £187 1s 3d Andrew Sullivan, £4 11s 3d William Snelson, £4 11s 3d John Thomason, £4 11s 3d John Turner, £4 11s 3d Thomas Tylor, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d John Ward, £4 11s 3d John Webley, £4 11s 3d Eustace White, £4 11s 3d Richard Wellman, £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young, £4 11s 3d James Hill, £4 11s 3d Richard Kempton, £4 11s 3d Matrosses total, £246 7s 6d Total of salaries and pay for the quarter, £2,851 8s 5½d **Interpretations** The quarter's pay bill of £2,851 8s 5½d covered the Governor, the civil officers, the artisans and the whole garrison of four infantry companies and the Artillery Company. It closely matches the £3,099 7s 1d advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other charges in the quarter to 30 September 1763, showing that wages were by far the largest regular call on the island's treasury. At over £11,000 a year, the cost of keeping St Helena manned and defended was the main reason the Company pressed its officers so hard to raise revenue locally through rents, licences and the margins on its store sales.
178	174	16th January Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr 1763 Decembr 31st To Cash received £3036 15s 3¾d Carried over £3036 15s 3¾d	The paymaster's account for the quarter opened with the sums charged against Thomas Kirkpatrick as paymaster. 31 December 1763, cash received from the treasury, £3,036 15s 0¾d Carried forward, £3,036 15s 0¾d **Interpretations** The paymaster's account was kept in debit and credit form, with the paymaster personally charged with every sum he drew from the treasury. Kirkpatrick stood as debtor to the Company for £3,036 15s 0¾d until he could show how it had been paid out, so the account acted as a check on the man who handled the garrison's wages. The post added a further role to those Kirkpatrick already held as councillor and captain of the First Company, placing the payment of the whole establishment in the hands of a member of the Council that approved his accounts.
179	175	1764 Per Contra Cr 1763	The credit side of the paymaster's account recorded the payments Kirkpatrick made during the quarter.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		17th Octr By Cash paid John Dobson for enlisting to serve the Honorable Company five Years as a Soldier £5 0s 0d Novr 18th By Cash paid William Isaac Ford for twenty six days caulking the Snow Mercury 2/6 P day £3 5s 0d By Cash paid Joshua Ratcliffe Charles Pursey Daniel Pulleskey William Asheline Frederick Gerkins George Frederick Richard Oliphant Tobias Lewis, George Finn Thomas Dunn Nicholas Kreiger, John Williams, Daniel Maloney belonging to the Snow Mercury 1 Months Wages each amounting to £27 5s 0d Decemr 3d By Cash paid William Jacklin Seaman discharged from the Snow Mercury 3 Months 26 Days Wages at £2 P Mo £4 18s 8¾d By Cash paid Wm Isaac Ford for 12 Days caulking the Longboat and 3 days on board the Fly Cutter £1 17s 6d By Cash paid Richard Bagley for 1200 Lemons and 7 Cabbages for the Use of the Honorable Company £1 17s 0d By Cash paid William Finch for Glazing work done this Qr £0 15s 0d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for Working in the Long Boat this Quarter £3 19s 0d By Cash paid Jacob Bernard & John Ward for 6 Days Work on board the Fly Cutter £0 12s 0d By Cash paid Richard Beale for 30 Rafters for the Use of the Honorable Company £1 10s 0d By Cash paid Mark Balls and Michael Read for baking 147 Batches of Bread for the use of the Garrison this Quarter £9 15s 0d By Cash paid William Brown for paintg Gun Carriages Centry Boxes at the several guards & Pinnace £3 0s 0d By Cash paid John Dobson for 10 Weeks work in the Armorers Shop this Quarter at 9/ P Week £4 10s 0d By Cash paid Wm Mumford for Weeks work in Do Do P Week £2 8s 0d By Cash paid Nochquedah Pochollum his Allowance from the Honorable Company £1 12s 6d By Cash paid Wm Harris for 9 Weeks work in the Armrs Shop at 9/ P Week £4 1s 0d By Cash paid Henry Harper for the Rent of a Room for Nochquedah Pochollum £1 0s 0d By Cash paid Elisha Isaacke for 6 Loads of Bamboos for the use of the Honorable Company this Quart at 2/6 P Load £0 15s 0d Carried over	17 October 1763, John Dobson, bounty for enlisting as a soldier in the Company's service for five years, £5 0s 0d 18 November 1763, William Isaac Ford, 26 days caulking the snow *Mercury* at 2s 6d a day, £3 5s 0d. 18 November 1763, one month's wages each for Joshua Ratcliffe, Charles Pursey, Daniel Pilbeby, William Ashline, Frederick Jerkins, George Frederick, Richard Oliphant, Tobias Lewis, George Finn, Thomas Dunn, Nicholas Kreiger, John Williams and Daniel Maloney, crew of the snow *Mercury*, £27 5s 0d. 3 December 1763, William Jacklin, seaman discharged from the snow *Mercury*, wages for 3 months and 26 days at £1 [...] a month, £4 18s 2¾d. 3 December 1763, William Isaac Ford, 12 days caulking the longboat and 3 days aboard the cutter *Fly*, £1 17s 6d. 3 December 1763, Richard Bagley, 1,200 lemons and 7 cabbages for the Company's use, £1 17s 0d 3 December 1763, William Finch, glazing work done during the quarter, £0 15s 0d 3 December 1763, various men of the garrison, work in the longboat during the quarter, £3 19s 0d 3 December 1763, Jacob Bernard and John Ward, 6 days' work aboard the cutter *Fly*, £0 12s 0d. 3 December 1763, Richard Beale, 30 rafters for the Company's use, £1 10s 0d 3 December 1763, Mark Balls and Michael Read, baking 147 batches of bread for the garrison during the quarter, £9 15s 0d 3 December 1763, William Brown, painting gun carriages, sentry boxes at the guards and the pinnace, £3 0s 0d 3 December 1763, John Dobson, 10 weeks' work in the armourer's shop during the quarter at 9s a week, £4 10s 0d 3 December 1763, William Mumford, 8 weeks' work in the armourer's shop at 6s a week, £2 8s 0d 3 December 1763, Nockquedah Pochollum, his allowance from the Company, £1 12s 6d 3 December 1763, William Harris, 9 weeks' work in the armourer's shop at 9s a week, £4 1s 0d 3 December 1763, Henry Harper, rent of a room for Nockquedah Pochollum, £1 0s 0d 3 December 1763, Elisha Isaacke, 6 loads of bamboo for the Company's use during the quarter at 2s 6d a load, £0 15s 0d Carried forward, £78 0s 8¾d **Interpretations** The payments to Nockquedah Pochollum explain the separate account headed "Mallay" in the storekeeper's records. Nockquedah is a form of nakhoda, the title of the master of a trading vessel in the Malay and Indian Ocean world. The Company paid him a cash allowance, rented a room for him from Henry Harper and supplied him from its stores with food, drink and cloth for a tailored coat. He was therefore a man of some standing from the East living on the island at the Company's expense, perhaps a ship's master detained or left behind, whom the Company maintained in a manner suited to his rank. The paymaster's account shows how much work the Company bought from its own soldiers. Mark Balls and Michael Read, both privates in the First Company, baked the garrison's bread under contract. John Dobson, who enlisted on 17 October 1763, was working in the armourer's shop within weeks, earning 9s a week on top of his pay as a private, and William Mumford and William Harris did the same. The garrison thus supplied the island with bakers, smiths, painters and boatmen, and the Company paid them extra for skills it could not otherwise find. The *Mercury*'s crew drew their wages from the island's paymaster, which confirms that she was employed directly in the Company's service rather

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		£78 0s 8¾d	than hired from private owners. The 1,200 lemons bought from Richard Bagley, a local grower, were probably for the hospital and the ships, since lemon juice was valued as a remedy for scurvy. Bamboo was grown on the island and used for light fencing, frames and baskets.
180	176	16th January Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr 1763 Decembr 31st To Cash brought forward £3036 15s 3¾d Carried over £3036 15s 3¾d	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster was carried over to a fresh page, with no new sums added. 31 December 1763, cash brought forward, £3,036 15s 0¾d Carried forward, £3,036 15s 0¾d
181	177	1764 Per Contra Cr Brought over £78 0s 8¾d By Cash paid Robert Jewhurst for taking care of the Kitchen the Longwood this Quarter £2 10s 0d By Cash paid Matthew Bazett for 6 Loads of Bamboos for the use of the Honorable Company this Quarter £0 15s 0d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for coming express with Account of Ships to windward £1 0s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Townsend for work done by his Apprentice this Quarter £3 5s 0d By Cash paid Jonathan Doveton for 4 Loads of Bindersat 2/6 P Load £0 10s 0d By Cash paid Robert Barclay for his care in the Hospital of John Barton, Thomas Tate Peter Lesson and John Tollock Seaman belonging to the Fly Cutter £6 13s 7d By Cash paid Do for Do of George Finn and William Jackline Seaman belonging to the Mercury Snow £1 14s 5d By Cash paid Do for his Extraordinary Expences in the Hospital more than the 7/ P day amounts to £27 10s 7d By Cash paid Do for his trouble in getting fresh provisions for the Hospital in the Year ending this day £8 0s 0d By Cash paid Henry Mason Sailor left out of the Ship Clinton 58 days at 6 P day £1 9s 0d By Cash paid Wm Cooksey a discharged Soldier 19 days at Do £0 9s 6d By Cash paid Benjamin Mason for 159 Loads Rushes and 18 Ground Force for the use of the Honorable Company this Quarter £4 13s 0d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for 118½ days work in repairing the Hospital at 1/ P day £5 12s 6d By Cash paid Do for 357½ Grubg Spurge and Furzen the Pastures £17 17s 6d By Cash paid Do for 165½ work in repairg Banks and other Works £8 5s 6d	The credit side of the paymaster's account continued with £78 0s 8¾d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £78 0s 8¾d Robert Tewhurst, for looking after the kitchen at Longwood during the quarter, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, 6 loads of bamboo for the Company's use during the quarter, £0 15s 0d Various men of the garrison, for running express with news of ships to windward, £1 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, for work done by his apprentice during the quarter, £3 5s 0d Jonathan Doveton, 4 loads of binders at 2s 6d a load, £0 10s 0d Robert Barclay, for his care in the hospital of John Barton, Thomas Tate, Peter Leyson and John Tollock, seamen of the cutter *Fly*, £6 13s 7d. Robert Barclay, for his care in the hospital of George Finn and William Jacklin, seamen of the snow *Mercury*, £1 14s 5d. Robert Barclay, for his hospital expenses above the allowance of 7d a day, £27 10s 7d Robert Barclay, for his trouble in obtaining fresh provisions for the hospital during the year to 31 December 1763, £8 0s 0d Henry Mason, a sailor put ashore from the ship *Clinton*, 58 days' subsistence at 6d a day, £1 9s 0d. William Cooksey, a discharged soldier, 19 days' subsistence at 6d a day, £0 9s 6d Benjamin Mason, 159 loads of rushes and 18 ground joists for the Company's use during the quarter, £4 13s 0d Various men of the garrison, 112½ days' work repairing the hospital at 1s a day, £5 12s 6d Various men of the garrison, 357½ days grubbing up spurge and furze in the pastures, £17 17s 6d Various men of the garrison, 165½ days' work repairing Banks's and other works, £8 5s 6d Various men of the garrison, 119½ days quarrying limestone and burning lime, £5 19s 6d Various men of the garrison, 85 days repairing the paths to the outworks, the Ladder Hill path and the road to Longwood, £4 5s 0d Various men of the garrison, 86½ days of carpentry, £4 6s 6d Various men of the garrison, 43½ days' work in the stores, £2 3s 6d Carried forward, £185 6s 9¾d **Interpretations** The Company kept stranded seamen and discharged soldiers on a daily allowance of 6d until they could leave the island. Henry Mason, put ashore from the *Clinton*, drew 58 days' subsistence, and William Cooksey, discharged on 12 December 1763, drew 19 days to the end of the quarter. The allowance kept such men from destitution on an island where there was little work outside the Company's service, and it lasted only until a ship could take them away. The surgeon, Robert Barclay, was paid by the patient and by the day. He received a set allowance of 7d a day for each person in the hospital, charged

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		By Cash paid Do for 119 Bringing Limestone and burning Lime £5 19s 6d By Cash paid Do for 85 work in repairing the Paths to the out works up Ladder Hill path and the Road to the L Wood £4 5s 0d By Cash paid Do for 86½ days Carpenters Work £4 6s 6d By Cash paid Do for 43½ days work in the Stores £2 3s 6d Carried over £185 6s 9¾d	separate sums for seamen from the *Fly* and the *Mercury*, and claimed £27 10s 7d for costs above the standard rate. His additional payment for obtaining fresh provisions reflects how hard it was to find fresh food for the sick on the island. The largest single outlay was for clearing spurge and furze from the Company's pastures, over 350 days of labour at 1s a day. Both plants had been introduced and spread fast on the island's grazing land, and spurge was poisonous to livestock. Soldiers earned 1s a day for such work on top of their pay, and the Company used the garrison as its general labour force for roads, repairs, lime-burning and clearing land. Binders were pliant rods used to bind fences, bundles and thatch, and the rushes supplied by Benjamin Mason were probably for thatching or for strewing floors.
182	178	16th January Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr 1763 Decembr 31st To Cash brought forward £3036 15s 3¾d £3036 15s 3¾d Island 31st	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster was carried to a further page and closed with the same total. 31 December 1763, cash brought forward, £3,036 15s 0¾d Total, £3,036 15s 0¾d
183	179	1764 Per Contra Cr Brought over £185 6s 9¾d 1763 Decr 31st By Cash paid the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants their several Salarys Diet Money &ca for the Quarter commencing October the 1st and ending December the 31st 1763 £2851 8s 5½d £3036 15s 3¼d St Helena December 1763 Errors Excepted (signed) P Thos Kirkpatrick Counted and examined the Honorable Cash for the Month of December last, which is as follows vizt	The credit side of the paymaster's account continued with £185 6s 9¾d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £185 6s 9¾d 31 December 1763, salaries, diet money and other allowances paid to the Company's officers and employees for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1763, £2,851 8s 5½d Total, £3,036 15s 3¼d Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account at St Helena in December 1763, adding that any errors were excepted. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for the month of December 1763. **Interpretations** The paymaster's account closed with payments matching the cash he had drawn, leaving no balance in his hands. Kirkpatrick took from the treasury only what the quarter's wages and sundry charges required, so that no Company money remained with him between quarters. The arrangement limited the risk of loss or misuse and meant the treasury, not the paymaster, held the island's reserve of coin, which the Council counted and checked each month.
184	180	16th January Cash Dr 1763 Decembr 1st To Balance remaining £6030 6s 7d 3d To Ship Grosvenor received the Balance of her Account £38 10s 6d 5th To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Director payable as follow vizt One Set to the Revd Mr John Saunders for £150 0s 0d One Do to Mr Thomas Forbes £146 0s 0d £296 0s 0d 31st To James Powell received of Him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this day £1864 19s 6d To Plantation for Provisions Sold £33 5s 11d To Licences for 10 Public Houses £15 0s 0d £8278 2s 6d	The Company's cash account for December 1763 recorded the following receipts. 1 December 1763, balance in hand, £6,030 6s 7d 3 December 1763, balance of the account of the ship *Grosvenor*, £38 10s 6d. 5 December 1763, cash received in exchange for two sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, one set payable to the Reverend John Saunders for £150 0s 0d and one to Thomas Forbes for £146 0s 0d, £296 0s 0d 31 December 1763, from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter to that date, £1,864 19s 6d 31 December 1763, from the plantation for provisions sold, £33 5s 11d 31 December 1763, licences for 10 public houses, £15 0s 0d Receipts total, £8,278 2s 6d **Interpretations** The entry of 5 December 1763 confirms how bills of exchange worked in practice. Captain Saunders and David Mitchell of the *Grosvenor* paid £296 in cash into the treasury, and in return received bills that the Company would honour in London. The Company gained silver on the island to meet its local

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			costs, while the officers sent their money home without the risk of carrying it on the voyage. Powell's payment of £1,864 19s 6d was lower than the £2,039 2s 3d he paid in for the quarter to 30 September 1763, although his sales lists for the December quarter came to more than £2,000 across employees, planters, the 40% tier and the Company's ships. The gap was perhaps money still owed by buyers at the end of the quarter, since sales to the Company's own employees could be recovered by stoppages from later pay. The licence income from ten public houses held steady at £15, showing a fixed number of licensed premises from quarter to quarter.
185	181	1764 Per Contra Cr 1763 Decembr 31st By Sundry Accounts Advanced the paymaster to pay Salary's &ca in the Quarter ending this day £3036 15s 3d By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 7980 Pagodas 8/- £3192 0s 0d 621 Rupees 2/3 £69 17s 3d 441 French Ps -/2 £3 13s 6d 1484 Double Royals 1/3 £92 15s 0d 4166 Pistereens 1/- £208 6s 0d Odd Money £0 0s 6d £4701 12s 3d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £5241 7s 3d £8278 2s 6d Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The credit side of the Company's cash account for December 1763 recorded the paymaster's advance and a count of the coin remaining in the treasury. 31 December 1763, sundry accounts advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other charges in the quarter to that date, £3,036 15s 3d Balance held in the following coin: 7,980 pagodas at 8s each, £3,192 0s 0d 621 rupees at 2s 3d each, £69 17s 3d 441 French pieces at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 1,484 double reals at 1s 3d each, £92 15s 0d 4,166 pistareens at 1s each, £208 6s 0d Odd money, £0 0s 6d Coin total, £4,701 12s 3d Cash notes no longer of use, £539 15s 0d Balance total, £5,241 7s 3d Payments and balance total, £8,278 2s 6d Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The count at the end of December shows which coins the Company used to pay its people. At the end of November the treasury had held 7,549 Spanish dollars worth £1,887 5s 0d; by 31 December not one remained. The quarter's wages had been paid out chiefly in dollars, with 81 pagodas and 88 pistareens drawn to make up the balance, while the rupees, French pieces and double reals stood almost untouched. Dollars were the coin that soldiers, artisans and settlers could spend most readily, since ships' officers and traders accepted them everywhere. The gold pagodas, by contrast, functioned as the treasury's long-term reserve, drawn on only when the silver ran short. The payment of the quarter's wages cut the coin in hand from £5,490 11s 7d to £4,701 12s 3d, despite receipts of more than £2,200 during December. Every quarter day thus left the treasury poorer until the next ships brought fresh silver, which explains the Council's interest in bills of exchange, since each bill it issued drew coin from ships' officers into the island's treasury.
186	182	23d January At a Consultation held on Monday the 23d day of January 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 16th January 1764 The Guard Room at Prosperous Bay wanting to be repaired We Ordered it to be done immediately. Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 23 January 1764. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 16 January 1764 were read, approved and signed. The guard room at Prosperous Bay was in need of repair. The Council ordered the work to begin at once. The Governor, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met again at the Castle on Monday 30 January 1764, with the same four members present. The minutes of 23 January 1764 were read, approved and signed. A ship sailed past the island at a great distance on Wednesday 25 January 1764. Joseph Phillips, a soldier, died on Friday 27 January 1764.

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		At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th day of January 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 23d January 1764 Wednesday the 25th Passed by a Ship at a great distance Friday the 27th died Joseph Phillips Soldier John Robinson Matross this day Petitioned	John Robinson, a matross in the Artillery Company, submitted a petition to the Council on 30 January 1764.
187	183	30th January for his discharge from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time Granted Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th day of February 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 30th January 1764 Saturday the 4th Arrived the Snow Mercury Mr James Powell this day Presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of James Powell Sheweth That your Petitioner being desirous of hiring a small piece of the Honorable Company's Waste Ground adjoining to your Petitioners	John Robinson's petition asked for his discharge from the garrison, since he had completed the term of service in his contract with the Company. The Council granted the request. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 6 February 1764, with the Governor presiding and John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 30 January 1764 were read, approved and signed. The snow *Mercury* arrived on Saturday 4 February 1764. James Powell presented a petition to the Governor and Council on 6 February 1764. In it he explained that he wished to obtain a small piece of the Company's unused land next to his own. **Interpretations** Waste ground was land the Company owned but had not let or brought into use, and it remained under the Council's control like every other part of the island. A settler or official who wanted even a small plot had to petition for it, so the Company kept the power to decide how the island's scarce land was divided and to whom. Powell, as storekeeper, was a senior Company servant, but he still needed the Council's formal approval to extend his holding.
188	184	6th February Petitioners Yard in this Valley humbly begs that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray St Helena (signed) 6th February 1764 Js Powell Granted Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th Day of February 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation, was read approved, and signed dated the 6th February 1764 Tuesday the 7th John Stowe Matross was drowned by Accident Friday the 10th Sailed the Fly Cutter Saturday the 11th Edward Lane Centinel was drowned by Accident The Plantation Gunners, and Stewards	James Powell's petition concerned a small piece of the Company's unused land next to his yard in the valley, and he asked the Council to grant him a lease of it. He signed the petition at St Helena on 6 February 1764. The Council granted the lease, and Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 13 February 1764, with the Governor presiding and John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 6 February 1764 were read, approved and signed. John Stow, a matross, drowned by accident on Tuesday 7 February 1764. The cutter *Fly* sailed on Friday 10 February 1764. Edward Law, a private soldier, drowned by accident on Saturday 11 February 1764. The Council received the plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for January 1764, examined them and approved them.

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		Accounts for the Month of January last, were this day brought in which were examined, and approved, and are as follow vizt	
189	185	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of January 1764 vizt Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses Jasses, Asses Sasses, Asses Total Remg 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 72, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 36, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 286, Sheep Weathers 173, Sheep Lambs 194, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 661, Goats Ewes 136, Goats Weathers 10, Goats Kids 117, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 272, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 19, Poultry Fowls 102, Poultry Ducks 52, Poultry Turkeys 50, Poultry Geese 30, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 4, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 4, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 4, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 36, Poultry Ducks 7, Poultry Turkeys 6, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 76, Neat Cattle Yearlings 64, Neat Cattle Heifers 19, Neat Cattle Steers 36, Neat Cattle Oxen 15, Neat Cattle Total 296, Sheep Ewes 286, Sheep Weathers 173, Sheep Lambs 194, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 661, Goats Ewes 136, Goats Weathers 10, Goats Kids 121, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 276, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 19, Poultry Fowls 138, Poultry Ducks 59, Poultry Turkeys 56, Poultry Geese 30, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 1, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 4, Sheep Weathers 22, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 26, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Weathers 2, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 4, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 9, Poultry Ducks 5, Poultry Turkeys 3, Poultry Geese 1, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 1, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 2, Neat Cattle Total 3, Sheep Ewes 1, Sheep Weathers 1, Sheep Lambs 2, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 4, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 2, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Sasses 0, Asses Total 0	The account of the East India Company's livestock for January 1764 recorded the herds and flocks at the start of the month, the changes during it and the numbers left at the end. Cattle: Remaining on 1 January 1764: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 72 calves, 64 yearlings, 19 heifers, 36 steers, 15 oxen, 292 cattle in all Increase: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 4 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 4 cattle in all Total: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 76 calves, 64 yearlings, 19 heifers, 36 steers, 15 oxen, 296 cattle in all Killed: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 1 animal in all Died: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 1 yearling, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 2 oxen, 3 cattle in all Remaining on 31 January 1764: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 76 calves, 63 yearlings, 18 heifers, 36 steers, 13 oxen, 292 cattle in all Sheep: Remaining on 1 January 1764: 286 ewes, 173 wethers, 194 lambs, 8 rams, 661 sheep in all Increase: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all Total: 286 ewes, 173 wethers, 194 lambs, 8 rams, 661 sheep in all Killed: 4 ewes, 22 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 26 sheep in all Died: 1 ewe, 1 wether, 2 lambs, 0 rams, 4 sheep in all Remaining on 31 January 1764: 281 ewes, 150 wethers, 192 lambs, 8 rams, 631 sheep in all Goats: Remaining on 1 January 1764: 136 nannies, 10 wethers, 117 kids, 9 billies, 272 goats in all Increase: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 4 kids, 0 billies, 4 goats in all Total: 136 nannies, 10 wethers, 121 kids, 9 billies, 276 goats in all Killed: 2 nannies, 2 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, 4 goats in all Died: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, 0 goats in all Remaining on 31 January 1764: 134 nannies, 8 wethers, 121 kids, 9 billies, 272 goats in all Pigs: Remaining on 1 January 1764: 5 sows, 2 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 19 pigs in all Increase: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all Total: 5 sows, 2 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 19 pigs in all Killed: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all Died: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 pigs in all Remaining on 31 January 1764: 5 sows, 2 shoats, 11 piglets, 1 boar, 19 pigs in all Poultry: Remaining on 1 January 1764: 102 fowls, 52 ducks, 50 turkeys, 30 geese Increase: 36 fowls, 7 ducks, 6 turkeys, 0 geese Total: 138 fowls, 59 ducks, 56 turkeys, 30 geese Killed: 9 fowls, 5 ducks, 3 turkeys, 1 goose Died: 0 fowls, 2 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Remaining on 31 January 1764: 129 fowls, 52 ducks, 53 turkeys, 29 geese Horses: Remaining on 1 January 1764: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Increase: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all

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		Remg 31st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 76, Neat Cattle Yearlings 63, Neat Cattle Heifers 18, Neat Cattle Steers 36, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 281, Sheep Weathers 150, Sheep Lambs 192, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 631, Goats Ewes 134, Goats Weathers 8, Goats Kids 121, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 272, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 19, Poultry Fowls 129, Poultry Ducks 52, Poultry Turkeys 53, Poultry Geese 29, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses Jasses 2, Asses Sasses 1, Asses Total 3 Yam Expended for the Blacks 23,550 lb Yam Do for the Stock 6820 lb 30370 lb (signed) John Skottowe **Margin Notes:** 13th February	Total: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Killed: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Died: 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in all Remaining on 31 January 1764: 7 horses, 5 mares, 12 in all Donkeys: Remaining on 1 January 1764: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all Increase: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Total: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all Killed: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Died: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, 0 in all Remaining on 31 January 1764: 2 jacks, 1 jenny, 3 in all Yams: Yams issued to the slaves, 23,550 pounds Yams fed to the livestock, 6,820 pounds Total yams used, 30,370 pounds John Skottowe signed the account. **Interpretations** The yam issue to the slaves recovered in January to 23,550 pounds after falling to 16,100 pounds in December 1763. The December shortfall was therefore temporary, and the ration returned close to the levels of October and November, perhaps as a new lifting of the crop came in during the southern summer. The loss of two oxen was a real blow to the plantation's working capacity. The Company kept only 15 oxen for hauling, and had just bought new yokes and bows and paid men to break in young animals during the December quarter. With the draught teams down to 13, the steers coming through were needed to replace them, which explains the effort put into training. The wethers continued their steady decline, falling from 173 to 150 as another 22 were killed for the table, the hospital and the ships. By the end of January barely one wether in three remained of the flock that had stood at 259 after the Cape import of October 1763, and a further purchase would soon be needed to keep up the supply of mutton.
190	186	13th February Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of January 1764 Guns Fired, 4 Pounder, 3 Pounder, 1 Pounder, Powder Expd lb, Powder Expd oz 14th An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns Fired 6, 4 Pounder 2, 3 Pounder 2, 1 Pounder 2, Powder Expd lb 12, Powder Expd oz 0 Powder for priming in order to have returned the Salute: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expd lb 1, Powder Expd oz 8 25 An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns Fired 6, 4 Pounder 2, 3 Pounder 2, 1 Pounder 2, Powder Expd lb 12, Powder Expd oz 0 Powder for the funeral of Henry Cooter: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expd lb 2, Powder Expd oz 4 Do for the funeral of Joseph Phillips: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expd lb 2, Powder Expd oz 4 Do for Shooting for the use of the Table: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expd lb 1, Powder Expd oz 0 Do for Signal: Guns Fired 0, 4 Pounder 0, 3 Pounder 0, 1 Pounder 0, Powder Expd lb 0, Powder Expd oz 8 Total: Guns Fired 12, 4 Pounder 4, 3 Pounder 4, 1 Pounder 4, Powder Expd lb 31, Powder Expd oz 8 Paper the use of the Castle 2 Qrs Do for making Cannon Cartridges 13 Qrs Needles broke with Do 5 No.	The gunner's account of artillery stores used in January 1764 ran as follows, with the guns fired entered by total and then by calibre. 14 January 1764, alarm for a ship that passed by: 6 guns fired in all, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders and 2 one-pounders; 12 pounds 0 ounces of powder 14 January 1764, powder for priming the guns ready to return a salute, 1 pound 8 ounces 25 January 1764, alarm for a ship that passed by: 6 guns fired in all, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders and 2 one-pounders; 12 pounds 0 ounces of powder Powder for the funeral of Henry Cooter, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder for the funeral of Joseph Phillips, 2 pounds 4 ounces Powder for shooting game for the Company's table, 1 pound 0 ounces Powder for signals, 0 pounds 8 ounces Totals: 12 guns fired in all, 4 four-pounders, 4 three-pounders and 4 one-pounders; 31 pounds 8 ounces of powder The gunner also accounted for the following stores used or damaged. Paper for the Castle, 2 quires Paper for making cannon cartridges, [...] quires Needles broken in making cannon cartridges, 5 Tallow for the carts at Longwood, 4 pounds Sheepskins for covering sponges at Banks's, 2 Trunk nails for covering and repairing sponges at Banks's, 160 Budge barrels worn out and no longer fit for use, 5 Slow match for the men blasting stone, 6 pounds

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		Tallow for the use of the Carts in the Longwood 4 lb Sheep Skins for Coating Spunges at Banks's 2 No. Trunk Nails for Coating and repairg Spunges at Do 160 No. Bouge Barrels worn out and Unserviceable 5 No. Match for the use of the Stone Borers 6 lb Hand Spikes broke at Turks Cap 1 No. (signed) Thos Hall Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of January 1764 vizt 1 Bottle Port Wine £0 1s 6d 18 Do Lisbon £1 7s 0d 13 Do Mountain £0 19s 6d 68 Do Arrack £3 3s 4¾d 16 Do Beer £0 4s 4d 330 lb Flour £2 1s 3d 146 Fresh Beef £1 16s 6d 6 Ps Salt Pork £0 15s 3d 240 lb Mutton £5 0s 0d 180 Cape Mutton £3 15s 0d 72 Goat £1 4s 0d Carried over £20 7s 8¾d	Handspikes broken at Turk's Cap, 1 Thomas Hall signed the gunner's account. Goods used at the Company's table during January 1764 ran as follows. 1 bottle of port, £0 1s 6d 18 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 7s 0d 13 bottles of mountain wine, £0 19s 6d 68 bottles of arrack, £3 3s 4¾d 16 bottles of beer, £0 4s 4d 330 pounds of flour, £2 1s 3d 146 pounds of fresh beef, £1 16s 6d 6 pieces of salt pork, £0 15s 3d 240 pounds of mutton, £5 0s 0d 180 pounds of Cape mutton, £3 15s 0d 72 pounds of goat meat, £1 4s 0d Carried forward, £20 7s 8¾d **Interpretations** A budge barrel was a small powder keg with copper hoops and a leather cover drawn up at the top like a bag, used to carry powder from the magazine to the guns without spilling it or exposing it to sparks. Worn-out budge barrels were a safety risk, which is why five were condemned and written off in a single month. The slow match issued to the stone blowers was used to fire the blasting charges in the limestone quarries, in the same way it fired the guns. The powder for shooting game shows the Company's table supplemented by what could be hunted on the island, a use of military stores for the Governor's household that the gunner still had to record. The powder primed on 14 January 1764 to return a salute went unused, since the ship passed by without stopping or saluting. The table consumed 420 pounds of mutton in January, of which 180 pounds came from Cape sheep, the most yet recorded. The heavy slaughter of wethers in the livestock account for the same month, 22 animals, fed this demand directly.
191	187	1764 Brought over £20 7s 8¾d 9 Fowls £0 13s 6d 5 Ducks £0 7s 6d 1 Goose £0 5s 0d 3 Turkeys £0 15s 0d 39¼ lb fresh Butter £1 19s 3d 98 Candy £1 12s 8d £26 0s 7¾d John Robinson this day presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &ca, Council of St Helena The humble Petition of John Robinson Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of having a piece of the Honorable Company's Waste Land adjoining to your Petitioners Land in the East Division of this Island, and as it being very barren and chiefly for the Benefit of Fencing humbly begs that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same. And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) 13th February 1764 John Robinson	The table account for January 1764 continued with £20 7s 8¾d brought forward. Balance brought forward, £20 7s 8¾d 9 fowls, £0 13s 6d 5 ducks, £0 7s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 39¼ pounds of fresh butter, £1 19s 3d 98 pounds of sugar candy, £1 12s 8d Total, £26 0s 7¾d John Robinson presented a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the Council, dated 13 February 1764. He wished to obtain a piece of the Company's unused land next to his own holding in the island's East Division. Since the ground was very barren, he wanted it mainly so that he could fence his property, and he asked for a lease of it. The Council ordered an inspection of the land. The Governor told the Council that he wished to buy Jacob, a male slave belonging to the Company who had lived in his household for many years, and offered to pay whatever value was put on him. The Council agreed that he should have Jacob at the price recorded against him in the Company's general books, which was £21 0s 0d. The Governor paid that sum. Captain William Harrold asked the Council's permission to pay £500 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. **Interpretations** The Company's slaves were entered in its general books as property with a set value, like livestock or stores, and that book value decided Jacob's price when he was sold. The Governor offered to pay whatever Jacob was judged to be worth, but the Council fixed the price at the recorded figure of £21

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		Ordered the said Land to be Viewed The Governor acquainting Us, that he was desirous of purchasing Jacob a Man Slave of the Honorable Company's who has lived with him for many Years, and Offered to pay whatever was thought to be his Value, It was agreed he should have him at the Price he stands charged at upon the General Books being twenty one pounds which he paid accordingly Captain William Harrold applied to Us to pay five Hundred pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash which	0s 0d rather than ordering a fresh valuation. The Council that made the decision sat under the Governor's own presidency, so the purchase shows the head of the island's government acquiring Company property on terms set by his colleagues. For Jacob the sale meant passing from the Company's ownership into that of the man whose household he had long served, a transfer in which he had no say. Robinson's petition followed the usual procedure for Company land. Before granting a lease, the Council sent men to view the ground and confirm its condition and boundaries, so that barren waste could be told apart from land with a higher value. His stated purpose, to fence his existing holding, reflects the importance of enclosure on an island where livestock roamed freely and crops had to be protected from them.
192	188	13th February which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange, drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors, payable to John Hallet Esqr or order, Ninety days after sight, dated this day Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th Day of February 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 13th February 1764 Tuesday the 14th Died Stephen Son of Stephen, & Penelope Young Friday the 17th Passed by three Ships at a great distance. Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash, for the Month of January last, which is as follows vizt	The Council accepted the £500 0s 0d from Captain William Harrold and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, dated 13 February 1764. The bills were payable to John Hallet or to whomever he directed, 90 days after they were presented in London. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 20 February 1764, with the Governor presiding and John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of the meeting of 13 February 1764 were read, approved and signed. Stephen, the son of Stephen and Penelope Young, died on Tuesday 14 February 1764. Three ships sailed past the island at a great distance on Friday 17 February 1764. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for the month of January 1764. **Interpretations** Harrold's deposit came at a useful moment for the treasury. The payment of the December quarter's wages had used up every Spanish dollar held, and by 31 December 1763 the coin in hand had fallen to £4,701 12s 3d. A single payment of £500 in cash, exchanged for bills that the Company would not have to honour in London for months, restored a large block of spendable money to the island at no immediate cost. Selling bills of exchange to ships' officers and other travellers was therefore one of the Council's main means of keeping the treasury supplied with coin between shipments from England.
193	189	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1764 Janry 1st To Balance remaining £5241 7s 3d 1764 Janry 31st By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt 7980 Pagodas 8/- £3192 0s 0d 621 Rupees 2/3 £69 17s 3d 441 French Ps -/2 £3 13s 6d 1484 Double Royals 1/3 £92 15s 0d 4166 Pistereens 1/- £208 6s 0d 4540 Dollars 5/- £1135 0s 0d Odd money £0 0s 6d £4701 12s 3d Cash Notes of no use amountg to	The Company's cash account for January 1764 recorded no receipts and no payments, and the treasury closed the month with the same balance it had held at the start. 1 January 1764, balance in hand, £5,241 7s 3d Balance held on 31 January 1764 in the following coin: 7,980 pagodas at 8s each, £3,192 0s 0d 621 rupees at 2s 3d each, £69 17s 3d 441 French pieces at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 1,484 double reals at 1s 3d each, £92 15s 0d 4,166 pistareens at 1s each, £208 6s 0d 4,540 dollars at 5s each, £1,135 0s 0d Odd money, £0 0s 6d Coin total, £4,701 12s 3d Cash notes no longer of use, £539 15s 0d Balance total, £5,241 7s 3d **Interpretations** The January count names 4,540 Spanish dollars worth £1,135 0s 0d, and its coin total of £4,701 12s 3d is identical to that recorded on 31 December 1763. The December total therefore already contained these dollars, although that month's list of coins carried no

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		£539 15s 0d £5241 7s 3d **Margin Notes:** 20th February	line for them. The quarter's wages had taken about 3,000 dollars from the treasury, together with 81 pagodas and 88 pistareens, rather than exhausting the stock of silver. Dollars remained the coin the Company paid out first, while the gold pagodas stayed largely in reserve. With no ships calling and no quarter day falling in January, the treasury stood completely still for the month. Its next movement came with the £500 paid in by Captain William Harrold for bills of exchange on 13 February 1764.
194	190	20th February The Executors to the last Will and Testament of Thomas Harper deceased this day presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor and Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Orlando Bagley Benjamin Mason, Samuel Alexander, and Jonathan Doveton Sheweth That your Petitioners, being Executors to the last Will and Testament of Thomas Harper Deceased, and thinking it may be of advantage to his Orphans humbly Begs, they may be permitted to dispose of Nineteen Acres of Leasehold Land at publick Auction, lying on Lemon Valley head. And Your Petitioners will pray 20th February 1764 (signed) Orlando Bagley Jonathan Doveton Benjamin Mason Saml Alexander Granted Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The executors of the will of the late Thomas Harper presented a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the Council on 20 February 1764. The executors were Orlando Bagley, Benjamin Mason, Samuel Alexander and Jonathan Doveton. They believed it would benefit Harper's orphaned children to sell 19 acres of leasehold land at the head of Lemon Valley, and they asked permission to sell it by public auction. All four signed the petition. The Council granted the request, and the Governor, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order. **Interpretations** Leasehold land on the island belonged to the Company, so a tenant's executors could not sell the remainder of a lease without the Council's consent. The request for a public auction served the interests of Harper's orphans. An open sale to the highest bidder guarded against executors disposing of the land cheaply to friends or to themselves, and it turned a holding the children could not farm into money that could be held for their upkeep. By approving the sale, the Council acted as a check on the executors' handling of property held in trust for minors. The same small group of settlers recurs as executors across the island's estates. Samuel Alexander had acted for John Worrall in December 1763 and also served the Company as an overseer, Benjamin Mason supplied the Company with rushes and timber, and Jonathan Doveton sold it binders. Trusted planters were called on repeatedly to manage the property of widows and orphans, which placed the settlement of estates in the hands of a narrow circle within the community.
195	191	27th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th Day of February 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captn Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 20th February 1764 Yesterday Arrived the Honorable Company's Ships Plassey from Madrass, and the Earl of Ashburnham from Bengal and brought Us the following supply vizt Invoice of Ship Plassey No 1. 1 Bale qt Long Cloth Superfine 20 ps 64. 40 P Ps 122 Pagodas 18 Fanams 0 Cash Do fine 2 1 Do Do 10 P Do 2 Bales Cont 1.10 ps @ 67.31 P Corge 101 Pagodas 28 Fanams 40 Cash Do Superfine No 1. 15 ps @ 12. 9 P Ps 188 Pagodas 27 Fanams 0 Cash Do Do 2. 9 ps @ 9. 9 P Ps 83 Pagodas 9 Fanams 0 Cash Do Do 3. 4 ps @ 8. 0 P Ps 33 Pagodas 0 Fanams 0 Cash	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 27 February 1764. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 20 February 1764 were read, approved and signed. The East India Company's ships *Plassey*, from Madras, and *Earl of Ashburnham*, from Bengal, arrived on Sunday 26 February 1764 with supplies for the island. The invoice of the goods shipped in the *Plassey* ran as follows, in the Madras currency of pagodas, fanams and cash. Bale number 1: 1 bale of superfine long cloth, 20 pieces at 6 pagodas 4 fanams 40 cash each, 122 pagodas 18 fanams 0 cash Bale number 2: 1 bale of fine long cloth, 10 pieces 2 bales of fine long cloth containing [...] pieces at [...] per corge, 101 pagodas 28 fanams 40 cash Superfine long cloth of grade 1, 13 pieces at 12 pagodas 9 fanams each, 138 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash Superfine long cloth of grade 2, 9 pieces at 9 pagodas 9 fanams each, 83 pagodas 9 fanams 0 cash Superfine long cloth of grade 3, 4½ pieces at 8 pagodas 9 fanams each, 38 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 40 bags of rice, net weight 48 hundredweight 1 quarter 22 pounds or 234½ measures, at 130 pagodas a garce, 76 pagodas 6 fanams 15 cash

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		Rice 40 Bags qt Nat Wt 48. 1. 22 or 234 Parras @ 130 P Gar 76 Pagodas 6 Fanams 15 Cash Paddy 22 bags 19. 1. 3 or 130 @ 55 P Do 17 Pagodas 34 Fanams 40 Cash Batavia Arr 2 Leagers qt 289 Gall @ 67.18 P Leager 135 Pagodas 0 Fanams 0 Cash 753 Pagodas 12 Fanams 15 Cash Charges Merchandize Packing 2 Bales @ 2 P Bale 4 Pagodas 0 Fanams 0 Cash Gunny Bags 124 @ 3.18 P % 4 Pagodas 12 Fanams 20 Cash Tin plates and Nails 0 Pagodas 6 Fanams 0 Cash Boat Hooley 4 Boats @ 9.20 P 15 1 Pagodas 0 Fanams 0 Cash Weighing Cooly 0 Pagodas 4 Fanams 0 Cash 9 Pagodas 23 Fanams 20 Cash Pagodas 762 Pagodas 35 Fanams 35 Cash Errors Excepted Thos Bourchier Accountt	22 bags of paddy, net weight 19 hundredweight 1 quarter 3 pounds or 130 measures, at 55 pagodas a garce, 17 pagodas 31 fanams 40 cash 2 leaguers of Batavia arrack containing 289 gallons at 67 pagodas 18 fanams a leaguer, 135 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Goods total, 753 pagodas 12 fanams 15 cash Charges on the goods: Packing 2 bales at 2 pagodas a bale, 4 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 124 gunny bags at 3 pagodas 18 fanams per 100, 4 pagodas 12 fanams 20 cash Tin plates and nails, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Hire of 4 boats at 9 fanams 20 cash a boat, 1 pagoda 1 fanam 0 cash Porters for weighing, 0 pagodas 4 fanams 0 cash Charges total, 9 pagodas 23 fanams 20 cash Invoice total, 762 pagodas 35 fanams 35 cash Thomas Bourchier, the accountant at Madras, signed the invoice, with the customary reservation that errors were excepted. **Interpretations** The invoice shows the Company's Indian presidencies supplying St Helena directly. Madras shipped the goods the island depended on, long cloth, rice, paddy and arrack, and priced them in its own currency. At Madras a pagoda was divided into 36 fanams and each fanam into 80 cash, so the island's accountant would convert the invoice into sterling at the fixed rate of 8s a pagoda used in the treasury counts. The total of almost 763 pagodas amounted to about £305 in the Company's books. Several of the measures were peculiar to south India. Cloth was reckoned by the corge, a bundle of 20 pieces, and grain by the measure and the garce, a large unit equal to 400 measures, so the invoice gave both the local volume and the English weight of the rice and paddy. Gunny bags were coarse sacks woven from jute or hemp in Bengal and used across the Indian Ocean trade for grain. The boat hire paid for the surf boats that carried cargo from the open beach at Madras through the breakers to ships lying offshore, since the port had no harbour, and the weighing porters checked the grain before loading. Batavia arrack was the spirit distilled in the Dutch port of Batavia on Java from sugar cane and rice, considered the finest arrack in the East. Madras bought it from Dutch or country traders and shipped it on in leaguers, the large casks in which the island received most of its arrack.
196	192	27th February Invoice of Ship Earl of Ashburnham RF Rice Fine 30 Bags qt 60 B Md @ 30 P Mds 86 Rupees 6 Annas 3 Pice WC Wax Candles 4 Chests qt 8 F Md @ 64 P Md 512 Rupees 0 Annas 0 Pice P Paddy 15 bags qt 22.20 10 P 13 14 Rupees 1 Annas 0 Pice SF Sugar fine 10 Bags qt 20 7. 8 P Maund 150 Rupees 0 Annas 0 Pice BA Batavia Arrack 6 Third Leagers @ 10. 11 R @ 510 Rupees 6 Annas 3 Pice 1270 Rupees 13 Annas 6 Pice Charges Merchandize 85 Gunny Bags 11 Rupees 6 Annas 9 Pice 18 Twine 0 Rupees 1 Annas 9 Pice Packers 0 Rupees 4 Annas 3 Pice	The invoice of goods shipped in the *Earl of Ashburnham* from Bengal ran as follows, in the Bengal money of account of current rupees, annas and pies. Each line carried a shipping mark identifying its contents. Mark RF, fine rice: 30 bags containing 60 bazaar maunds at 30 [...], 86 rupees 6 annas 3 pies Mark WC, wax candles: 4 chests containing 8 factory maunds at 64 rupees a maund, 512 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Mark P, paddy: 15 bags containing 22 maunds 20 seers at 10 annas a maund, 14 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Mark SF, fine sugar: 10 bags containing 20 maunds at 7 rupees 8 annas a maund, 150 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Mark BA, Batavia arrack: 6 third-leaguers at [...], 510 rupees 6 annas 3 pies Goods total, 1,272 rupees 13 annas 6 pies Charges on the goods: 85 gunny bags, 11 rupees 6 annas 9 pies 18 [...] of twine, 0 rupees 1 anna 9 pies Packers, 0 rupees 4 annas 3 pies 4 chests with their packing, 10 rupees 9 annas 6 pies Sloop hire, 34 rupees 10 annas 0 pies

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		4 Chests with packages 10 Rupees 9 Annas 6 Pice Sloophire 34 Rupees 10 Annas 0 Pice Boathire 2 Rupees 5 Annas 0 Pice Peon 2 Rupees 2 Annas 6 Pice Mookeas 4 Rupees 12 Annas 0 Pice Weighmen 0 Rupees 5 Annas 6 Pice Duty 0 Rupees 8 Annas 0 Pice 67 Rupees 2 Annas 3 Pice Curt Rupees 1347 Rupees 15 Annas 6 Pice Errors Excepted P P M Dacres Sub Acct We this day Executed a Lease to Mr James Powell for a small piece of the Honorable Company's Waste Land lying in James's Valley at three Shillings P Annum. Cha Hutchinson John Skottowe Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Boat hire, 2 rupees 6 annas 0 pies Peon, 2 rupees 2 annas 6 pies Porters, 4 rupees 12 annas 0 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 5 annas 6 pies Customary commission, 0 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Charges total, 67 rupees 2 annas 3 pies Invoice total, 1,339 rupees 15 annas 9 pies P. M. Dacres, the sub-accountant in Bengal, signed the invoice, with the customary reservation that errors were excepted. On the same day the Council completed the lease to James Powell of a small piece of the Company's unused land in James Valley, at a rent of 3s 0d a year. Governor Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** The current rupee was a money of account used in the Company's Bengal books rather than an actual coin, so the invoice was priced in a unit that allowed goods bought with many different rupee coins to be recorded on one standard. The maund was the Bengal unit of weight, and the invoice distinguished the bazaar maund used in the markets from the heavier factory maund used in the Company's own warehouses. A seer was one fortieth of a maund. The charges trace the route the goods took from Calcutta to the ship. Sloop hire paid for carrying the cargo some 60 miles down the Hooghly river to where the large ships anchored, since East Indiamen could not safely come up to the town, and it was by far the heaviest charge. Porters, weighmen and a peon, an attendant or messenger who watched over the goods, were paid for handling and checking the loading. The customary commission was the small fee known in Bengal as dustoor, taken by agents and servants on every transaction. The wax candles were beeswax, far brighter and cleaner-burning than the tallow candles issued for ordinary use, and at 512 rupees they formed the most valuable single item. They were probably meant for the Castle, the Council chamber and the church, where the Governor's household set a standard above the rest of the island. Powell's rent of 3s 0d a year for his plot was nominal, confirming that the land was barren waste valued chiefly for the use he could make of it beside his yard.
197	193	5th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th Day of March 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captain Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 27th February 1764 Mr Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ships Plassey and Earl of Ashburnham to Muster their Company's and inquire for deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow vizt Muster Roll of Ship Plassey James Ward Commander William Peters 1 Mate John Winddell 2 Do John Tinker 3 Do Fr Hardwick 4 Do Henry Kent 5th Do Samuel Jackson Purser Archd Gardner Surgeon John Sands Capt Servant George Simpson Gunner John Oglivie Boatswain	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 5 March 1764. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as councillors. The minutes of the meeting of 27 February 1764 were read, approved and signed. Matthew Purling reported that he had gone aboard the *Plassey* and the *Earl of Ashburnham* to check their crews against their rolls and search for deserters, and had found none. The muster roll of the *Plassey* ran as follows. James Ward, commander William Peters, first mate John Winddell, second mate John Tinker, third mate Francis Hardwick, fourth mate Henry Kent, fifth mate Samuel Jackson, purser Archibald Gardner, surgeon John Sands, captain's steward George Simpson, gunner John Ogilvie, boatswain George Searle, carpenter William Renfield, caulker William Chapman, sailmaker Thomas Lehy, cooper Garrett Byrne, captain's cook John Chase, carpenter's mate

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		George Searle Carpenter William Renfield Caulker William Chapman Sailmak Thomas Lehy Cooper Garrett Bryme Capt Cooke John Chase Capt Mate Matthew Gullery Surgs Mate Robert Morris Coopers Mt Thomas Brown Butcher Edward Robinson Do Mas Wm Baker Do David Peacock Do Wm Camross Do Robert Simmen Midship Wm Hedges Midshipman John Frost Do Valent Liddnd Do Wm Hutchinson Boatn Mt Bryan Skeys Gunr Mate John Walker Armourer Francis Jones Midsh Mason Richard Rat Capt Servant Benjamin Watson 1 Mt Do John Willson 2 Mt Do Joseph Massy Surgeons Do Thomas Gorman Boat Do Frans Morriss Gunr Do Joseph Knight Carpt Do Thos Pearson Seaman John Hosfuck Do Godlip Friderhall Do Wm Racking Do John Robinson Do Richard Beard Do Andrew Kelly Do Richard Dawson Do Wm Taylor Do Matthew Kerby Do John Buckle Do Thos Collins Seaman George Sauner Do William Daniel Do Joseph Pitt Do Thomas Dickenson Do Charles Cobb Do Benjamin Francis Do Charles Gedvlaff Do Wm Rickhof Do Claus Johnston Do Wm Tassell Do Henry Brackett Do George Parker Do Henry Tidd Do Niel McDermott Do Anthony Hendry Do Abrahm Shrewsbury Do Saml Arnall Do Thomas Comerford Do James Frazer Do John Beam Do John Musgrove Do Thomas Hompton Do Anthony Smith Do Evans Griffiths Do	Matthew Guttery, surgeon's mate Robert Morris, cooper's mate Thomas Brown, butcher Edward Robinson, quartermaster William Baker, quartermaster David Peacock, quartermaster William Camcross, quartermaster Robert Simson, midshipman William Hedges, midshipman John Frost, midshipman Valentine Liddal, midshipman William Hutchinson, boatswain's mate Bryan Keys, gunner's mate John Walker, armourer Francis [...] Richard Pratt, captain's servant Benjamin Watson, first mate's servant John Wilson, second mate's servant Joseph Massey, surgeon's servant Thomas Gorman, boatswain's servant Francis Morris, gunner's servant Joseph Knight, carpenter's servant Thomas Pearson, seaman John Hossack, seaman Godlip Friedendall, seaman William Rackling, seaman John Robinson, seaman Richard Baird, seaman Andrew Kelly, seaman Richard Dawson, seaman William Taylor, seaman Matthew Kirby, seaman John Bumble, seaman Thomas Collins, seaman George Scrivener, seaman William Donish, seaman Joseph Pitt, seaman Thomas Dickinson, seaman Charles Cobb, seaman Benjamin Francis, seaman Charles Godlaff, seaman Adam William Kickhof, seaman Claus Johnston, seaman William Tassell, seaman Henry Brackett, seaman George Parker, seaman Henry Tidd, seaman Neil McDermott, seaman Anthony Hendy, seaman Abraham Shrewsbury, seaman Samuel Stringall, seaman Thomas Comerford, seaman James Frazer, seaman John Beam, seaman John Musgrove, seaman Thomas Kempton, seaman Anthony Smith, seaman Evans Griffiths, seaman
198	194	5th March Henry French Seaman George Stevenson Do Thomas Loyd Do Thomas Laven Do James Sindercomb Do Thomas Brown Do William Sands Do John Condon Do Francis Turksey Seamn James Scurlock Do	The muster roll of the *Plassey* continued with the rest of her seamen. Henry French, seaman George Stevenson, seaman Thomas Loyd, seaman Thomas Laven, seaman James Sindercombe, seaman Thomas Brown, seaman William Sands, seaman John Condon, seaman Francis Turkey, seaman

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		William Jackson Do William Nicholls Do Saml Hawkins Do Francis Webb Do Henry Richards Do Simon Low Do William Clark Do James Smith Seaman John Smith Do David Limburg Do Neal McCloud Do Joseph Smith Do Robert Pitcher Do Henry Radshaw Do David Robinson Do Passengers Govenr Geo: Pigott Esqr Mr Vanvillart Mr Josph Du Pre Mr James Alexander Mr James Wilson Six Servants belonging to the above French Prisoners Jaun Babtist Bergoin Le Rose Jaun Babtist Gurlea Antoine Leanour Franc Pan Antoine Rasa John Odesa Auens Rana Mabell Jaun Baptist Leblan Bren Ber Soca Eloud Ruslea Pear Bucack John Marten Maturan Alogour (signed) James Ward Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Ashburnham Thomas Pierce Commander Edw Wills Smith Chief Mate Edwd Back 2d Do John Linham 3d Do Jacob Hoff 4th Do John Forbes Surgeon Thomas Wood Purser James Wyburn Gunner Willm Saunders Boatswain Wool. Dickinson Carpenter Willm Horn Midshipman John Nail Do Rory McKenzie Do Josh Gillson 2d Master John Inglesh Do Rowd Patterson Do John Bapiste Do Joseph Goney Caulker Edward Parkes Sailmr Edward Farrent Armorer Francis Penbor Ships Stewd James Dawson Capt Cook Willm Ibbots Ships Do Gavin Patterson Cooper John Knight Butcher Wm Brooker Poulterer John Wood Gunrs Mate John Liddon Boatn Do Robt Nabby Do Do John Mayn Carpenters Do	James Scurlock, seaman William Jackson, seaman William Nicholls, seaman Samuel Hopkins, seaman Francis Webb, seaman Henry Richards, seaman Simon Low, seaman William Clark, seaman James Smith, seaman John Smith, seaman David Limburg, seaman Neal McCloud, seaman Joseph Smith, seaman Robert Pitcher, seaman Henry Radshaw, seaman David Robinson, seaman The ship also carried passengers and French prisoners. Passengers: Governor George Pigott Mr Vanvillart Mr Joseph Du Pre Mr James Alexander Mr James Wilson 6 servants belonging to the passengers French prisoners: Jean Baptiste Bergoin Le Rose Jean Baptiste Gerlea Antoine Jeanour François Pan Antoine Rafa Jean Odesa Auens, first name not recorded René Mabell Jean Baptiste Leblan Bren Ber Soca, first name not recorded Claude Ruslea Pierre Bucack John Martin Mathurin Alogour James Ward signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Earl of Ashburnham* began as follows. Thomas Pierce, commander Edward Wills Smith, chief mate Edward Back, second mate John Linham, third mate Jacob Hoff, fourth mate John Forbes, surgeon Thomas Wood, purser James Wyburn, gunner William Saunders, boatswain Woolley Dickinson, carpenter William Horn, midshipman John Neil, midshipman Rory McKenzie, midshipman Joseph Gilson, quartermaster John English, quartermaster Richard Patterson, quartermaster John Baptiste, quartermaster Joseph Coney, caulker Edward Parker, sailmaker Edward Tarrant, armourer Francis Penboe, ship's steward James Dawson, captain's cook William Abbots, ship's cook Gavin Patterson, cooper John Knight, butcher William Brooker, poulterer John Wood, gunner's mate John Sidden, boatswain's mate Robert Nabb, boatswain's mate John Mayor, carpenter's mate **Interpretations**

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			Governor Pigott, the leading passenger aboard the *Plassey*, was the retiring Governor of Madras, homeward bound with his companions and servants. Homeward East Indiamen carried the Company's senior servants back to England at the end of their service, and St Helena was their last port of call before the long run north. The arrival of such a figure brought the island's Council into contact with the highest ranks of the Company's Asian establishment, and the muster recorded him alongside the crew and prisoners as part of the ship's full company. The French prisoners were again carried home as part of the ship's complement, as those in the *Grosvenor* had been in December 1763. Several appear by surname alone, a sign that the ship's clerk recorded them as best he could from men whose names he knew only by hearing.
199	195	1764 Richard Guest Joyner Henry Gray Coopers Mate Ant. Schoto Caulkers dº Ignatius O Neil Capt. Servt. Joseph Antony dº dº Antonio Chief Mate dº Joseph Hart dº dº Aabrio Surgeons dº Robt. Wyburn Gunners dº George Haughton Boats dº John Gathercole Carpt. dº John Gregg Seaman John Bincom Peter Shewat John Bapt. Sibb Josh. [...] Willm. Tomlinson Willm. Soyant Josh. Solscold John Dickson Saml. Welsh John Garfoot John Norbury Antonio Visser [...] Alexr. Lashly Seaman Alexr. Allen Jeremiah Read George Edwards Peter Macis John Burchell Simon Cusane Antony Nova Thomas Hunt Willm. Ilord And. McVay Jacob Gregory James Buttle John Benbray George Moor Cornelious Wekham Wm. McLane John Lee James Johnson Peter Hazey Cornelious Johnson John Brandenburg George Collins John Deal [...] William Northbury Seamn. Matthew Cambriford Bernard Tilier John Simmons Stephen Swan Mimo Sodac Serang Suffer Tindal	A roll dated 1764 recorded the crew, passengers and French prisoners on board a ship that the page did not name. Thomas Pearse signed it. The crew included men of many trades and origins, from ship's tradesmen and officers' servants to seamen and a gang of lascars: Richard Guest, joiner Henry Gray, cooper's mate Antonio Schooto, caulker's mate Ignatius O'Neil, captain's servant Joseph Antony, captain's servant Antonio, chief mate's servant Joseph Hart, chief mate's servant Fabrio, surgeon's servant Robert Wyburn, gunner's servant George Haughton, boatswain's servant John Gathercole, carpenter's servant John Gregg, seaman John Bincom Peter Sherwat John Baptist Sibb Joseph Mincher William Tomlinson William Soyant Joseph Sorscold John Dickson Samuel Welsh John Garfoot John Norbury Antonio Viser [...] Alexander Lashly, seaman Alexander Allen Jeremiah Read George Edwards Peter Macis John Birchell Simon Cusans Antony Nova Thomas Hunt William Ilord Andrew McVay Jacob Gregory James Buttle John Benbray George Moor Cornelius Wickham William McLane John Lee James Johnson Peter Kazey Cornelius Johnson John Brandenburg George Collins John Deal [...] William Northbury, seaman Matthew Camberford

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		Piru Lascar Sokeremono Dundee Suvar Abbow Sagu Sidde Salomin Hassein Yarrow Sugar Duhu Allew Sofal Jacque Bleidufusne Duncan Seaman Passengers Mrs. Anne Maria Scott Miss Jane McKonica Miss Mary Williams Major Francis Allison Lieut. John Gabb Lieut. John Bourn Mr. Robert Powney 1 Black Man Servant French Prisoners Heziguyon French Officer Jacque le fountaine Mathuzin Binar Montuerery Guerins Picard Renaud St. Capus Marchand Joseph Toussemant Barille Yions Joseph Binar Chne Le Jouser Louis Barnard Nicola Du Bois Mathieu le galle Barrier Janebris Gy Gouse Solicoeur Le Loegu Lechy Danery Vault Seaman Le Jouvric (Signed) Thomas Pearse	Bernard Titier John Simmons Stephen Swan Mamo Sodac, serang Jaffer, tindal Piru, lascar Sokeremomo Dundee Sumar Abbow Sagu Siddee Salomin Hassin Yarrow Sugar Duhee Allew Sofal Jacque Bebedufresne Duncan, seaman Seven passengers travelled with a black servant: Mrs Anne Maria Scott Miss Jane McKonica Miss Mary Williams Major Francis Allison Lieutenant John Gabb Lieutenant John Bourn Mr Robert Powney A black servant The ship also carried a party of French prisoners under one of their own officers: Hezigoyen, French officer Jacque le Fountaine Mathurin Benar Montrecueuf Guerins Picard Renand St Capus Marchand Joseph Troussman Baville Yions Joseph Benar Chrétien Le Josse Louis Barnard Nicola Du Bois Mathieu le Galle Barrere Janebris Gy Gousse Jolicoeur Le Loegue Lechy Daney Saint Jerman Le Jeunne **Interpretations** A serang, a tindal and a gang of lascars served among the crew, followed by a series of South Asian names. A lascar was a seaman recruited in India or elsewhere around the Indian Ocean. The serang acted as boatswain and headman over the lascar gang, and the tindal served as his deputy. Under this arrangement the ship's officers dealt with the serang, who in turn recruited, disciplined and often paid his own men. The presence of this structure showed a crew raised in part in Asian ports, probably to make up for European seamen lost to sickness or desertion. The servants attached to the captain, chief mate, surgeon, gunner, boatswain and carpenter reflected the shipboard practice of assigning boys or young men to individual officers. Such servants were often apprentices learning a trade at sea, and their wages were frequently drawn by the officer they served. The

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			roll thus recorded a chain of personal dependence within the crew as well as a count of hands. The French prisoners formed a distinct group under a named officer. Their inclusion alongside crew and passengers showed that prisoners of war travelled as a charge on the ship, which had to feed and account for them until they were landed or handed over. Two names in the crew had faded beyond reading and are marked accordingly. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploaded files, so no checks against the master reference, timeline or open threads were possible, and it would need to be uploaded for later pages.
200	196	5th March The Storekeeper this day brought in the following Account of Stores short received from the Ships Plassey & Earl of Ashburnham vizt. Account of Stores short received from the following Ships vizt. Ship Plassey Rice short weight 3cwt 0qr 12lb Paddy not delivered 19cwt 1qr 3lb Long Cloth received as pr. Invoice, tho they are only 68 Ps. specified in the Bill of Lading 78 Ps. No. 1. 1 Leagr. Arr. gages 158 Galls. wants to fill 13½ Galls. 2. 1 do. do. 152½ Galls. do. 5 Galls. 306 Galls. 18½ Galls. Galls. 287½ recd. Ship Earl of Ashburnham Rice 0cwt 3qr 2lb Paddy 0cwt 2qr 26lb Sugar 3cwt 0qr 8lb Candles 0cwt 0qr 8lb Short weight 6 Thirds of Leagr. Arrack gages 258½ Galls. wants to fill 18½ Galls. 18½ Galls. Galls. 240 recd. (Signed) J. Powell St. Helena 5th March 1764 Captain Henry Bassett this day applied to Us to pay one hundred and seventy seven pounds one Shilling and Eleven pence into the Honorable Company's Cash, which sum we have received and given him Bills of exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr. Jordan Bigger or Order drawn at Ninety days sight Chas. Hutchinson John Skottowe Curling Fra. Kirkpatrick	On 5 March 1764 the storekeeper presented an account of stores that had arrived short from two ships. From the *Plassey*: Rice short in weight, 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 pounds Paddy not landed, 19 hundredweight 1 quarter 3 pounds Long cloth, 78 pieces received according to the invoice, although the bill of lading listed only 68 pieces 1: 1 leaguer of arrack, gauged at 158 gallons, 13½ gallons short of full 2: 1 leaguer of arrack, gauged at 152½ gallons, 5 gallons short of full Total arrack gauged, 306 gallons Total arrack short of full, 18½ gallons Total arrack received, 287½ gallons From the *Earl of Ashburnham*, all short in weight: Rice, 13 hundredweight 2 quarters 0 pounds Paddy, 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 26 pounds Sugar, 3 hundredweight 0 quarters 8 pounds Candles, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 8 pounds 6 thirds of a leaguer of arrack, gauged at 258½ gallons, 18½ gallons short of full Arrack received, 240 gallons J. Powell signed the account as storekeeper. On the same day Captain Henry Bassett asked to pay £177 1s 11d into the Company's treasury on the island. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors. These were payable to Mr Jordan Bigger or to his order, 90 days after they were presented. Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, [...] Purling and [...] Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** Paddy was rice still in its husk, which kept better on a long voyage than cleaned grain and could be husked on the island as needed. Long cloth was a plain Indian cotton woven in unusually long pieces, widely used for shirts, bedding and slaves' clothing. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap, rice or sugar, and the island drew it for the garrison's allowance. It arrived in leaguers, large casks holding roughly 150 gallons each, and a third of a leaguer was a smaller cask of about 50 gallons. Weights were given in hundredweight, quarters and pounds, with a quarter of 28 pounds. Gauging meant measuring the actual contents of each cask against its full capacity. The gap between the two, known as ullage, was recorded because leakage and evaporation on passage fell on the ship rather than on the Company. By setting down each shortfall against a named ship, the storekeeper built the record the Council needed to charge the loss to the commander's account or to his owners. The long cloth entry turned on the difference between two documents. The invoice showed what the Company's factors in India had sent, while the bill of lading was the master's signed receipt for what he

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			took on board. A master answered only for goods he had signed for, so the gap between 78 and 68 pieces mattered for any claim against him. Captain Bassett's payment showed how the island raised cash. A commander with money on hand, probably from private trade, paid it into the treasury and took in return bills that the Company would honour in London. The Council gained coin for local spending without shipping money out from England, and the captain gained a safe way to send his funds home. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploaded files, so no checks against the master reference, timeline or open threads were possible.
201	197	12th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 12th day of March 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Skottowe Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Curling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 5th March 1764. Monday the 5th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Plassey and Earl of Ashburnham for England. The Plantation Gunners, and Stewards Accounts for the Month of February last were this day brought in, which were examined and approved, and are follow vizt. Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of February 1764. Lisbon Wine 18 Bottles £1 7s 0d Mountain 17 do. £1 5s 6d Arrack 62 do. £2 17s 10½d Beer 16 do. £0 4s 4d Flour 293lb £1 14s 4½d Beef 148lb £1 17s 0d S. Pork 7lb £0 17s 9½d Mutton 237lb £4 18s 9d Goat 54lb £0 18s 0d Fowls 12 £0 18s 0d Ducks 7 £0 10s 6d Goose 1 £0 5s 0d Turkeys 4 £1 0s 0d fresh Butter	Governor Hutchinson held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 12 March 1764. Lieutenant Governor John Skottowe, Mr Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick attended as members of the Council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 5 March 1764, were read out, approved and signed. The Company's ships *Plassey* and *Earl of Ashburnham* left for England on Monday 5 March. The Council examined and approved the February accounts for the plantation, the gunners and the stewards. The stewards' account set out the provisions used at the Company's table during February 1764: 18 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 7s 0d 17 bottles of mountain wine, £1 5s 6d 62 bottles of arrack, £2 17s 10½d 16 bottles of beer, £0 4s 4d 293 pounds of flour, £1 14s 4½d 148 pounds of beef, £1 17s 0d 7 pieces of salt pork, £0 17s 9½d 237 pounds of mutton, £4 18s 9d 54 pounds of goat, £0 18s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 7 ducks, £0 10s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 36¾ pounds of fresh butter, £1 16s 9d 103 pounds of sugar candy, £1 14s 4d Total, £22 5s 2½d **Interpretations** The Company's table was the Governor's official board, where members of the Council, senior officers and visiting commanders dined at the Company's expense. Its cost was charged openly to the Company and audited each month like any other account. This made hospitality a formal part of the island's government, and the monthly review let the Council keep watch over what the stewards spent. Mountain was a sweet white wine from the hills around Malaga in southern Spain, popular in England at the time as a dessert wine. Lisbon wine was a white wine from Portugal that travelled well on long voyages. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised in large lumps, usually from India or China, and it was used both for sweetening and as a confection. Mutton was the largest single charge, at about 5d a pound, while beef cost roughly 3d a pound. Goat also appeared on the table, which showed that the island's own flocks and herds supplied much of the fresh meat. Only the salt pork, the wines and the arrack would have come in by sea. The departure of the *Plassey* and the *Earl of Ashburnham* on 5 March 1764 fell on the same day the storekeeper reported the stores both ships had landed short. The shortfall account was therefore settled against their commanders just before they sailed.

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		36¾lb £1 16s 9d Candy 103lb £1 14s 4d £22 5s 2½d	
202	198	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca. for the Month of February 1764 vizt. Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses He Asses, Asses She Asses, Asses Total Remaining 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 76, Neat Cattle Yearlings 63, Neat Cattle Heifers 18, Neat Cattle Steers 36, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 281, Sheep Weathers 150, Sheep Lambs 192, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 631, Goats Ewes 134, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 121, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 272, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 19, Poultry Fowls 129, Poultry Ducks 52, Poultry Turkeys 53, Poultry Geese 29, Horses Horses 7, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 12, Asses He Asses 2, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 3, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 3, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 4, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 4, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 10, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Brot. from the Cape: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 4, Sheep Weathers 80, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 84, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 1, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 1, Asses He Asses 1, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 79, Neat Cattle Yearlings 63, Neat Cattle Heifers 18, Neat Cattle Steers 36, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 295, Sheep Ewes 285, Sheep Weathers 230, Sheep Lambs 192, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 715, Goats Ewes 134, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 125, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 276, Hogs Sows 5, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 19, Poultry Fowls 139, Poultry Ducks 52, Poultry Turkeys 53, Poultry Geese 29, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses He Asses 2, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 1, Neat Cattle Steers 1, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 3, Sheep Ewes 4, Sheep Weathers 20, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 24, Goats Ewes 2, Goats Weathers 2, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 4, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 12,	Lieutenant Governor John Skottowe signed an account of the Company's livestock for February 1764, showing the stock held at the start of the month, the changes during it and the numbers left at its close: Cattle Bulls: at 1 February 3, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 3, killed 0, died 0, at month end 3 Cows: at 1 February 83, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 83, killed 1, died 0, at month end 82 Calves: at 1 February 76, born 3, brought from the Cape 0, total 79, killed 0, died 0, at month end 79 Yearlings: at 1 February 63, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 63, killed 0, died 0, at month end 63 Heifers: at 1 February 18, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 18, killed 1, died 0, at month end 17 Steers: at 1 February 36, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 36, killed 1, died 0, at month end 35 Oxen: at 1 February 13, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 13, killed 0, died 0, at month end 13 All cattle: at 1 February 292, born 3, brought from the Cape 0, total 295, killed 3, died 0, at month end 292 Sheep Ewes: at 1 February 281, born 0, brought from the Cape 4, total 285, killed 4, died 3, at month end 278 Wethers: at 1 February 150, born 0, brought from the Cape 80, total 230, killed 20, died 1, at month end 209 Lambs: at 1 February 192, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 192, killed 0, died 1, at month end 191 Rams: at 1 February 8, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 8, killed 0, died 0, at month end 8 All sheep: at 1 February 631, born 0, brought from the Cape 84, total 715, killed 24, died 5, at month end 686 Goats Nanny goats: at 1 February 134, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 134, killed 2, died 0, at month end 132 Wethers: at 1 February 8, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 8, killed 2, died 0, at month end 6 Kids: at 1 February 121, born 4, brought from the Cape 0, total 125, killed 0, died 0, at month end 125 Billy goats: at 1 February 9, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 9, killed 0, died 0, at month end 9 All goats: at 1 February 272, born 4, brought from the Cape 0, total 276, killed 4, died 0, at month end 272 Pigs Sows: at 1 February 5, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 5, killed 0, died 1, at month end 4 Young pigs past weaning: at 1 February 2, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 2, killed 0, died 0, at month end 2 Piglets: at 1 February 11, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 11, killed 0, died 0, at month end 11 Boars: at 1 February 1, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 1, killed 0, died 0, at month end 1 All pigs: at 1 February 19, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 19, killed 0, died 1, at month end 18 Poultry

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		Poultry Ducks 7, Poultry Turkeys 4, Poultry Geese 1, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 3, Sheep Weathers 1, Sheep Lambs 1, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 5, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Remaining 31st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 82, Neat Cattle Calves 79, Neat Cattle Yearlings 63, Neat Cattle Heifers 17, Neat Cattle Steers 35, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 278, Sheep Weathers 209, Sheep Lambs 191, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 686, Goats Ewes 132, Goats Weathers 6, Goats Kids 125, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 272, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 18, Poultry Fowls 127, Poultry Ducks 47, Poultry Turkeys 49, Poultry Geese 28, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses He Asses 2, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Yams for Blacks 32,060 Yams Yams for Stocks 8,580 Yams 40640 Yams (Signed) John Skottowe **Margin Notes:** 12th March	Fowls: at 1 February 129, hatched 10, brought from the Cape 0, total 139, killed 12, died 0, at month end 127 Ducks: at 1 February 52, hatched 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 52, killed 7, died 0, at month end 47 Turkeys: at 1 February 53, hatched 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 53, killed 4, died 0, at month end 49 Geese: at 1 February 29, hatched 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 29, killed 1, died 0, at month end 28 Horses Stallions and geldings: at 1 February 7, born 0, brought from the Cape 1, total 8, killed 0, died 0, at month end 8 Mares: at 1 February 5, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 5, killed 0, died 0, at month end 5 All horses: at 1 February 12, born 0, brought from the Cape 1, total 13, killed 0, died 0, at month end 13 Donkeys Male donkeys: at 1 February 2, born 0, brought from the Cape 1, total 2, killed 0, died 0, at month end 2 Female donkeys: at 1 February 1, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 1, killed 0, died 0, at month end 1 All donkeys: at 1 February 3, born 0, brought from the Cape 0, total 3, killed 0, died 0, at month end 3 Yams Yams issued to the Company's slaves, 32,060 Yams fed to the livestock, 8,580 Total yams, 40,640 **Interpretations** The poultry killed during February matched the birds served at the Company's table in the stewards' account approved on 12 March 1764. Both records showed 12 fowls, 7 ducks, 4 turkeys and 1 goose. The two accounts therefore checked one another, since every bird taken from the Company's flocks had to appear as consumed at the Governor's table. The same cross-check did not hold for the larger animals. The table used only 148 pounds of beef from three cattle killed, which showed that most of the carcass meat went to other uses, probably the garrison and the hospital. Neat cattle meant cattle of the ox kind, as distinct from other farm animals. Wethers were castrated male sheep or goats, kept for meat, and shoats, rendered here as young pigs past weaning, were pigs between piglets and full-grown stock. Stock brought from the Cape came from the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, which was the nearest large source of animals. The arrival of 84 sheep, most of them wethers, showed that the island's own flocks did not breed fast enough to meet demand for mutton. Yams formed the staple ration of the Company's slaves and were grown on the Company's own plantation. The quantity was given as a bare count, so the figures probably recorded individual roots rather than a weight. Yams issued to the slaves outweighed those fed to the animals by almost four to one, and the scale of the issue showed how far the Company's labour force depended on a single crop raised on the island.
203	199	1764 Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of February 1764 Guns Fired, 9pounder, 4pounder, 3pounder, 2pounder, 1pounder, Powder Expd.	The gunners' account listed the artillery stores used in February 1764, recording each firing or other use with the number of guns fired, the calibres used and the gunpowder spent: 4 February, an alarm raised for a sighted vessel, the snow named below: 6 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 4-

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		4th An Alarm for the Snow Mercury: Guns Fired 6, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expd. 12lb 0oz 6th Powder for priming at the Alarm House from the 17th July 1763: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 3lb 0oz 8th do. for Blowing Lime Stone at Ruperts: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 6lb 0oz 17th A double Alarm for two Ships that went by: Guns Fired 9, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 3, 3pounder 3, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 3, Powder Expd. 18lb 0oz 23d An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expd. 12lb 0oz 26th An Alarm at Banks's: Guns Fired 2, 9pounder 2, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 9lb 0oz Arrived the Plassey and Ashburnham, returned the Salute: Guns Fired 18, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 18, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 18lb 0oz Powder priming: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 3lb 8oz Fired to Salute Governor Pigotts Arrival on shore: Guns Fired 19, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 18, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 19lb 8oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 3lb 8oz Fired to Salute Governor Vansittarts Lady's Arrival on Shore: Guns Fired 16, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expd. 16lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 2lb 12oz 28th do. for priming at Banks's from the 28th November 1762: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 3lb 0oz do. for the Funeral of Edward Law: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 2lb 4oz do. for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 3lb 8oz do. for Signal: Guns Fired 0, 9pounder 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expd. 1lb 0oz Total: Guns Fired 75, 9pounder 2, 4pounder 7, 3pounder 8, 2pounder 31, 1pounder 7, Powder Expd. 132lb 8oz Hand Spikes for the Use of the Long Boat 1 Hand Spike Tallow for the Use of the Gardener 1lb do. for the use of the Long Boat 6lb Paper for making Cannon Cartridges 5 Quires Mallets Broke with Driving Fuzes and Rockets 5 Mallets Mr. Richard Bagley this day presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Richard Bagley Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of having a small Piece of the Honorable Company's Waste Land, lying in the 4 [...] humbly begs that you will be	pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2, powder 12 lb 0 oz The vessel in question was the snow *Mercury*. 6 February, priming powder used at the Alarm House since 17 July 1763: 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 0 oz 8 February, powder for blasting limestone at Rupert's: 0 guns fired, powder 6 lb 0 oz 17 February, a double alarm for two ships that sailed past: 9 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 3, 3-pounders 3, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 3, powder 18 lb 0 oz 25 February, an alarm: 6 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 2, 3-pounders 2, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 2, powder 12 lb 0 oz 26 February, an alarm at Banks's: 2 guns fired, 9-pounders 2, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 0, 1-pounders 0, powder 9 lb 0 oz *Plassey* and *Earl of Ashburnham* arrived, and the salute was returned: 18 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 18, 1-pounders 0, powder 18 lb 0 oz. Priming powder: 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 8 oz Salute on Governor Pigot's landing: 19 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 1, 2-pounders 18, 1-pounders 0, powder 19 lb 8 oz Priming powder: 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 8 oz Salute on the landing of Governor Vansittart's wife: 15 guns fired, 9-pounders 0, 4-pounders 0, 3-pounders 0, 2-pounders 2, 1-pounders 0, powder 16 lb 0 oz Priming powder: 0 guns fired, powder 2 lb 12 oz 28 February, priming powder used at Banks's since 28 November 1762: 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 0 oz 28 February, powder for the funeral of Edward Law: 0 guns fired, powder 2 lb 4 oz 28 February, powder for refilling the cartridges at the Main Guard: 0 guns fired, powder 3 lb 8 oz 28 February, powder for a signal: 0 guns fired, powder 1 lb 0 oz Total: 75 guns fired, 9-pounders 2, 4-pounders 7, 3-pounders 8, 2-pounders 31, 1-pounders 7, powder 132 lb 8 oz Other stores issued during the month were: Handspikes for the longboat, 1 Tallow for the gardener, 1 lb Tallow for the longboat, 6 lb Paper for making cannon cartridges, 5 quires Mallets broken in driving fuses and rockets, 5 Mr Richard Bagley then submitted a petition addressed to Governor Hutchinson and the Council. He asked to be granted a small piece of the Company's unused land. **Interpretations** The alarm entries showed the island's warning system at work. Guns fired from the lookout posts and batteries whenever a sail came into view, so the garrison could stand to arms before any vessel reached the anchorage. The double alarm on 17 February marked two ships that passed without calling. The alarm system treated every unknown vessel as a possible enemy until it identified itself, which explains why powder went on ships that never anchored. Priming powder was the fine charge placed in a gun's touch-hole to fire the main cartridge. The Alarm House entry covered priming used over several months since 17 July 1763, and the Banks's entry reached back to 28 November 1762. This showed that small, routine uses were logged at each post and charged to the monthly account only at intervals. The salutes followed a scale of rank. Governor Pigot, evidently the head of another Company settlement travelling as a passenger, received 19 guns on landing. The wife of Governor Vansittart received

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			15 guns. Both arrivals came in the *Plassey* and the *Earl of Ashburnham*, whose own salute the island returned with 18 guns. The island thus used its artillery to mark the standing of senior Company servants passing through, not merely to defend itself. The powder used to blast limestone at Rupert's showed the gunners' stores serving public works as well as defence. The stone was burnt for lime, which the island needed for mortar and building. A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel with a small extra mast behind the mainmast, common in eastern and coastal trade. Handspikes were wooden levers used to shift heavy loads or turn a capstan. Tallow was rendered animal fat, used to grease tackle and make candles, and a quire was a quantity of paper of 24 or 25 sheets. All land on the island belonged to the Company, so any settler wanting unused ground had to petition the Governor and Council for a grant or lease. Bagley's request followed that route.
204	200	12th March pleased to grant him a Lease for the same St. Helena 12th March 1764 And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Richd. Bagley Granted William Moore this day presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of William Moore Sheweth That your Petitioner has an opportunity of disposing of his Right in a Lease for ten Acres of Land lying in Sandy Bay Valley humbly begs that you'll give him leave so to do, and admit of Mrs. Elizabeth Lambe Tenant for the same St. Helena 12th March 1764 And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Willm. Moore Granted George Young Centinel being missed the day after the Ships sailed, we have reason to believe he deserted in the Plassey, having been put on board that Ship by a Soldier, and a Black. Chas. Hutchinson John Skottowe Curling Fra. Kirkpatrick	Richard Bagley asked the Governor and Council to grant him a lease of the small piece of unused Company land he wanted. He signed his petition on 12 March 1764, and the Council approved it. William Moore also submitted a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the Council. Moore explained that he had a chance to sell his interest in a lease covering ten acres of land in Sandy Bay Valley. He asked permission to make the sale and to have Mrs Elizabeth Lamb accepted as tenant in his place. He signed the petition on 12 March 1764, and the Council granted it. A sentinel named George Young was found to be missing the day after the ships left. The Council had grounds to believe he deserted aboard the *Plassey*, which he had boarded with the help of a soldier and a black islander. Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Moore could not simply sell his lease on the open market. Because the Company owned all the land, a tenant needed the Council's leave to hand his interest to another person, and the Council had to accept the newcomer as its tenant. This gave the Council a veto over who held land on the island. It could keep out anyone it judged unsuitable, and it ensured that rent and other duties tied to the lease always rested on a named and approved occupier. The report on George Young showed how departing ships offered the easiest escape from service on a remote island. A deserter could not leave without help from people on shore, and here a fellow soldier and a black islander were held responsible for getting him aboard the *Plassey*. The Council recorded their part, which left open the question of punishment for those who helped him.
205	201	19th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th day of March 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Skottowe Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Curling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 12th March 1764 Yesterday passed by two Ships at a great distance On Tuesday the 13th Instant Christian Hornicle Corporal, Arnold Hernson, Hans Ulrick Algaver, Henry Jenkins, Christian Greenadall	Governor Hutchinson held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 19 March 1764. Lieutenant Governor John Skottowe, Mr Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick attended as members of the Council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 12 March 1764, were read out, approved and signed. Two ships passed the island at a great distance on the day before the meeting. On Tuesday 13 March a group of soldiers applied for their discharge from the garrison, on the grounds that each had completed the term of service agreed with the Company. The applicants were Corporal Christian Hornicle and the sentinels Arnold Hernson, Hans Ulrick Algaver, Henry Jenkins, Christian Greenwald, Martin Newman, William Mason, Daniel Armen, Jonathan Chandler, John

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		Martin Newman, William Mason, Daniel Armen, Jonathan Chandler, John Hawting and John Slade Centinels, Petitioned for their several discharges from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times Granted Counted and examined the Honorable Company Cash for the Month of February last, which was as follows vizt.	Hawring and John Slade. The Council approved every discharge. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for February. **Interpretations** Soldiers in the Company's garrison served under contracts for a fixed number of years, and completing that term gave them a claim to release. Even so, discharge was not automatic. Each man had to apply, and the Council had to approve the release before he left the ranks. This kept control of the garrison's strength in the Council's hands, since it could time discharges against the arrival of recruits. Several of the names, such as Hornicle, Algaver and Greenwald, point to men of German or other continental origin, which showed that the Company drew soldiers from well beyond Britain to fill its island garrison.
206	202	Cash Dr. 1764 February 1st To Balance remaining £5241 7s 3d 13th To Blacks received of Charles Hutchinson Esqr. for one Man named Jacob sold him as pr. Consultation of this day £21 0s 0d To Exchange for one Set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to John Hallet Esqr. for £500 0s 0d £5762 7s 3d Per Contra Cr. 1764 Feb. 29th To Balance remaining in the following Species vizt. Pagodas 8080 Pagodas @ 8s 0d £3232 0s 0d Rupees 621 Rupees @ 2s 3d £69 17s 3d French pieces 441 French ps. @ 2d £3 13s 6d Double Ryals 1884 Double Ryals @ 1s 3d £117 15s 0d Pestoreens 4286 Pestoreens @ 1s 0d £214 6s 0d Dollars 6340 Dollars @ 5s 0d £1585 0s 0d Odd money £0 0s 6d £5222 12s 3d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £5762 7s 3d £5762 7s 3d **Margin Notes:** 19th March	The Council's check of the Company's cash for February 1764 showed receipts against the balance held at the close of the month: Receipts 1 February, balance brought forward, £5,241 7s 3d 13 February, paid by Charles Hutchinson for a male slave named Jacob, sold to him by the Council's decision of that day, £21 0s 0d Received in exchange for a set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to John Hallet, £500 0s 0d Total, £5,762 7s 3d Balance held on 29 February 1764 8,080 pagodas at 8s each, £3,232 0s 0d 621 rupees at 2s 3d each, £69 17s 3d 441 French copper pieces at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 1,884 double reals at 1s 3d each, £117 15s 0d 4,286 pistareens at 1s each, £214 6s 0d 6,340 dollars at 5s each, £1,585 0s 0d Loose small change, £0 0s 6d Coin subtotal, £5,222 12s 3d Cash notes taken out of use, £539 15s 0d Total, £5,762 7s 3d **Interpretations** The island's treasury held almost no English money. Its coin came from the Company's trade across Asia and from Spanish silver passing through the Atlantic. Pagodas were small gold coins struck in southern India, and they made up well over half the balance. Rupees were the silver coins of Mughal India. Dollars were Spanish silver pieces of eight, the most widely trusted coin of the age, while double reals and pistareens were smaller Spanish silver pieces worth a fraction of a dollar. The French copper coins probably reached the island through ships or prisoners. The Council valued each kind at a fixed sterling rate, which let a mixed hoard be kept and audited as a single sum in pounds. The cash notes were paper money the Company had issued on the island. Those counted here had come back into the treasury and been withdrawn from circulation. They still stood in the balance at face value, since each note had been redeemed with real coin and so represented money the Company had paid out against its own promise. The sale of a slave named Jacob to Charles Hutchinson showed the Company treating its slaves as saleable stock whose price flowed straight into the treasury. The buyer was the Governor himself, and the Council recorded the sale by its own decision, so the transaction ran through the public accounts rather than as a private bargain. The £500 taken in for bills on the Court of Directors worked like the arrangement with Captain Henry Bassett on 5 March 1764. A private person handed coin to the treasury on the island and took bills that the Company would pay in London, which

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			kept the island supplied with cash without shipping money out from England.
207	203	1764 John Piplow Centinel having served the Honorable Company one Year and three Quarters of his contracted Time, representing to Us that he had a great deal of business as Barber, which he could not attend being a Soldier, desired he might have leave to exchange with John Slade a discharged Man, who was willing to serve the remainder of his time, Piplow being a very useful Man both to the Gentleman and Garrison and Slade a much better Soldier. We Granted his Request, and accordingly Relisted Slade, and discharged the said Piplow. Chas. Hutchinson John Skottowe Curling Fra. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th day of March 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor John Skottowe Esqr. Lieutent. Governor Mr. Matthew Curling Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 19th March 1764 Yesterday Arrived a Danes Ship from China called the Queen of Denmark, Capt. Fleming burthen 800 Tons carrys 30 Guns and 150 Men loaden with Tea and China Ware bound to Copenhagen. On Thursday the 22d Instant Abraham Major and Baron Delofe Centinels Petitioned, for their discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their contracted Times. Granted On Saturday the 24th Instant Samuel Hilson Centinel Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his contracted time Granted	John Piplow, a sentinel, had served one year and nine months of his agreed term with the Company. He told the Council that his trade as a barber brought him a great deal of work, which he could not keep up while serving as a soldier. He asked to swap places with John Slade, a man recently discharged, who was willing to serve out the rest of Piplow's term. The Council judged Piplow very useful to the island's gentlemen and to the garrison in his trade, and it considered Slade much the better soldier. It approved the request, took Slade back into the ranks and discharged Piplow. Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. Governor Hutchinson held a consultation at the Castle on Monday 26 March 1764. Lieutenant Governor John Skottowe, Mr Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick attended as members of the Council. The minutes of the meeting held on 19 March 1764 were read out, approved and signed. A Danish ship from China, the *Queen of Denmark*, reached the island the day before the meeting under the command of Captain [...]. She measured 800 tons, mounted 30 guns and carried a crew of 150. Her cargo of tea and porcelain was bound for Copenhagen. On Thursday 22 March two sentinels, Abraham Major and Baron Delofe, applied for their discharge from the garrison on completing their agreed terms of service. The Council approved both requests. On Saturday 24 March a sentinel named Samuel Hilson made the same application on the same grounds. The Council approved his discharge. **Interpretations** The exchange between Piplow and Slade showed that a soldier's contract bound the Company to a number of years of service rather than to a particular man. A substitute willing to take over the remaining term could buy out the original soldier's obligation, provided the Council agreed. The garrison lost no strength by the arrangement, and in Slade it gained a better soldier. The island, for its part, kept a barber whose skills were in short supply on so small and remote a settlement. The call of the *Queen of Denmark* showed that the island's anchorage served foreign East India shipping as well as the Company's own vessels. A Danish ship homeward bound from Canton with tea and porcelain could stop for water and fresh food. The Council recorded her tonnage, guns and crew, which gave it a measure of her fighting strength while she lay under the island's batteries.
208	204	26th March Isaac Buck Matross this day Petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time Granted. Mr. John Bagley this day presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of John Bagley Sheweth That your Petitioner being possessed of about Ten Acres of the Honorable Company's Lease Land lying in the South Division of this Island, adjoining to the Lands of Mr. John Alexander, and Thomas Harpers Orphans, He	Isaac Buck, a matross, applied on 26 March 1764 for his discharge from the garrison after completing his agreed term with the Company. The Council approved it. Mr John Bagley submitted a petition to Governor Hutchinson and the Council on the same day. He held a lease on about ten acres of Company land in the southern division of the island. The ground bordered land belonging to Mr John Alexander and to the orphans of Thomas Harper. Bagley asked leave to part with his lease and to have Harper's orphans accepted as tenants in his place. He signed the petition on Monday 26 March 1764, and the Council granted it. Ruth Colgrave and George Alexander then submitted a petition as executors of the will of Thomas Colgrave, who had died. Ruth Colgrave was his widow. Their petition concerned 71½ acres of land. **Interpretations**

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		therefore humbly begs that your Worship and Council will be pleased to permit him to dispose of it and that Thomas Harpers Orphans may become Tenants of the same Monday 26th March And your Petitioner will ever pray 1764 (signed) John Bagley Granted The Executrix and Executor to the last Will and Testament of Thomas Colgrave deceased, this day presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St. Helena The humble Petition of Ruth Colgrave Widow & Executrix Sheweth and George Alexander Executor to the last Will & Testament of Thomas Colgrave dec. That there is seventy one Acres and an half of the	A matross was a private soldier of the artillery who assisted the gunners in loading, firing and moving the guns. The rank sat below that of gunner, and matrosses formed the bulk of the men who worked the island's batteries. Bagley's petition turned his lease into a means of providing for orphaned children. The Harper orphans already held the neighbouring ground, so taking over Bagley's ten acres enlarged a single holding that would support them as they grew up. The Council's approval was needed because it controlled who could hold Company land, and orphans could hold a lease only if the Council accepted them as tenants, probably with a guardian managing the land on their behalf. An executor was the person named in a will to gather in a dead person's property, pay the debts and hand over what remained to the heirs. The feminine form, executrix, applied to a woman in that role. Because the Company owned all land on the island, Thomas Colgrave's leasehold could not simply pass under his will. His executors had to bring the land before the Council before they could deal with it.
209	205	1764 the Honorable Company's Lease Land belonging to the said Thomas Cotgraves Orphans, part in the East, and part in the South Divisions of this Island, and as the said Thomas Cotgrave desired by his last Will and Testament, that the same might be sold at public Auction when his Children came of Age or Marriage Your Petitioners therefore humbly begs that they may be permitted so to do And your Petitioners will ever pray March 26th 1764 (signed) Ruth Cotgrave G Alexander Granted Captain William Harrold applied to Us to pay six hundred pounds into the Honorable Companys Cash which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors, payable to John Hallet Esqr or order, Ninety days after sight dated this day. George Streaight Matross having served the Honorable Company three Years and Nine Months of his contracted Time Requested that he might be discharged from the Garrison having procured Isaac Buck a discharged Man to serve the remainder of his Time which We Granted, in consideration of his being a good Armorer. And made a Contract with him to serve the Honorable Company as such for Three Years to Commence from this day. Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Ruth Cotgrave and G Alexander asked the Council for leave to sell the Company lease land held by the orphans of Thomas Cotgrave, which lay partly in the East Division and partly in the South Division of the island. Thomas Cotgrave's will directed that this land should go to public auction once his children reached adulthood or married. The petitioners therefore sought permission to carry out that sale, and they signed the request on 26 March 1764. The Council approved it. Captain William Harrold asked to deposit £600 0s 0d in the Company's treasury on the island. The Council took the money and handed him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors in London. These bills were made payable to John Hallet Esquire, or to anyone he named, 90 days after they were presented, and they carried the same day's date. George Streaight, a matross, had served three years and nine months of his contracted term with the Company. He asked for release from the garrison, having found Isaac Buck, a man already discharged, willing to serve out the rest of his time. The Council agreed because Streaight was a skilled armourer. It then engaged him in that trade under a fresh three-year contract with the Company, running from the same day. Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe [...] Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Company kept ownership of the land it leased to settlers, so an heir could not simply sell a lease even when a will ordered it. Council consent was the point at which the Company controlled who took over its ground. By granting the petition, the Council allowed the executors to carry out the will while keeping the new holder within its own leasing system. Ruth Cotgrave was probably the widow and G Alexander a co-executor or guardian, since the will passed the timing of the sale to the children's coming of age. The transaction with Captain Harrold shows how the island financed itself and how private money moved home. Ship commanders often held cash from trading on a voyage. By paying it into the island treasury, a commander received a bill that would be honoured in London, which was far safer than carrying coin. The Company gained ready cash at St Helena for wages and supplies, and it settled the debt later from its London funds. The 90-day term after

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			sight gave the Court of Directors time to arrange payment once the bill reached them. A matross was the most junior rank in an artillery company, assisting the gunners in loading, moving and working the guns. Streaight's release rested on a substitute taking over his remaining service, a practice that let a soldier leave early provided the garrison lost no strength. The Council also gained a trained craftsman, since keeping muskets, locks and blades in working order on an isolated island depended on having an armourer to hand. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploads, so no master-reference entries could be drawn on for this page.
210	206	27th March At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 27th day of March 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 26th March 1764 This day, Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Duke of Richmond from England by which opportunity, We received a Packet from their Honors, which we opened and read, And agreeable thereto, acquainted The Reverend Mr Lee Mr Nathan Sampson and Mr John Wade Welch, with their Orders relating to them Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 2d day of April 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 27th March 1764 Wednesday the 28th Sailed the Dane Ship for Copenhagen Friday the 30th Arrived the Fly Cutter Mr John Bland this day Presented the following Petition vizt	The Council met at the Castle on Tuesday 27 March 1764. Governor Hutchinson attended with John Skottowe, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The minutes of 26 March 1764 were read out, approved and signed. The Company ship *Duke of Richmond* reached the island from England that day. She carried a packet of letters from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened and read. Following its instructions, the Council passed on the Directors' orders to the three men they concerned: the Reverend Mr Lee, Nathan Samp[...] and John Ware Welch. Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council met again at the Castle on Monday 2 April 1764, with the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 27 March 1764. A Danish ship left the road for Copenhagen on Wednesday 28 March. Two days later, on Friday 30 March, the cutter *Fly* came in. At this meeting John Bland laid a petition before the Council. **Interpretations** The Directors' packet was the channel through which London governed the island. Orders about individual appointments, salaries or conduct travelled in these bundles aboard Company ships. The Council's task on arrival was to open them formally and carry out each instruction, which is why the named men were summoned to hear what had been decided about them. For a place months away from London by sea, each arriving ship could change a person's position overnight. The Danish ship bound for Copenhagen was almost certainly a vessel of the Danish Asiatic Company returning from the East. St Helena lay on the homeward route from India and China, and foreign East Indiamen sometimes called for water and fresh provisions. Admitting them brought the island trade and news, though the Company kept such visits under close watch because it guarded its own commercial monopoly.
211	207	2d April To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor of the Island St Helena &c in Council The humble Petition of John Bland Sheweth That your Petitioner being desirous to send his son in the Ship Duke of Richmond Captain Benjamin Godfrey Comr the Voyage as a Mariner, hopes you will be so favorable as to grant him the Liberty. And your Petitioner will, as in duty pray	Governor Hutchinson and the Council received a petition from John Bland, dated 2 April 1764. Bland wanted his son to sail as a seaman aboard the *Duke of Richmond*, commanded by Captain Benjamin Godfrey. He asked the Council to allow the young man to leave the island on that voyage. The Council approved the request. Three soldiers, Martin Newman, Abraham Mayor and Christian Greenawald, signed on that day for a further five years in the Company's service. Each received a re-enlistment bounty of £10 0s 0d. The Articles of War were then read out to them.

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		April 2d 1764 (signed) John Bland Granted We this day Relisted, Martin Newman Abraham Myer, and Christian Greenawald to serve the Honorable Company five Years longer as Soldiers, and gave them ten pounds bounty Money each, and had the Articles of War read to them We this day received the following Letter from Captain Benjamin Godfrey vizt To the Worshipful Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council of St Helena Worshipful Sir and Sirs Whereas James Byrne one of the Honorable Companys Recruits for Bencoolen, having committed several outrages on board the Ship Duke of Richmond by attempting to strike Mr Hyndman second Mate, striking the Ships Steward, and threatening to Murder the Boatswains Mate, therefore think him a dangerous and Malicious Fellow, and very improper to proceed on the Voyage, I hope Gentlemen you will take it into Consideration, and order him on Shore to serve the Honorable Company on this Island. I am Gentlemen Your most humble Servt 2d April 1764. (signed) Benjn Godfrey	Captain Benjamin Godfrey wrote to the Governor and Council on 2 April 1764 about James Byrne. Byrne was one of the Company's recruits bound for Bencoolen and was travelling aboard the *Duke of Richmond*. During the passage he caused repeated violent trouble on the ship. He tried to hit Mr Hyndman, the second mate, and struck the ship's steward. He also threatened to kill the boatswain's mate. Godfrey judged him a dangerous and spiteful man who was unfit to continue the voyage. He asked the Council to weigh the matter and have Byrne put ashore to serve the Company on the island instead. **Interpretations** Nobody left St Helena without the Council's consent, even to take up honest work at sea. The Company treated the island's small population as a resource it needed to hold on to, both for labour and for defence. A father therefore had to petition before his son could join a ship's crew. The rule also stopped debtors, servants and soldiers from slipping away on passing vessels. The re-enlistment bounty shows how the Company kept its garrison up to strength. Recruits from England were costly to ship out and arrived irregularly, so paying a trained soldier £10 0s 0d to stay for five more years was cheaper than replacing him. Reading the Articles of War to the men was a formal legal step. It placed them once again under military law, with its code of offences and punishments, for the new term. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, defended from Fort Marlborough. It had a grim reputation for disease, and the Company sent a steady flow of recruits there to fill its ranks. Godfrey's request reveals a practical use of St Helena as a place to offload troublesome men from passing ships. The Company kept Byrne's service, while the captain rid himself of a threat to order on board for the rest of a long voyage.
212	208	2d April Upon which we sent for the Second, fourth, and fifth Mates, of the Duke of Richmond who all declared, that he was a very turbulent and Dangerous fellow to keep on board the Ship, We then agreed to Order him on Shore, to serve the Honorable Company his Contracted Time here. And James Hill Matross, who is a Bricklayer by Trade and may be of great use to that Settlement being willing to go to Bencoolen to serve five Years, We accordingly sent him upon the Duke of Richmond in Byrnes Room. On the 30th of last Month John Cripps and this day John Baptist Mitchland, & Henry Sawyer, Centinels Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times. Granted Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th day of April 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 2d April	After Captain Godfrey's complaint about James Byrne, the Council called in the second, fourth and fifth mates of the *Duke of Richmond* to give their own account. All three confirmed that Byrne was violent and unruly and too dangerous to keep aboard. The Council therefore ordered him ashore to serve out his contract with the Company on St Helena. James Hill, a matross and a bricklayer by trade, offered to go to Bencoolen for five years. His building skills promised to be valuable at that settlement, so the Council sent him on the *Duke of Richmond* to take Byrne's place. Three private soldiers asked to leave the garrison because their contracted terms had expired. John Cripps applied on 30 March 1764, and John Baptist Mitchland and Henry Sawyer followed on 2 April 1764. The Council approved all three discharges. Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Monday 9 April 1764. Governor Hutchinson presided, with John Skottowe as Lieutenant Governor and the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 2 April 1764. The Company ship *Osterley* reached the island from Bengal on Wednesday 4 April. Her boat came ashore at Banks's at a quarter past four that afternoon. John Holloway, a soldier, died on Thursday 5 April, and William Dicks, also a soldier, died the following day. **Interpretations** The Council did not act on the captain's letter alone. It questioned three of the ship's officers separately before putting Byrne ashore, which gave

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		1764. Wednesday the 4th Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Osterly from Bengal Thursday the 5th died John Holloway Soldier Friday the 6th Do William Dicks Do The Osterlys Boat arrived at Bankss the 4th Instant ¼ past four in the Afternoon	the decision a basis in sworn testimony rather than one commander's word. This mattered because the order changed where a man would serve out years of his contract. It also protected the Council if Byrne or the Directors later questioned the transfer. The exchange of Byrne for Hill shows that the Company treated its soldiers as a pool to be shared between settlements. Bencoolen still received a man, and a more useful one, since a bricklayer could help build and repair its fortifications and warehouses. St Helena absorbed the troublemaker into a garrison large enough to discipline him. The trade kept both stations at strength without waiting for fresh recruits from England. Banks's was one of the fortified points on the island's north coast, lying to the east of James Bay along the approach used by incoming ships. Recording the exact time the *Osterley*'s boat landed there reflected the Company's close control over contact between arriving vessels and the shore. Every landing was noted because news, goods and people could all pass in the first boat.
213	209	9th April The ten Working days allowed by Charterparty for unloading the Ship Duke of Richmond being expired, on Saturday last, We Yesterday gave Captain Benjamin Godfrey sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the West Coast of the Island of Sumatra according to the Orders he had received from the Honorable the Court of Directors, to whom we also gave the following Letters to the several Settlements in India vizt To the Honorable Charles Crommelin Esqr President and Governor &c Council of Bombay Honorable Sir & Sirs We wrote to you last under date of the 15th April by the Honorable Company's Ship Egmont since that Time we have received your Letters by the Clive and Prince of Wales. We desire you will send for the use of this Place, two hundred Pieces of Surat Challows and the rest of the one Fourth in Rice and Paddy This waits on you by the way of Bencoolen on the Ship Duke of Richmond, Enclosed you will receive a List of the Arrival and Departure of Ships to and from this Island since our last We are Honorable Sir and Sirs Your most humble Servants (signed) St Helena Charles Hutchinson 8th April 1764. John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick To the Honorable Robert Palk Esqr President and Governor &c Council of Fort St George Honorable Sir and Sirs Our last Letter to you went by our Honorable Masters Ship Egmont under date of the 15th April 1763 since when we have received your Letters by the Clinton, & Plassey. We desire you will send for the use of this Island ten pieces Long Cloth at twelve Pagodas p Piece twenty Pieces at ten Pagodas p Piece, forty Pieces at eight Pagodas p Piece forty Pieces at five Pagodas p Piece forty Pieces	The ten working days that the charter agreement allowed for unloading the *Duke of Richmond* ran out on Saturday 7 April 1764. On the following day the Council handed Captain Benjamin Godfrey written orders to sail. He was to go as quickly as possible to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra, as the Court of Directors had instructed. The Council also gave him letters for several of the Company's settlements in India. The first letter went to Charles Crommelin, President and Governor, and the Council at Bombay. The Council's previous letter to Bombay had gone on 15 April 1763 aboard the Company ship *Egmont*. Since then, letters from Bombay had arrived by the *Clive* and the *Prince of Wales*. The Council asked Bombay to send 200 pieces of Surat challows for the island's use and to fill the rest of the [...] with rice and paddy. The letter explained that it was travelling by way of Bencoolen on the *Duke of Richmond*. A list of ships arriving at and leaving the island since the last letter went with it. Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed it at St Helena on 8 April 1764. The second letter went to Robert Palk, President and Governor, and the Council at Fort St George. It noted that the Council's last letter had travelled on the *Egmont*, dated 15 April 1763. Letters from Madras had since come in by the *Clinton* and the *Plassey*. The Council asked for plain cotton long cloth in the following grades: 10 pieces of long cloth at 12 pagodas each 20 pieces of long cloth at 10 pagodas each 40 pieces of long cloth at 8 pagodas each 40 pieces of long cloth at 5 pagodas each 40 pieces of long cloth at 4 pagodas each 60 pieces of long cloth at 3 pagodas each **Interpretations** The charter party was the contract under which the Company hired a ship from her private owners. It fixed a set number of working days for loading and unloading at each port. If the Company held a ship beyond that allowance, it owed the owners compensation for the delay. The Council's prompt sailing orders, issued the day after the allowance expired, kept the Company clear of that charge. Surat challows were coarse cotton cloths woven in Gujarat and shipped from Surat, usually checked or striped. They were cheap and hard-wearing, and at St Helena they served mainly for clothing slaves and labourers. Paddy was rice still in its husk. It kept far better than cleaned rice on a long sea passage and in storage, which suited an island that could not grow

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		at four Pagodas p Piece, sixty Pieces at three Pagodas p Piece, and the rest of	enough grain to feed its people and depended on regular shipments from India. Long cloth was plain white calico from the Coromandel coast, sold in long lengths and graded by the fineness of its weave. The spread of prices, from 3 to 12 pagodas a piece, shows the Council ordering several qualities at once. The finer grades probably went to officers and planters, while the cheaper ones clothed soldiers and servants. The pagoda was the gold coin of the Madras presidency, in which cloth there was normally priced. Sending letters for Bombay and Madras by way of Bencoolen shows how slow and indirect communication with India could be. No ship was leaving directly for either presidency, so the Council used the first eastbound vessel. The letters would then wait at Sumatra for onward carriage. This explains why each letter recorded exactly which ships had carried the last exchange, since both sides needed to know what had arrived and what might still be missing.
214	210	9th April of the one p Cent in Arrack Rice and Paddy This goes upon the Ship Duke of Richmond by way of Bencoolen Enclosed we have sent you a List of Ships Arrival and Departure to and from St Helena since the 15th April 1763. We are Honorable Sir and Sirs Your most humble Servants (signed) Chas Hutchinson St Helena John Skottowe 8th April 1764 C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick To the Honorable Henry Van Sittart Esqr President and Governor &c Council of Bengal Honorable Sir and Sirs We wrote to you last under date of the 15th April by the Ship Egmont, since that Time Your Letters of the 14th February, 16 April, and 19 December came safe to hand We request you will send for the use of this Island eight Maunds of Good Wax Candles, by each Ship, one hundred and fifty pieces Doosoos, and the rest of the one p Cent, in Arrack, Sugar, Rice, and Paddy. This waits on you by the Ship Duke of Richmond Consigned to Bencoolen, and China, You will receive Enclosed a List of Ships Arrival, and departure to and from this place since the sailing of the Egmont We are Honorable Sir and Sirs Your most humble Servants. (signed) Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick St Helena 8th April 1764	The Council's letter to Fort St George asked Madras to fill whatever space remained in the island's one per cent allowance with arrack, rice and paddy. It explained that the letter was travelling on the *Duke of Richmond* by way of Bencoolen. A list of ships that had arrived at and left St Helena since 15 April 1763 went with it. Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 8 April 1764. A third letter went to Henry Vansittart, President and Governor, and the Council in Bengal. The Council's last letter to Calcutta had gone by the *Egmont* on 15 April 1763. Letters from Bengal dated 14 February 1763, 18 April 1763 and 18 December 1763 had since arrived safely. The Council asked Bengal to send eight maunds of good wax candles on each ship bound for the island. It also wanted 150 pieces of dosooties, with the rest of the one per cent allowance made up in arrack, sugar, rice and paddy. The letter was carried by the *Duke of Richmond*, which was bound for Bencoolen and China. It enclosed a list of ships that had come and gone since the *Egmont* sailed. The same four members signed it at St Helena on 8 April 1764. **Interpretations** The one per cent allowance was a share of cargo space on Company ships reserved for St Helena's supplies. Rather than paying freight to bring stores from India, the island could claim a fixed proportion of each homeward ship's tonnage. The Council used it to secure bulky staples such as grain and spirits. Its repeated instruction to fill up the remainder shows how carefully the island exploited every ton it was entitled to. Dosooties were coarse cotton cloths from Bengal, woven with a doubled thread that made them strong and durable. They served for workaday clothing, bedding and sacking rather than for dress. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap, rice or molasses. At St Helena it formed part of the soldiers' ration and was also sold on the island, so a steady supply mattered both to the garrison and to the Company's revenue. The maund was the standard Indian measure of weight, though its size varied by region. The Company's Bengal factory maund weighed roughly 75 pounds, so each ship's allocation of candles ran to several hundredweight. Wax candles gave a cleaner, brighter light than tallow and were a costly import. They probably lit the Castle, the church and the houses of the Company's senior servants. Each presidency was asked for what it produced best. Bombay supplied Surat cloth, Madras its graded long cloth, and Bengal its candles, sugar and coarse

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			cottons. The island's supply thus depended on three separate trading regions, each reached through letters that might take many months to arrive and answer.
215	211	1764 To the Honorable Roger Carter Esqr President and Governor &c Council of Fort Marlborough Honorable Sir and Sirs We take this opportunity by our Honorable Masters Ship Duke of Richmond, of writing to you Enclosed you will receive this Ships Charter Party Manifest of Goods and Victualing Bill, You will likewise receive as p Invoice and Bill of Lading four hundred two Quarters and twenty four pounds of Sheathing Nails which the Honorable Company have directed Us to send to your Settlement they being of no use here, also four Mills Stones received some time ago from China to be forwarded to you. Upon Complaint made Us by Captain Godfrey, that James Byrne a Recruit intended for Bencoolen was a very troublesome and dangerous fellow to keep on board his Ship, Requested we would detain him at St Helena. We have in consideration thereof, Ordered him on Shore here to serve the Time he Contracted with the Honorable Company, and in his Room have sent you James Hill who is a Bricklayer by trade and may be of service to your Settlement he is a very good Man both as to person and Character, and is willing to serve five Years on the West Coast, instead of the other as you will observe by his agreement with us, which you will receive enclosed John Burnham who has been a Serjeant for some time, requesting his discharge from the Garrison and leave to proceed to Bencoolen upon the Ship Duke of Richmond. We have accordingly discharged him, and as he has behaved Extremely well, during the Time of his Service here we therefore recommend him as a good Man and deserving your favour Enclosed you will receive our Letters directed to the several Presidency's in India which we desire you will forward by the first opportunity. We have likewise sent you a List of Ships Arrival and departure to and from this Island since the 10th April 1764. We are Honorable Sir and Sirs Your most humble Servants (signed) Chas Hutchinson St Helena John Skottowe 8th April 1764 C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council wrote to Roger Carter, President and Governor, and the Council at Fort Marlborough, sending the letter with the Company ship *Duke of Richmond*. The ship's charter party, her cargo manifest and her victualling bill went with it. The Council also shipped 4 hundredweight, 2 quarters and 24 pounds of sheathing nails, covered by an invoice and a bill of lading. The Company had ordered these nails sent on to Bencoolen, since St Helena had no use for them. Four millstones, which had reached the island from China some time earlier for delivery to Fort Marlborough, travelled on the same ship. The letter explained what had happened to James Byrne, a recruit meant for Bencoolen. Captain Godfrey had complained that Byrne was too unruly and dangerous to keep on board and had asked the Council to hold him at St Helena. The Council agreed and put Byrne ashore to serve out his contract with the Company on the island. In his place it sent James Hill, a bricklayer by trade, whom it described as sound in both body and character. Hill had agreed to serve five years on the west coast of Sumatra instead of Byrne, and a copy of his agreement went with the letter. John Burnham had served as a sergeant in the garrison for some time. He asked to leave the garrison and to sail to Bencoolen on the *Duke of Richmond*. The Council released him and praised his conduct throughout his service. It commended him to Fort Marlborough as a good man who deserved its support. The Council enclosed its letters for the presidencies in India and asked Fort Marlborough to forward them by the first available ship. A list of ships that had arrived at and left the island since 15 April 1763 was also enclosed. Charles Hutchinson, John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 8 April 1764. **Interpretations** The three ship's papers sent with the letter each served a practical purpose at Fort Marlborough. The charter party told the settlement how many working days it had to unload the ship before the Company owed her owners compensation. The manifest listed what was in the hold, so the cargo could be checked on landing. The victualling bill recorded the provisions supplied to the ship at St Helena, allowing the cost to be charged correctly in the Company's accounts. Sheathing nails fixed a thin outer layer of planking to a ship's hull below the waterline. This layer protected the main timbers from shipworm, which did severe damage in warm eastern waters. Bencoolen needed such nails to maintain the small craft that served its coast, whereas St Helena built and repaired few vessels. The quantity was reckoned in hundredweights, quarters and pounds, and came to a little over 500 pounds in all. Millstones from China were perhaps of hard granite, cut for grinding grain. Their route shows St Helena acting as a clearing house for Company goods, holding items bound for other settlements until a ship heading the right way called. The Council's warm recommendation of John Burnham was a form of reference that carried weight within the Company's service. A discharged soldier arriving at another settlement had no standing there. A written endorsement from one council to another could secure him employment, perhaps as a sergeant again or in some civil post.

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216	212	9th April The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of March last were this day brought in which were examined, and approved & are as follow Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in Month of March 1764 vizt Lisbon Wine 32 Bottles £2 0s 0d Do Mountain 23 Bottles £1 14s 6d Do Arrack 72 Bottles £3 7s 1½d Do Beer 34 Bottles £0 9s 2½d Flour 360 lb £2 5s 0d Fresh Beef 237 lb £2 19s 3d Do Pork 29 lb £0 14s 6d Salt Do 6 Pieces £0 15s 3d Mutton 250¼ lb £5 4s 3½d Goat 50 lb £0 16s 8d Kid 1 Kid £0 5s 0d Fowls 10 Fowls £1 7s 0d Ducks 8 Ducks £0 12s 0d Goose 1 Goose £0 5s 0d Turkeys 6 Turkeys £1 10s 0d Fresh Butter 40 lb £2 0s 0d Candy 15 lb £1 18s 4d £28 11s 1¼d	Council examined and approved the monthly accounts of the plantation, the gunners and the steward for March 1764. The steward's account recorded the provisions consumed at the Company's table during that month. Provisions used at the Company's table, March 1764 32 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 0s 0d 23 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 14s 6d 72 bottles of arrack, £3 7s 1½d 34 bottles of beer, £0 9s 2½d 360 lb of flour, £2 5s 0d 237 lb of fresh beef, £2 19s 3d 29 lb of fresh pork, £0 14s 6d 6 pieces of salt beef, £0 15s 3d 250¼ lb of mutton, £5 4s 3½d 50 lb of goat meat, £0 16s 8d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 10 fowls, £1 7s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 6 turkeys, £1 10s 0d 40 lb of fresh butter, £2 0s 0d 15 lb of sugar candy, £1 18s 4d Total, £28 11s 1½d **Interpretations** The Company's table was the official dining table kept at the Castle at the Company's expense. The Governor, members of Council and senior officers ate there, and it also served for entertaining ship commanders and visitors of rank. Its cost was treated as part of the expense of government. For that reason the steward had to account for every bottle and pound of meat each month, and the Council approved the figures before they entered the Company's books. Mountain was a sweet fortified wine from the hills around Málaga in southern Spain, popular in 18th-century Britain. Lisbon wine was a white wine shipped from Portugal, cheaper than Madeira and widely drunk at the time. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised into large, hard lumps, usually imported from China or India. It was used for sweetening drinks and in cooking, and at 2s 6d a pound it was one of the costliest items on the list. The prices show which foods were cheap and which were dear on the island. Fresh beef cost about 3d a pound, less than mutton at about 5d, while butter ran to 1s a pound. Turkeys at 5s each were costly compared with the rest of the poultry. The heavy use of mutton and goat reflects the island's flocks, which grazed ground too poor or steep for cattle.
217	213	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month March 1764 vizt Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses She Asses, Asses He Asses, Asses Total	The Company's livestock account for March 1764 recorded the animals on hand, the month's gains and losses, and the numbers left at its close. Remaining on 1 March 1764 Neat cattle: 3 bulls, 82 cows, 79 calves, 63 yearlings, 17 heifers, 35 steers, 13 oxen, total 292 Sheep: 278 ewes, 209 wethers, 191 lambs, 8 rams, total 686 Goats: 132 ewes, 6 wethers, 125 kids, 9 rams, total 272 Hogs: 4 sows, 2 shoats, 11 pigs, 1 boar, total 18 Poultry: 127 fowls, 47 ducks, 50 turkeys, 28 geese Horses: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 Asses: 2 [...] asses, 1 [...] ass, total 3

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		Remaining 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 82, Neat Cattle Calves 79, Neat Cattle Yearlings 63, Neat Cattle Heifers 17, Neat Cattle Steers 35, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 278, Sheep Weathers 209, Sheep Lambs 191, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 686, Goats Ewes 132, Goats Weathers 6, Goats Kids 125, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 272, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 18, Poultry Fowls 127, Poultry Ducks 47, Poultry Turkeys 50, Poultry Geese 28, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses She Asses 2, Asses He Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Increased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 8, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 8, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 0, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 14, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 14, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 6, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 7, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 82, Neat Cattle Calves 87, Neat Cattle Yearlings 63, Neat Cattle Heifers 17, Neat Cattle Steers 35, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 300, Sheep Ewes 278, Sheep Weathers 209, Sheep Lambs 191, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 686, Goats Ewes 132, Goats Weathers 6, Goats Kids 139, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 286, Hogs Sows 4, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 18, Poultry Fowls 133, Poultry Ducks 53, Poultry Turkeys 57, Poultry Geese 28, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses She Asses 2, Asses He Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 1, Neat Cattle Steers 3, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 4, Sheep Ewes 5, Sheep Weathers 20, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 25, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 3, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 4, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 18, Poultry Ducks 8, Poultry Turkeys 6, Poultry Geese 1, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 2, Sheep Weathers 4, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 6, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Poultry Fowls 15, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 6, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Sent on board the Plassy: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 5, Sheep Weathers 15, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 20, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Remaining 31st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 82, Neat Cattle Calves 86, Neat Cattle Yearlings 63, Neat Cattle Heifers 16, Neat Cattle Steers 32, Neat Cattle Oxen 13, Neat Cattle Total 295, Sheep Ewes 266, Sheep Weathers 170, Sheep Lambs 191, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 635, Goats Ewes 132, Goats	Increase during the month Neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 8 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 8 Sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 Goats: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 14 kids, 0 rams, total 14 Hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 6 fowls, 6 ducks, 7 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Asses: 0 [...] asses, 0 [...] asses, total 0 Total held during the month Neat cattle: 3 bulls, 82 cows, 87 calves, 63 yearlings, 17 heifers, 35 steers, 13 oxen, total 300 Sheep: 278 ewes, 209 wethers, 191 lambs, 8 rams, total 686 Goats: 132 ewes, 6 wethers, 139 kids, 9 rams, total 286 Hogs: 4 sows, 2 shoats, 11 pigs, 1 boar, total 18 Poultry: 133 fowls, 53 ducks, 57 turkeys, 28 geese Horses: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 Asses: 2 [...] asses, 1 [...] ass, total 3 Killed Neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 1 heifer, 3 steers, 0 oxen, total 4 Sheep: 5 ewes, 20 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 25 Goats: 0 ewes, 3 wethers, 1 kid, 0 rams, total 4 Hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 18 fowls, 8 ducks, 6 turkeys, 1 goose Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Asses: 0 [...] asses, 0 [...] asses, total 0 Died Neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 1 Sheep: 2 ewes, 4 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 6 Goats: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, total 0 Hogs: 1 sow, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 1 Poultry: 15 fowls, 0 ducks, 6 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Asses: 0 [...] asses, 0 [...] asses, total 0 Sent aboard the *Plassey*: 5 ewes and 15 wethers, a total of 20 sheep, with 0 in every category of neat cattle, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses. Remaining on 31 March 1764 Neat cattle: 3 bulls, 82 cows, 86 calves, 63 yearlings, 16 heifers, 32 steers, 13 oxen, total 295 Sheep: 266 ewes, 170 wethers, 191 lambs, 8 rams, total 635 Goats: 132 ewes, 3 wethers, 138 kids, 9 rams, total 282 Hogs: 3 sows, 2 shoats, 11 pigs, 1 boar, total 17 Poultry: 100 fowls, 45 ducks, 45 turkeys, 27 geese Horses: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 Asses: 2 [...] asses, 1 [...] ass, total 3 Regraded by age and kind on 31 March 1764 Neat cattle: 3 bulls, 86 cows, 55 calves, 59 yearlings, 28 heifers, 43 steers, 21 oxen, total 295 Sheep: 332 ewes, 190 wethers, 105 lambs, 8 rams, total 635 Goats: 166 ewes, 64 wethers, 43 kids, 9 rams, total 282 Hogs: 3 sows, 2 shoats, 11 pigs, 1 boar, total 17 Poultry: 100 fowls, 45 ducks, 45 turkeys, 27 geese Horses: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 Asses: 2 [...] asses, 1 [...] ass, total 3 Good yams used for the slaves, 24,240 Good yams used for the livestock, 6,990 Total good yams used, 31,230 **Interpretations** The final row regraded the whole herd and flock by age and sex without changing any totals. Through the month, young animals stayed in the category where they had been entered. At the month's end the clerk moved those that had grown into a new class, so calves became yearlings, yearlings became heifers or steers, and lambs and kids joined the ewes and

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		Weathers 3, Goats Kids 138, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 282, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 17, Poultry Fowls 100, Poultry Ducks 45, Poultry Turkeys 45, Poultry Geese 27, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses She Asses 2, Asses He Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Changed Species: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 86, Neat Cattle Calves 55, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 28, Neat Cattle Steers 43, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 295, Sheep Ewes 332, Sheep Weathers 190, Sheep Lambs 105, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 635, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 64, Goats Kids 43, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 282, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 17, Poultry Fowls 100, Poultry Ducks 45, Poultry Turkeys 45, Poultry Geese 27, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses She Asses 2, Asses He Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Good Yam Expd for the Slaves 24.240 lb Do Do for the Stock 6990 lb Total 31.230 lb **Margin Notes:** 1764	wethers. The regraded figures then served as the opening count for the following month. This explains why the calves fell from 86 to 55 and the lambs from 191 to 105 while the totals stood still. The killings match the table account for the same month closely. The 8 ducks, 6 turkeys, 1 goose and 1 kid killed all appear among the provisions used at the Company's table. Only 10 of the 18 fowls reached that table, however, and 25 sheep produced far more than the 250¼ lb of mutton charged to it. The surplus probably fed the sick, the Company's servants or passing ships. The 20 sheep sent aboard the *Plassey* show the Company provisioning a homeward ship from its own flocks, a service that drew heavily on the island's stock during a busy shipping season. The gains came almost entirely from young stock, with 8 calves and 14 kids born during the month. March falls in the southern-hemisphere autumn, when the island's pasture was still reasonably good after summer. The poultry losses, by contrast, were heavy, with 15 fowls and 6 turkeys dying against only 13 birds hatched or added. Yams were the staple food of the Company's slaves at St Helena, grown on the Company's own plantation and issued as a ration. The account does not state the unit, though the figures were probably in pounds weight. Nearly a quarter of the month's crop went to feed livestock, showing how the plantation supported both the labour force and the herds that supplied the Castle and passing ships. Neat cattle simply meant domestic cattle, as distinct from other livestock. Wethers were castrated male sheep or goats kept for meat, and shoats were young pigs recently weaned. The headings over the two columns of asses cannot be read beyond the word itself, which is why their descriptions are marked.
218	214	9th April Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of March 1764 Guns fired, 4 pounder, 3 pounder, 2 pounder, 1 pounder, Powder Expended 2d Powder for Shooting for the use of the Table: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz 5th Fired to Salute Governor Pigott & Governor Van Sittart Lady going on Board: Guns fired 19, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 1, 2 pounder 18, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 19lb 8oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz Powder for priming in order to have retd the Salute of the Earl of Ashburnham: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz 18th A Double Alarm for two Ships that went by: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 3, 3 pounder 3, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 3, Powder Expended 18lb 0oz Powder for priming in order to have returned the Salute: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz 25th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 pounder 2, 3 pounder 2, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived the Duke of Richmond returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 9, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 27th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 pounder 2, 3 pounder 2, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived the duke of Richmond returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 9, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz	The gunners' account recorded the gunpowder and other artillery stores used during March 1764. For each occasion it gave the number of guns fired, broken down under four column headings of 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb, and the weight of powder spent. 2 March 1764, powder for shooting game for the Company's table: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 0 oz of powder 5 March 1764, salute as Governor Pigot and the wife of Governor Vansittart went aboard: 19 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 1 under 3 lb, 18 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 19 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for priming so that the salute of the *Earl of Ashburnham* could be answered: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder. 18 March 1764, double alarm for two ships passing the island: 9 guns fired (3 under 4 lb, 3 under 3 lb, 0 under 2 lb, 3 under 1 lb), 18 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for priming so that a salute could be answered: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder 25 March 1764, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 under 4 lb, 2 under 3 lb, 0 under 2 lb, 2 under 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder Salute returned on the arrival of the *Duke of Richmond*: 9 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 9 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 27 March 1764, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 under 4 lb, 2 under 3 lb, 0 under 2 lb, 2 under 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder Salute returned on the arrival of the *Duke of Richmond*: 9 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 9 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder

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		Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 28th Departed the Dane Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 9, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 31st Fired for the Proclamation of Peace: Guns fired 21, 4 pounder 2, 3 pounder 1, 2 pounder 18, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 23lb 8oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 8oz Fired with Small Arms for do: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 17lb 0oz Powder for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz Do for Signals: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz Total: Guns fired 88, 4 pounder 9, 3 pounder 9, 2 pounder 63, 1 pounder 7, Powder Expended 131lb 0oz Tallow for the use of the Carts, Boats, and Flagstaffs 14 lb Ship Skins for Coating Spunges at the Main Fort 2 Skins Trunk Nails for Coating and repairing Spunges at do 120 Nails Tompeons broke at the Main fort 2 Tompeons Hand Spikes broke at do 1 Hand Spike (signed) Thos Hall The Ship Osterly brought Us the following Supplies vizt	28 March 1764, salute returned as the Danish ship left: 9 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 9 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 31 March 1764, guns fired for the proclamation of peace: 21 guns fired (2 under 4 lb, 1 under 3 lb, 18 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 23 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for the small-arms volleys on the same occasion: 0 guns fired, 17 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for refilling the cartridges at the main guard: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for signals: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder Total: 88 guns fired (9 under 4 lb, 9 under 3 lb, 63 under 2 lb, 7 under 1 lb), 151 lb 0 oz of powder Tallow for greasing the carts, boats and flagstaffs, 14 lb Sheepskins for covering the gun sponges at the Main Fort, 2 Trunk nails for covering and mending the gun sponges at the Main Fort, 120 Tompions broken at the Main Fort, 2 Handspikes broken at the Main Fort, 1 Thomas Hall signed the account. The *Osterley* also delivered a consignment of supplies to the island. **Interpretations** Gunfire was the island's main system of communication as well as its defence. An alarm announced a ship in sight, and a double alarm signalled two, so the whole garrison and the inhabitants knew at once that vessels were approaching. Salutes marked arrivals, departures and the passage of persons of rank, and a ship that saluted the island expected a reply. Each of these courtesies had a price in powder. The month's ordinary traffic of alarms and salutes consumed more than half of the 151 lb spent, a steady drain on stores that all had to come from England. The four columns divided the guns fired into classes, and their counts add up exactly to the guns fired on each occasion. Different classes clearly took different weights of powder. The proclamation salute of 21 guns, for example, used 23 lb 8 oz, while the 9-gun alarms used 18 lb, since alarms drew on the heavier pieces and salutes largely on the lighter ones. The proclamation of peace on 31 March 1764 announced the treaty of 1763 that ended the Seven Years' War between Britain, France and Spain. News reached St Helena many months after the signing, and the island marked it with a formal ceremony, a 21-gun salute and volleys of small arms from the garrison. The end of the war removed the threat of French attack, which had shaped the island's defences and its guard over passing shipping. Powder spent on shooting for the Company's table shows that game supplemented the official diet. The island's wild partridges, pheasants and guinea fowl gave the Castle fresh meat without drawing on the Company's own flocks. The small stores reveal how the guns were kept in working order. Priming powder was fine powder poured into the touch-hole to carry the flame to the main charge. A sponge was a staff with a sheepskin-covered head, used to swab out the barrel after each shot so that no smouldering remnant could ignite the next charge. Trunk nails, small broad-headed nails, held the sheepskin in place. Tompions were wooden plugs fitted into the muzzles to keep out rain and dust, and handspikes were wooden levers used to shift and aim the heavy gun carriages. Tallow greased cart axles, boat fittings and the pulleys on the signal flagstaffs.

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219	215	1764 Invoice of Ship Osterly BA Batavia Arrack No 1 to 2.2 Leagrs @ 350 Ar p Leagr Rs 756 0as 0p WC Wax Candles 1 to 4.4 Chests 2 R [...] @ 62 p Maund Rs 496 0as 0p FS Fine Sugar 1 to 10.10 Bags 2 Mds 20 @ 7.8 p Md Rs 150 0as 0p P Paddy 1 to 15.15 Bags Do 22.20 @ 10 p Md Rs 12 11as 0p FR Rice fine 1 to 30.30 Bags 2 Mds 60 @ 30 p [...] Rs 86 6as 3p Rs 1501 1as 3p Charges Merchandize 93 Gunny bags with Sewing Rs 13 3as 3p 4 Chests & Packages Rs 10 14as 6p 15 Matts Rs 0 15as 0p Weighman Rs 0 5as 6p Peon Rs 2 3as 3p Boathire Rs 2 3as 3p Sloopshire Rs 35 10as 0p Coolies Rs 4 6as 9p Rs 69 13as 6p Currant Rupees Rs 1570 14as 9p Errors Excepted Pr Richd Barwell Sub Accot The Storekeeper this day brought in the following Account of Stores received Short from the Duke of Richmond and Osterly vizt Account of Stores received from the Duke of Richmond vizt 2 Double Deals 1 Bed 1 Axeltree 1 Iron roller Plate 1 Chn 7 Buckt Coals Short delivered	The invoice for the goods shipped from Bengal aboard the *Osterley* was entered in current rupees. Batavia arrack, marked BA, numbered 1 to 22, 22 leaguers at 350 [...] per leaguer, 756 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Wax candles, marked WC, numbered 1 to 4, 4 chests weighing 8 maunds at 62 rupees per maund, 496 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Fine sugar, marked FS, numbered 1 to 10, 10 bags weighing 2[...] maunds 20 seers at 7 rupees 8 annas per maund, 150 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, marked P, numbered 1 to 15, 15 bags weighing 22 maunds 20 seers at 10 [...] per maund, 12 rupees 11 annas 0 pies Fine rice, marked FR, numbered 1 to 30, 30 bags weighing [...] maunds 60 at 30 [...], 86 rupees 6 annas 3 pies Value of goods, 1,501 rupees 1 anna 3 pies Charges on the goods 95 gunny bags including sewing, 13 rupees 3 annas 3 pies 4 chests and packing, 10 rupees 14 annas 6 pies 15 mats, 0 rupees 15 annas 0 pies Weighman's fee, 0 rupees 5 annas 6 pies Peon's fee, 2 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Boat hire, 2 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Sloop hire, 35 rupees 10 annas 0 pies Porters' wages, 4 rupees 6 annas 9 pies Total charges, 69 rupees 13 annas 6 pies Grand total in current rupees, 1,570 rupees 14 annas 9 pies Richard Barwell, sub-accountant, signed the invoice subject to correction of any errors. The storekeeper presented an account of stores that had arrived short from the *Duke of Richmond* and the *Osterley*. From the *Duke of Richmond* the following items were delivered short: Double deals, 2 Bed, 1 Axletree, 1 Iron roller plate, 1 Coal, 1 chaldron 7 bushels **Interpretations** The *Osterley*'s cargo matched almost exactly what the Council had asked Bengal to send in its letter of 8 April 1764: 8 maunds of wax candles, with arrack, sugar, rice and paddy making up the rest. Since the *Osterley* reached the island on 4 April 1764, before that letter was written, the goods must have answered earlier requests. The Council was plainly repeating a standing order that Calcutta was already filling ship by ship. This steady pattern shows how routine the island's dependence on Bengal for staples had become. Batavia arrack was distilled in Java, then under Dutch control, from molasses and fermented rice, and was reckoned the best arrack in the East. The English obtained it through Bengal and other eastern ports and used it widely for ship and garrison rations. A leaguer was a very large cask, used chiefly for arrack and water, holding well over 100 gallons. Gunny bags were coarse sacks woven from jute, the cheap Bengal fibre used across the Indian Ocean trade for packing grain and sugar. The current rupee was an accounting unit used in the Company's Bengal books rather than an actual coin. It allowed the various silver rupees in circulation, which differed in weight and age, to be reduced to a single standard for bookkeeping. The maund used was the Bengal maund of 40 seers, so 22 maunds 20 seers meant 22½ maunds. The charges show the chain of handling needed to move goods from the Calcutta warehouses to a ship at anchor. A weighman certified the weights, a peon acted as messenger and watchman, and porters carried the goods. Sloop hire was by far the largest

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			cost, since large ships lay well down the Hooghly river and cargo had to be taken to them in smaller vessels. Together these charges added a little under 5 per cent to the value of the goods. The storekeeper's short-delivery account was a check on the ships' commanders. Each item on the bill of lading had to be landed and counted. Any shortfall was recorded so that the commander could be charged for it when his ship's accounts were settled with the Company. Double deals were thick sawn planks of softwood, and a chaldron was a large measure of coal equal to 36 bushels.
220	216	9th April Earthen Milk Pans 2 Pans Flo. Oil 1 Bottle Do Cl[...]t 1 Bottle found broke upon opening the Packages Sope 40 lb Cordage 1cwt 1qr 3lb Short weight Salt 5 Bushels Engh Brandy 7 Gallons Short Measure Claret 6 Bottles Flo. Oil 2 Bottles found short upon opening the Packages Pan Tile broke 656 Tiles Lisbon Wine vizt 1 Hhd No 3 gages 59½ Gallons wants to fill 4 Gallons 1 Do 4 Do 60½ Gallons Do 4¾ Gallons 1 Do 5 Do 60 Gallons Do 4¾ Gallons 180 Gallons 13½ Gallons 13½ Gallons Gallons 166½ received Mountain vizt 1 Hhd 6 gages 60 Gallons wants to fill 1½ Gallons ½ Do 7 Do 30 Gallons Do 1¼ Gallons 90 Gallons 2¾ Gallons 2¾ Gallons Gallons 87¼ received Port vizt 1 Hhd No 1 gages 60 Gallons wants to fill 3 Gallons 1 Do 2 Do 60½ Gallons Do 3 Gallons 120½ Gallons 6 Gallons 6 Gallons Gallons 114½ received Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Osterly vizt Sugar 1cwt 1qr 20lb Rice 0cwt 2qr 27lb Paddy 0cwt 2qr 26lb Candles 0cwt 0qr 4lb Short Weight No 1 One Leagr Arr. gages 147¼ Gallons wants to fill 5¾ Gallons 2 Do 145 Gallons Do 12 Gallons 292¼ Gallons 17¾ Gallons 17¾ Gallons Gallons 274½ received. St Helena Pr J Bowle 9th April 1764 Storekeeper	The storekeeper's account of stores delivered short from the *Duke of Richmond* continued with the following items. Found broken when the packages were opened Earthen milk pans, 2 Bottle of Florence oil, 1 Bottle of olives, 1 Short in weight Soap, 40 lb Cordage, 1 cwt 1 qr 3 lb Short in measure Salt, 5 bushels English brandy, 7 gallons Found missing when the packages were opened Claret, 6 bottles Florence oil, 2 bottles Broken Plain tiles, 656 Lisbon wine Hogshead no. 3, gauged at 59½ gallons, short of full by 4 gallons Hogshead no. 4, gauged at 60½ gallons, short of full by 4¾ gallons Hogshead no. 5, gauged at 60 gallons, short of full by 4¾ gallons Total gauged, 180 gallons Total shortfall, 13½ gallons Lisbon wine received, 166½ gallons Mountain wine Hogshead no. 6, gauged at 60 gallons, short of full by 1½ gallons Half-hogshead no. 7, gauged at 30 gallons, short of full by 1¼ gallons Total gauged, 90 gallons Total shortfall, 2¾ gallons Mountain wine received, 87¼ gallons Port wine Hogshead no. 1, gauged at 60 gallons, short of full by 3 gallons Hogshead no. 2, gauged at 60½ gallons, short of full by 3 gallons Total gauged, 120½ gallons Total shortfall, 6 gallons Port wine received, 114½ gallons The stores delivered short from the *Osterley* were as follows. Short in weight Sugar, 1 cwt 1 qr 20 lb Rice, 0 cwt 2 qr 27 lb Paddy, 0 cwt 2 qr 26 lb Candles, 0 cwt 0 qr 4 lb Arrack Leaguer no. 1, gauged at 147¼ gallons, short of full by 5¾ gallons Leaguer no. 2, gauged at 145¼ gallons, short of full by 12 gallons Total gauged, 292½ gallons Total shortfall, 17¾ gallons Arrack received, 274¾ gallons [...] Bowle, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 9 April 1764. **Interpretations**

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			Every cask was gauged on landing to find its full capacity, and the empty space above the liquid was measured to show how much was missing. The difference gave the quantity actually received. Losses came from leakage, evaporation through the wood and, at times, pilfering by the crew during the voyage. The shortfalls here ran to about 7 per cent of the Lisbon wine and 6 per cent of the arrack, against about 3 per cent of the Mountain. Recording each cask separately let the Company charge the commander for losses beyond what was thought reasonable when his accounts were settled. The dry goods were weighed in hundredweights, quarters and pounds, the English system in which a hundredweight held 4 quarters of 28 lb each. The storekeeper converted the Bengal goods from maunds into these English weights when checking them, so the shortfalls on the *Osterley*'s sugar, rice and paddy were set out in the island's own measure. Florence oil was olive oil from Tuscany, shipped in thin straw-covered flasks and prized for the table. Plain tiles were flat clay roofing tiles laid in overlapping courses. They were brittle and heavy, and the 656 broken on arrival show how poorly such goods survived the long passage and the rough handling in the ship's boats at James Bay. Port was the fortified red wine of the Douro valley in Portugal, which had become the usual wine of English officers by this period.
221	217	1764 Mr Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Osterly to Muster her Company, and inquire for deserters but found none, her Muster Roll is as follows vizt Muster Roll of Ship Osterly Fredk Vincent Captain Mr John White Chief Mate Mr Nicholas Jackson 2d Do Mr James Smallwood 3d Do Mr Samuel Welch 4th Do Mr James Rovendell 5th Do Mr Godard Perry 6th Do Mr Adam Miller Purser Mr Griffith Thomas Doctor Edward Whitaker Midshipn Thomas Pearson Do John Harrison Do Charles Chambers Do George Wright Do Thomas Trowbridge Do John Sterling Gunner James Birdey Boatswain John Burrough Carpt John Waterfield Caulker Thomas Blyth Cooper John Jennings Sailmaker Jeremiah Cox Butcher Henry Newstead Sh Cook John Smith Gunners Mate Joseph Cafole Carpentr Do Samuel Chester Boatn Do John Bernard Caulkers Do Brian Wallen Capt Stewd Spencer Moore Do Barber Joseph Norman Do Cook William Gowree Quartermast Lawrence Doyal Do Tony Nickells Do Willm Hatrin Do Samuel Palman Ab Boy Crue Glarum 2 Do Alexander Wilson Pursers Do Alexander McCarthy Doctors Do John Cooper Gunners Do	Matthew Purling reported that he had gone aboard the *Osterley* to muster her crew and search for deserters, but found none. The ship's muster roll read as follows. Frederick Vincent, captain John Wh[...], chief mate Nicholas Jackson, second mate James Smallwood, third mate Samuel Welch, fourth mate James Rovendell, fifth mate Godard Perry, sixth mate Adam Miller, purser Griffith Thomas, surgeon Edward Whitaker, midshipman Thomas Pearson, midshipman John Harrison, midshipman Charles Chambers, midshipman George Wright, midshipman Thomas Trowbridge, midshipman John Starling, gunner James Birdey, boatswain John Burrough, carpenter John Waterfield, caulker Thomas Blyth, cooper John Jennings, sailmaker Jeremiah Cox, butcher Henry Newsfield, ship's cook William [...] John Smith, gunner's mate Joseph Carole, carpenter's mate Samuel Chester, boatswain's mate John Bernard, caulker's mate Brian Walden, captain's steward Spencer Mann, captain's barber Joseph Norman, captain's cook William Gower, quartermaster Lawrence Doyle, quartermaster Tony Nicholls, quartermaster William Hatton, quartermaster Samuel Patman, captain's boy [...] Glarum, captain's second boy Alexander Wilson, purser's boy Alexander McCarthy, surgeon's boy John Cooper, gunner's boy Samuel Jackson, cook's boy George Broderick, seaman

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		Samuel Jackson Carpt Do George Brodrick Seaman Timothy Lunn Do Timothy Stakes Do Swan Holman Do Samuel Dyer Do Michael Furlong Do Thos Sunday John Bullash Seaman John Wells Do John Cornelius 1st Do John Baptiste Do Matthew Dewing Do John Basquest Do Henry Clue Do Refiner Martin Do Samuel Wizard Do Thomas Hunter Do Robert Edwards Do William Hinds Do John Cornelius 2d Do William Bibshan Do George Bisfans Do Antony Pero Do Haunch Cuffean Do Francis Pathie Simon Peter Burgosse Basque Sarah Richard Wippery One Serang 2 Tindals & 29 Do Lascars. Well see Passengers Mr Rowland Mr Fenwick & 3 Servts Mr Chapion Col Morris Capt Tydd Lieut Bowell Lieut Onge Lieut Chaigneau Lieut Wiltshire Lieut Brown Lieut Grove Lieut Harland Lieut Fordyce Capt Black Ensign Bateman Mr Brown Mr Dundass Mr Moffatt Mr Amyatt (signed) Fredk Vincent	Timothy Lunn, seaman Timothy Stokes, seaman Simon Helman, seaman Samuel Dyer, seaman Michael Furlong, seaman Thomas Tordoy John Bullash, seaman John Wells, seaman John Cornelius the first, seaman John Baptiste, seaman Matthew Dewing, seaman John Bergquist, seaman Henry Clue, seaman Reiner Martin, seaman Samuel Woodard, seaman Thomas Hinter, seaman Robert Edwards, seaman William Hinds, seaman John Cornelius the second, seaman William Cochran, seaman George Bi[...]ans, seaman Antony Pero, seaman Hanch Corfsean, seaman Francis Pathis Simon Peter [...] Burgone Pasqual Sarah Richard Whipping, seaman 1 serang, 2 tindals and 29 lascars Passengers Mr Rowland, Mrs Fenwick and Mrs Chapion, with 3 servants Colonel Morris Captain Sydd Lieutenant Bowell Lieutenant Onge Lieutenant Chaigneau Lieutenant Wiltshire Lieutenant Brown Lieutenant Crowe Lieutenant Hackland Lieutenant Fordyce Captain Black Ensign Pademan Mr Brown Mr Dundas Mr Moffatt Mr Amyatt Frederick Vincent signed the roll. **Interpretations** Mustering a ship's company was the Council's main safeguard against people leaving the island unseen. A councillor went aboard, called every name on the roll and checked the faces against it. Anyone present but not listed was probably a soldier, servant or slave trying to escape, or an islander leaving without the Council's consent. This inspection was the practical enforcement of the rule that nobody could depart St Helena without leave, the same rule that obliged John Bland to petition on 2 April 1764 before his son could sail. The check also protected commanders, who could be held responsible for carrying off the Company's people. The roll shows how an East Indiaman supplemented her English crew with Asian seamen. Lascars were sailors recruited in Indian ports, often used to replace European crew lost to death or desertion on the outward voyage. They served under their own petty officers: the serang was their headman, roughly equal to a boatswain, and the tindals were his mates. The lascars were counted in a single line rather than named, reflecting their separate engagement through the serang. Several names in the seamen's list, such as Baptiste, Pero, Bergquist and Pasqual Sarah, point to the Portuguese, Scandinavian

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			and other foreign sailors also found on Company ships. The passengers were largely army officers, from a colonel down to an ensign. Their numbers reflect the end of the war in India, after which many officers returned home on the first available ships. The captain's steward, barber, cook and boy formed his personal household. They show the comfort and standing that a Company commander maintained on a long voyage.
222	218	9th April We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable Company vizt One Set to Lieutenant John Hartland for seventy pounds one Shilling and nine pence payable to himself, or order One Set to Mr Thomas Grantree for forty six pounds seven Shillings, and four pence payable to Mr Roby Adamson or order And one Set to Mr John White for seventy pounds payable to himself or Order all drawn net ninety days after sight On the 4th Instant James Hill Matross the 7th John Burnham Sergeant, and this day Robert Lewhurst and John William Blank Centinels, Petitioned for their several discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their contracted times Granted We this day Relisted Daniel Armin to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier five Years longer at ten pounds Bounty Money, as likewise Baron Delofe without any Bounty Bought of Captain Benjamin Godfrey for the use of the Honorable Companys Table the following Articles vizt Currants 21 lb @ 9d £0 15s 9d Cheese 42 lb @ 9d £1 11s 6d Half Firkins Butter 2 Half Firkins £3 10s 0d Case Pickles 1[...] Case £1 10s 0d Raisons 30 lb £1 17s 6d Mustard 6 Bottles £0 [...]s 0d £10 2s 9d Mr John Crowther Surgeon of the Ship Duke of Richmond applied to us for payment for the care of twenty Recruits in their passage from England, We accordingly ordered him to be paid five Shillings each, amounting to five pounds	The Council issued three sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Company. Lieutenant John Hartland received one for £20 1s 9d, payable to himself or to anyone he named. Thomas Grantree received another for £46 7s 4d, made payable to Roby Adamson or his nominee. John White took the third for £70 0s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee. All three bills fell due 90 days after they were presented. Four soldiers asked to leave the garrison because their contracted terms had ended. James Hill, a matross, applied on 4 April 1764 and John Burnham, a sergeant, on 7 April 1764. Robert Towhurst and John William Blank, both private soldiers, applied on 9 April 1764. The Council approved all four discharges. Daniel Armin signed on for five more years as a soldier and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. Baron Delofe also agreed to serve a further term but was paid no bounty. The Council bought the following provisions for the Company's table from Captain Benjamin Godfrey. 21 lb of currants at 9d per lb, £0 15s 9d 42 lb of cheese at 9d per lb, £1 11s 6d 2 half-firkins of butter, £3 10s 0d 1 quarter-cask of pickles, £1 10s 0d 30 lb of raisins, £1 17s 6d 6 bottles of mustard, £0 18s 0d Total, £10 2s 9d John Crowther, surgeon of the *Duke of Richmond*, asked to be paid for looking after 20 recruits on the voyage from England. The Council ordered him paid 5s 0d for each man, £5 0s 0d in all. **Interpretations** The surgeon's fee was paid per recruit delivered, not as a flat sum. This gave ships' surgeons a direct financial reason to keep the Company's soldiers alive on the passage, when fevers and scurvy could kill many men crammed below decks. The Company paid only for the men who reached the island, so the payment rewarded results rather than effort. The provisions bought from Captain Godfrey came from his private trade. Company commanders were allowed a share of cargo space for goods of their own, and passing ships were the island's main source of European foods such as cheese, dried fruit and preserves. A firkin was a small cask holding 56 lb of butter, so the two half-firkins supplied 56 lb in all at about 1s 3d a pound. This imported salted butter cost more than the island's fresh butter, charged at 1s 0d a pound in the table account for March 1764, but it kept far longer. The discharges of James Hill and John Burnham formally released both men from the island garrison so they could sail on the *Duke of Richmond*, as the Council had explained to Fort Marlborough in its letter of 8 April 1764. The bills of exchange went to men connected with the ships in the road. John White was perhaps the chief mate of the *Osterley*, and Lieutenant Hartland probably one of the army officers travelling home on her. The bills let them convert money earned or received abroad into a safe claim on the Company in London.

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			The contrast between Armin's £10 0s 0d bounty and Delofe's re-enlistment without any payment is striking, but the record gives no reason for the difference.
223	219	1764 We received the following Articles from the Cape by the Ship Osterly for which we paid Captain Vincent sixty one pounds five Shillings. Sheep 100 Sheep Spa Dollars 200 0¼ Barley and Straw for do Spa Dollars 22 1¼ Flour 312 lb Spa Dollars 20 0½ Cooleys Shipping Spa Dollars 2 0¼ Spa Dollars 245 0 Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th Day of April 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieutent Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 9th April 1764 Wednesday the 11th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Duke of Richmond on her Voyage Thursday the 12th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Osterly for England Ordered the following Advertisements to be Published Island vizt	The *Osterley* brought a consignment of goods from the Cape of Good Hope, and the Council paid Captain Vincent £61 5s 0d for them. 100 sheep, 200 Spanish dollars Barley and straw to feed the sheep, 22¼ Spanish dollars 312 lb of flour, 20½ Spanish dollars Porters' charges for loading, 2¼ Spanish dollars Total, 245 Spanish dollars Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Monday 16 April 1764. Governor Hutchinson attended with John Skottowe, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 9 April 1764. The Company ship *Duke of Richmond* left the road on Wednesday 11 April 1764 to continue her voyage. The *Osterley* sailed for England the next day. The Council ordered several notices to be published on the island. **Interpretations** The purchase shows the Cape of Good Hope serving as St Helena's reserve larder. The Dutch colony there raised sheep and grain on a scale the small island could not match, and English ships calling at the Cape could bring livestock on to St Helena. The 100 sheep roughly doubled the losses from the Company's flock in March 1764, when 51 sheep were killed, died or sent aboard the *Plassey* and the total fell from 686 to 635. Restocking from the Cape let the island keep supplying passing ships without exhausting its breeding flock. The account was kept in Spanish dollars because that silver coin was the common currency of trade across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and was readily accepted at the Dutch Cape. The Council settled the bill in sterling at 5s 0d to the dollar, the rate that turns 245 dollars into £61 5s 0d. At 2 dollars, or 10s 0d, a head, the Cape sheep were cheap even after the cost of barley and straw to keep them fed on the passage.
224	220	16th April Island St Helena 16th April 1764. This is to give Notice to all Persons upon the said Island that have any Claims upon the Estate of the late Lieutenant Samuel Price, That they are hereby required to attend the Governor and Council, on Thursday Next the 19th Instant at ten O'Clock in the forenoon, that their said Accounts may be Adjusted. Island St Helena 16th April 1764. This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island that they are hereby required to meet in Vestry at the Chappel in this Valley on Monday next to chuse Parish Officers for the Ensuing Year, They are likewise to return three of the principal Inhabitants that one may be elected to serve the Office of Sherriff and to chuse a proper Person for a Constable The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1st January	The Council published two notices on 16 April 1764. The first called on anyone with a claim against the estate of the late Lieutenant Samuel Price to appear before Governor Hutchinson and the Council. They were to attend at ten in the morning on Thursday 19 April 1764 so that their accounts could be settled. The second notice summoned all the island's inhabitants to a vestry meeting at the chapel in the valley on Monday 23 April 1764. They were to choose the parish officers for the coming year and to appoint a suitable man as constable. They were also to put forward three leading inhabitants, one of whom would be selected to serve as sheriff. The storekeeper presented his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1764. The Council examined and approved both. The storekeeper's account recorded the goods sold from the Company's stores during that quarter. Goods sold to the Company's servants at 10 per cent above cost, 1 January to 31 March 1764 Beef and pork 320 pieces of beef, £32 0s 0d 3,831 pieces of pork, £383 2s 0d Total for beef and pork, £415 2s 0d

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		and ending the 31st March 1764 which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt Collection of Goods sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from the 1st January to the 31st March 1764 vizt Sold to the Honorable Company's Servants at 10 p Cent Beef and Pork vizt Beef 320 ps £32 0s 0d Pork 3831 ps £383 2s 0d £415 2s 0d Sugar and Candy vizt Sugar 2863 lb £47 14s 4d Candy 4191 lb £102 15s 6d £150 9s 10d Carried over£565 11s 10d	Sugar and sugar candy 2,863 lb of sugar, £47 14s 4d 4,191 lb of sugar candy, £102 15s 6d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £150 9s 10d Carried forward, £565 11s 10d **Interpretations** The Company's servants bought provisions from its stores at cost plus 10 per cent. This was a privilege as well as a charge. It gave soldiers, artisans and officials access to salted meat and sugar at a fixed and modest price, since otherwise they would depend on private traders and passing ships. The Company recovered the cost of freight and handling through the advance, and the storekeeper's quarterly collection brought the money back into its treasury. The sheriff was chosen through a mixed process that kept final control with the Governor and Council. The inhabitants did not elect the sheriff directly. Instead, they named three men, and the Council picked one of them. This gave the settlers a voice in choosing an officer who served writs and enforced court orders, while leaving the Company free to reject anyone it distrusted. Parish officers and the constable, by contrast, were chosen by the vestry itself, which handled poor relief, the upkeep of the church and minor policing. The notice about Lieutenant Price's estate shows the Council acting as a probate court. Creditors had to present their claims in person on a fixed day, so the Council could weigh the estate's assets against its debts before anything was paid out. On a small island where much trade ran on credit, this public call protected both creditors and heirs. The salted meat was reckoned in pieces rather than by weight. Pieces were standard portions cut before salting and packed into casks, which made the rations easy to count and issue.
225	221	1764 Brought over£565 11s 10d Flour vizt Flour 1610 lb £11 14s 9d Bake 302cwt 3qr 2lb 0 £282 15s 0d £294 9s 9d Rice and Paddy vizt Rice 13cwt 2qr 23lb £6 11s 4d Paddy 32cwt 2qr 14lb £6 11s 2d £12 2s 6d Salt 18½ Bushels £3 4s 9d Sope 276 lb £10 1s 3d Chellows 14 ps £7 4s 1d Long Ells 80¾ Yds £2 16s 4d Coffee 50 lb £2 5s 10d Arrack 53¼ Gallons £13 6s 3d Candles 81 lb	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from the £565 11s 10d brought forward. Brought forward, £565 11s 10d Flour and bread 1,610 lb of flour, £11 14s 9d 302 cwt 3 qr 2 lb of bread, £282 15s 0d Total for flour and bread, £294 9s 9d Rice and paddy 13 cwt 0 qr 23 lb of rice, £6 11s 4d 32 cwt 2 qr 14 lb of paddy, £6 11s 2d Total for rice and paddy, £12 2s 6d 18½ bushels of salt, £3 4s 9d 276 lb of soap, £10 1s 3d 14 pieces of challows, £7 4s 1d 80¾ yards of long ells, £2 16s 4d 50 lb of coffee, £2 5s 10d 53¾ gallons of arrack, £13 6s 3d 85 lb of candles, £8 10s 0d 209¼ lb of cordage, £4 2s 8d 5 yards of flannel, £0 6s 8d 4½ yards of buckram, £0 4s 6d 4 lb of pepper, £0 2s 3d ½ bushel of pease, £0 4s 8d 4 blankets, £1 2s 0d 4 pieces of dosooties, £2 3s 0d 6 lb of sago, £0 3s 4d 3 lb of starch, £0 1s 1d 1 oar, £0 4s 3d Tea 192 lb of Congou tea, £13 12s 0d 49 lb of Singlo tea, £3 9s 5d 124 lb of Bohea tea, £5 13s 7d Total for tea, £22 15s 1d Nails 2¼ lb of twopenny nails, £0 1s 11d 5½ lb of threepenny nails, £0 4s 4½d 16 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 10s 4d

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		£2 10s 0d Cordage 209¼ lb £4 2s 8d Flannel 5 Yds £0 6s 8d Buckram 4½ Yds £0 4s 6d Pepper 4 lb £0 2s 3d Pease ½ Bushel £0 4s 8d Blankets 4 Blankets £1 2s 0d Doreas 4 Pieces £2 3s 0d Sago 0 lb £0 3s 4d Starch 3 lb £0 1s 1d Oars 1 Oar £0 4s 3d Tea vizt Congo 19 lb £13 12s 0d Single 49 lb £3 9s 5d Bohea 124 lb £5 13s 7d £22 15s 1d Nails vizt 2d Nails 2¼ lb £0 1s 11d 3d Nails 5½ lb £0 4s 4¼d 4d Nails 16 lb £0 10s 4d 6d Nails 41 lb £1 3s 11d 10d Nails 30 lb £0 18s 0d 20d Nails 10 lb £0 4s 2d 40d Nails 2 lb £0 0s 9d Jacks 1 lb £0 1s 4½d G Beads 3 lb £0 5s 9¼d £3 10s 7d Carried over£954 13s 2d	41 lb of sixpenny nails, £1 3s 11d 36 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 18s 0d 10 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 4s 2d 2 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 0s 9d 1 lb of tacks, £0 1s 4½d 3 lb of brads, £0 0s 5¾d Total for nails, £3 10s 7d Carried forward, £954 13s 2d **Interpretations** Tea came in three grades, all from China. Bohea was the cheapest black tea, made from coarse late-season leaves. Congou was a better black tea, more carefully prepared, and Singlo was a green tea from the hills of Anhui. At St Helena Congou and Singlo sold at about 1s 5d a pound and Bohea at about 11d. In England, where tea carried heavy import duties, even Bohea usually cost the buyer well over 2s a pound. The island's servants therefore drank tea far more cheaply than people of similar rank at home, since the leaf reached them straight from Company ships without passing through the English customs. Bread was by far the largest item, at more than 300 hundredweight in a single quarter. This was hard-baked bread or biscuit made in the Company's bakehouse from imported flour and sold to its servants as their everyday staple. The island grew little wheat of its own, so a large part of the population's diet depended on flour and grain shipped in from England, the Cape and India. Long ells were light English woollen cloths, woven chiefly in Devon and Somerset and sold in long pieces. They were one of the Company's standard exports eastward and were used for clothing. Buckram was coarse linen or cotton stiffened with glue or size, used to line and shape garments. Sago was a starch taken from the pith of Asian palms and fed mainly to the sick and to invalids. The nails were sized by the old English penny system, which once described the price per hundred and by this period simply named the length. Twopenny nails were small, about an inch long, while fortypenny nails were heavy spikes several inches long for framing timber. Tacks were short nails with broad heads, and brads were slender nails with small heads used for finishing work and flooring.
226	222	16th April Brought over£954 18s 2d Oil vizt	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from the £954 13s 2d brought forward.

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		Linseed 22⅞ Gallons £4 14s 1d Train 14¼ Gallons £3 0s 7d Florence 14 Bottles £2 3s 9d £9 18s 5d Leather vizt Sole 52½ lb £2 14s 11d Calf Skin 6 Skins £2 8s 6d £5 3s 5d Twine vizt Twine 50 Skeins £1 15s 0d Cotton Wick 1¾ lb £0 5s 5d £2 0s 5d Thread vizt W Brown 8 lb £2 18s 2d Colored 6½ lb £1 3s 2d £4 1s 4d Hooks & Lines vizt 1025 No 1 175 No 3 75 No 16 200 No 15 825 No 14 175 No 13 150 No 12 Hooks £3 8s 6d 129 No 2 120 No 8 Lines £4 3s 2d Hambro Do 2 Lines £0 3s 0d Log Do 9 Lines £0 9s 4d £8 4s 0d Cutlery Ware vizt Ivory Combs 6 Combs £0 6s 6d Horn Do 9 Combs £0 1s 6d Shoe Knives 8 Knives £0 3s 0d Grs Horn Moulds 6 Grs £0 2s 6d Pr Leather Garters 2 Pr £0 0s 9d Stag Horn Knives & Forks 12 Knives & Forks £0 11s 0d Pr Knee Buckles 2 Pr	Brought forward, £954 13s 2d Oil 22⅞ gallons of linseed oil, £4 14s 1d 14¼ gallons of train oil, £3 0s 7d 14 bottles of Florence oil, £2 3s 9d Total for oil, £9 18s 5d Leather 52½ lb of sole leather, £2 14s 11d 6 calf skins, £2 8s 6d Total for leather, £5 3s 5d Twine and wick 50 skeins of twine, £1 15s 0d 1¼ lb of cotton wick, £0 5s 5d Total for twine and wick, £2 0s 5d Thread 2 lb of white and brown thread, £2 18s 2d 6 lb of coloured thread, £1 3s 2d Total for thread, £4 1s 4d Fishing hooks and lines 1,025 hooks of size 1 175 hooks of size 3 75 hooks of size 16 200 hooks of size 15 825 hooks of size 14 175 hooks of size 13 150 hooks of size 12 All hooks together, £3 8s 6d 129 lines of size 2 120 lines of size 8 All lines of sizes 2 and 8 together, £4 3s 2d 2 Hamburg lines, £0 3s 0d 9 log lines, £0 9s 4d Total for hooks and lines, £8 4s 0d Small wares 6 ivory combs, £0 6s 6d 9 horn combs, £0 1s 6d 2 shoemakers' knives, £0 3s 0d 6 gross of horn button moulds, £0 2s 6d 2 pairs of leather garters, £0 0s 9d 12 stag-handled knives and forks, £0 11s 0d 2 pairs of knee buckles, £0 0s 8d 3 butchers' knives, £0 1s 5d 1 pair of shoe buckles, £0 0s 7d Total for small wares, £1 7s 11d Carried forward, £985 8s 8d **Interpretations** The large sale of fishing hooks, more than 2,600 in a single quarter, shows how much the island depended on the sea for food. Fish were plentiful off the coast and formed a large part of the diet of settlers, soldiers and slaves alike, easing the demand on the Company's stores of salted meat and imported grain. Hooks were sold by numbered size, the smaller numbers generally being the larger hooks for heavier fish. Hamburg lines were a strong grade of cordage named after the German port that supplied it, and served here as heavier fishing or boat lines. A log line was the knotted line used with a wooden float to measure a vessel's speed through the water, bought for the island's boats. Train oil was rendered from the blubber of whales or seals. It was the cheap lamp oil of the period and was also used to dress leather. Linseed oil, pressed from flax seed, served chiefly for mixing paint and for proofing wood against the weather. Horn button moulds were small discs cut from horn, sold by the gross of 144. They were covered with cloth or thread to make buttons at home, which explains the large quantity bought at a very low price. Knee buckles fastened breeches just below the knee, and together with shoe buckles and garters they show that ordinary European dress was maintained on the island, supplied through the Company's stores rather than from local makers.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 0s 5d Butchers Knives 3 Knives £0 1s 5d Pr Shoe Buckles 1 Pr £0 0s 7d £1 7s 11d Carried over£985 13s 8d	
227	223	1764 Brought over£985 13s 8d Broad Cloth vizt Scarlet 7⅝ Yds £2 0s 0d Blue ¾ Yds £0 4s 10d Fn Grey 5⅜ Yds £5 2s 9d £8 3s 7d Deals vizt Double 41 Deals £6 17s 6d Single 34 Deals £5 9s 1d Coffer 1 Coffer £0 4s 6d Battens 4 Battens £1 19s 0d Ft Sugar Timber 1½ Ft £5 16s 6d Wainscot Board 1 Board £0 7s 5d £21 2s 0d Haberdashery Ware vizt Sks Silk 52 Sks £1 6s 0d Sks Mohair 26 Sks £0 10s 10d Moh Bt Buttons 9½ doz £0 3s 6¾d Moh Ct Do 7 doz £0 6s 3d Silver Ct Do 2 doz £0 9s 7d Silver Bt Do 4½ doz £0 10s 1½d Gr Shirt Do ½ Gr £0 3s 7¼d Yds Holland Tape 12 Yds £0 8s 3d £3 17s 3d Paint vizt Whiting 141 lb £0 5s 10½d White Lead dry 13 lb £0 4s 7¼d	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from the £985 13s 8d brought forward. Brought forward, £985 13s 8d Broadcloth 7⅞ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £2 0s 0d ¾ yard of blue broadcloth, £0 4s 10d 5⅝ yards of fine grey broadcloth, £5 18s 9d Total for broadcloth, £8 3s 7d Sawn timber 41 double deals, £6 17s 6d 54 single deals, £5 19s 1d 1 coffin, £0 4s 6d 4 battens, £1 19s 0d 176 ft of [...] timber, £5 16s 6d 1 wainscot board, £0 7s 5d Total for sawn timber, £21 2s 0d Sewing goods and trimmings 52 skeins of silk, £1 6s 0d 26 skeins of mohair, £0 10s 10d 9½ dozen mohair waistcoat buttons, £0 3s 6¾d 7 dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 6s 3d 2 dozen silver coat buttons, £0 9s 7d 4½ dozen silver waistcoat buttons, £0 10s 1½d ½ gross of shirt buttons, £0 3s 7½d 12 pieces of Holland tape, £0 8s 3d Total for sewing goods and trimmings, £3 17s 3d Paint 14 lb of whiting, £0 5s 10½d 13 lb of dry white lead, £0 4s 7¼d 1 lb of verdigris, £0 4s 3¾d ¼ lb of umber, £0 0s 1d 7 lb of stone colour, £1 1s 8¼d 11½ lb of blue smalts, £0 17s 3d 13 lb of indigo, £1 4s 11d 36 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 5s 3d 10 lb of mixed Venetian red, £0 3s 7¾d 2 lb of sky blue, £0 4s 1d 47 lb of mixed white lead, £0 19s 7d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 9¾d 2 brushes and blacking, £0 1s 3d Total for paint, £6 13s 10d Carried forward, £1,025 10s 4d **Interpretations** The paints were sold mostly as raw pigments that the buyer mixed with oil himself, which explains the linseed oil in the same account. White lead was the standard base for almost all house and ship paint. Whiting was ground chalk, used as a cheap filler and for whitewash. Verdigris was a green pigment made by corroding copper with vinegar, and umber a brown earth from Italy. Smalts was powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, and Venetian red an iron-oxide earth giving a durable brick red. Stone colour was a pale buff, probably ready-mixed, used to imitate masonry on wood and plaster. Some pigments were sold dry and some already ground in oil, the mixed kinds costing more for the labour saved. The quantities suggest that houses, doors and shutters on the island were painted regularly against the damp and the salt air. Sawn timber had to be imported, since the island's native woods had long been cut back and could not supply boards. Deals were planks of Baltic pine or fir, the double deals being thicker than the single. Wainscot was fine oak board from the Baltic,

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Verdigrease 1 lb £0 4s 3¾d Umber ¼ lb £0 0s 1d Stone Colour 73 lb £1 18s 4¼d Blue Smalts 11½ lb £0 17s 3d Indico 13 lb £1 4s 11d Ven Red dry 36 lb £0 5s 3d Ven Red mixed 10 lb £0 3s 7¼d Sky Blue 2 lb £0 4s 1d White Lead mixed 47 lb £0 19s 7d Red Lead 2 lb £0 0s 3¼d Brewers blackings 2 lb £0 1s 3d £6 13s 10d Carried over£1025 10s 4d	used for panelling and furniture. The sale of a coffin through the Company's stores shows how far the settlers relied on the Company even for the ordinary business of burying their dead. The buttons and trimmings reveal the dress of the island's better-off residents. Breast buttons were the smaller buttons for a waistcoat, and coat buttons the larger ones for the outer coat. Silver buttons marked a gentleman's clothes, while mohair buttons were cheaper and covered with goat-hair thread. Holland tape was a narrow linen tape used for binding seams and tying garments, named after the Dutch linen it was first made from.
228	224	16th April Brought over£1025 10s 4d Glass Ware vizt Sqrs 10 by 12 7 Sqrs £0 6s 5d Sqrs 6 by 8 4 Sqrs £0 1s 3d Sqrs 8 by 10 26 Sqrs £0 17s 4d Tumbler 1 Tumbler £0 0s 7½d Beer Glasses 2 Glasses £0 2s 7d Wine Glasses 3 Glasses £0 1s 11½d £1 10s 2d Canvas vizt Yds English 22 Yds £1 6s 7d Yds Ozenbrigs 43½ Yds £1 16s 3d Ticklingbrigs 10½ Yds £0 11s 2d £3 14s 0d Turners Ware vizt Scrub Brushes 3 Brushes £0 7s 6¾d Hair Brooms 2 Brooms £0 3s 0½d	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from the £1,025 10s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,025 10s 4d Glassware 7 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 6s 5d 4 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 1s 3d 26 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 17s 4d 1 tumbler, £0 0s 7½d 2 beer glasses, £0 2s 7d 3 wine glasses, £0 1s 11½d Total for glassware, £1 10s 2d Canvas and coarse linen 22 yards of English canvas, £1 6s 7d 43½ yards of osnaburgs, £1 16s 3d 10½ yards of ticklenburgs, £0 11s 2d Total for canvas and coarse linen, £3 14s 0d Brushes and wooden goods 3 scrubbing brushes, £0 7s 6¾d 2 hair brooms, £0 5s 0½d 1 mop, £0 1s 7¼d 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 1½d 6 plasterers' trowels, £0 6s 7½d 1 flasket, £0 2s 10d 4 shoe brushes, £0 2s 6d 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 7½d 1 wooden ladle, £0 0s 5d Total for brushes and wooden goods, £1 8s 4d Shirts 27 shirts, £22 2s 3d 21 yards of brown Holland, £2 2s 10d Total for shirts, £24 5s 1d Hardware 1 closet lock, £0 3s 7d 2 ragstones, £0 0s 7d 2 chafing dishes, £0 14s 7½d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 9d 5 chest locks, £0 17s 11d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Mop 1 Mop £0 1s 7¼d Paint Brushes 2 Brushes £0 1s 1½d Plaisterers Trowels 6 Trowels £0 6s 7½d Flasket 1 Flasket £0 2s 10d Shoe Brushes 4 Brushes £0 2s 6d Punch Laddle 1 Laddle £0 0s 7½d Wood Laddle 1 Laddle £0 0s 5d £1 8s 4d Shirts vizt Shirts 27 Shirts £22 2s 3d Yds B Holland 21 Yds £2 2s 10d £24 5s 1d Ironmongers Ware vizt Closet Lock 1 Lock £0 3s 7d Rag Stones 2 Stones £0 0s 7d Chaf Dishes 2 Dishes £0 14s 7½d Small Fry Pan 1 Pan £0 2s 9d Chests Locks 5 Locks £0 17s 11d Scythe Stones 6 Stones £0 1s 9d doz Wood Screws 22½ doz £0 8s 5d Spade 1 Spade £0 4s 5d Stock Locks 7 Locks £1 1s 0d Pr Dt Tail Hinges 6 Pr £0 2s 7d Splinter Locks 6 Locks £0 3s 1½d Iron Ware Carried over£5 0s 9d Carried over£1056 7s 11d	6 scythe stones, £0 1s 9d 22½ dozen wood screws, £0 8s 5d 1 spade, £0 4s 5d 7 stock locks, £1 1s 0d 6 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 2s 7d 6 spring locks, £0 3s 1½d Hardware carried forward separately, £4 0s 9d Carried forward, £1,056 7s 11d **Interpretations** Osnaburgs and ticklenburgs were coarse, unbleached linens named after the German towns of Osnabrück and Tecklenburg, where they were first woven. They were among the cheapest cloths in the Atlantic trade and were widely used for the clothing of slaves and labourers, as well as for sacks and tarpaulins. Brown Holland was an unbleached linen of better quality, used for shirts, aprons and furnishings. The 27 ready-made shirts, averaging over 16s each, were a costly purchase and were probably of fine linen for officers and senior servants. Window glass was sold as small panes measured in inches, since glass could not then be made in large sheets. Houses were glazed with many small panes set in wooden sash bars, and broken panes were replaced one at a time from the stores. The sale of 37 panes in a quarter suggests frequent breakage in the island's strong winds. Ragstones and scythe stones were sharpening stones. Scythe stones were used to whet the blades that cut grass and fodder, an important task on an island where the Company kept large herds and flocks and had to store feed. A chafing dish was a small metal pan set over hot coals to keep food warm at table, and a flasket was a long, shallow basket used for carrying washing or produce. The punch ladle points to the popularity of punch, made on the island with arrack, sugar, lime or lemon juice and water. A stock lock was a large door lock set in a wooden case, the usual lock for an outer door.
229	225	1764 Brought over£1056 7s 11d Ironmongers Ware brought over £5 0s 9d Gimblets 2 Gimblets £0 0s 3d Shod Shovels 2 Shovels	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from the £1,056 7s 11d brought forward, with the hardware section resuming from the £4 0s 9d carried over separately. Brought forward, £1,056 7s 11d Hardware brought forward, £4 0s 9d 2 gimlets, £0 0s 3d 2 iron-shod shovels, £0 4s 3d 1 pair of steelyards, £0 7s 7d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 4s 3d Pr Steelyards 1 Pr £0 7s 7d Plaistr Trowel 1 Trowel £0 1s 10d Hand Hatchet 1 Hatchet £0 1s 10¾d Sail Needles 2 Needles £0 0s 2¼d Bolt Rope Do 1 Needle £0 0s 1d Pr Sm H Hinges 1 Pr £0 1s 10d Wire Rat Trap 1 Trap £0 6s 0d £5 4s 10d Hosiers Ware vizt Pr Thread Stockgs 36 Pr £5 12s 6d Pr Knit Do 1 Pr £0 3s 0½d Pr Womens Do 1 Pr £0 3s 0½d £5 18s 7d Shoes vizt Pr Mens Ordinary 53 Pr £12 2s 11d Pr Mens fine 1 Pr £0 6s 1d Pr Pumps 2 Pr £0 11s 0d Pr Spanish 2 Pr £0 8s 6d Pr Boys 1 Pr £0 3s 5d £13 11s 11d Corks vizt Gross Corks 4½ Gross £0 11s 5d Sheet Cork 1 lb £0 0s 8d £0 12s 1d Pitch and Tar vizt Pitch 34 lb £0 5s 0d Gallns Tar 4 Gallons £0 3s 4d Rozin 4 lb £0 0s 10d £0 9s 2d Tin Ware vizt Lamps 4 Lamps £0 5s 0d Quart Sauce Pan 1 Sauce Pan	1 plasterer's trowel, £0 1s 10d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 10½d 2 sail needles, £0 0s 2½d 1 bolt-rope needle, £0 0s 1d 1 pair of small H hinges, £0 1s 10d 1 wire rat trap, £0 6s 0d Total for hardware, £5 4s 10d Stockings 36 pairs of thread stockings, £5 12s 6d 1 pair of knitted stockings, £0 3s 0½d 1 pair of women's stockings, £0 3s 0½d Total for stockings, £5 18s 7d Shoes 53 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £12 2s 11d 1 pair of men's fine shoes, £0 6s 1d 2 pairs of pumps, £0 11s 0d 2 pairs of Spanish leather shoes, £0 8s 6d 1 pair of boys' shoes, £0 3s 5d Total for shoes, £13 11s 11d Corks 4½ gross of corks, £0 11s 5d 1 sheet of cork, £0 0s 8d Total for corks, £0 12s 1d Pitch, tar and rosin 34 lb of pitch, £0 5s 0d 4 gallons of tar, £0 3s 4d 4 lb of rosin, £0 0s 10d Total for pitch, tar and rosin, £0 9s 2d Tinware 4 lamps, £0 5s 0d 1 quart saucepan, £0 0s 5½d 1 glass lantern, £0 6s 10½d 1 sheet of tin, £0 0s 5d 1 pudding pan, £0 1s 7d 1 globe lamp, £0 10s 7d Total for tinware, £1 4s 11d Carried forward, £1,083 9s 5d **Interpretations** Shoes were the largest item in this section, with 53 pairs of plain men's shoes sold in a single quarter. That volume points to the soldiers and labourers of the garrison, who wore out footwear quickly on the island's steep, rocky paths. St Helena had cattle hides but little tanning or shoemaking of its own, so almost all footwear came ready-made from England through the Company's stores. Pumps were light, thin-soled shoes for indoor wear or dancing. Spanish shoes were made of fine Spanish leather, prized for its softness and polish. Thread stockings were knitted from linen or cotton thread rather than wool. They were lighter and cooler than worsted stockings and suited the island's mild climate. The sale of 36 pairs against only one pair of knitted woollen stockings shows how clearly local demand favoured them. Steelyards were a portable weighing device, a beam hung off-centre with a sliding counterweight, used to weigh goods too heavy for ordinary scales. Pitch, tar and rosin sealed the seams of boats and protected ropes and timber from rot, reflecting the island's dependence on its small craft for landing cargo. A bolt-rope needle was a heavy needle for stitching the reinforcing rope around the edge of a sail. The globe lamp was a hanging lamp with a glass globe around the flame, giving a steady light in draughty rooms and passages.

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		£0 0s 5½d Glass Lanthorn 1 Lanthorn £0 6s 10½d Shut Tin 1 Tin £0 0s 5d Pudding Pan 1 Pan £0 1s 7d Globe Lamp 1 Lamp £0 10s 7d £1 4s 11d Carried over£1083 9s 5d	
230	226	16th April Brought over£1083 9s 5d Shalloon Colored 30½ yds £3 1s 0d Hats Mans fine 1 Hat £0 19s 4d Lead vizt Shot 83 lb £0 19s 0d Shot 2 lb £0 0s 6d £0 19s 6d Books Spelling 3 Books £0 3s 10d China Ware vizt Bowls 23 Bowls £1 8s 9d Chamber Pots 2 Pots £0 3s 4d Blue & White Saucers 99 Saucers £1 16s 11½d 2d P Pint Cups and Saucers 12 Cups and Saucers £0 5s 2d Tea Pots 5 Pots £0 7s 6d Pd Dishes and Plates 7 Dishes and Plates £1 0s 7d Soop Dish 1 Dish £0 7s 9d Gugletts and Basons 2 Gugletts and Basons £0 6s 2½d Half Pint Cups & Saucers 6 Cups & Saucers £0 5s 4d £6 1s 7d Long Cloth vizt A 2 Ps £12 7s 4d G 1 Ps £2 17s 8d H 2 Ps £5 9s 0d I 2½ Ps	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from the £1,083 9s 5d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,083 9s 5d 30½ yards of coloured shalloon, £3 1s 0d 1 man's fine hat, £0 19s 4d Lead 83 lb of sheet lead, £0 19s 0d 2 lb of lead shot, £0 0s 6d Total for lead, £0 19s 6d 3 spelling books, £0 3s 10d Porcelain 23 bowls, £1 8s 9d 2 chamber pots, £0 3s 4d 99 blue and white sneakers, £1 16s 11½d 12 pint cups and saucers, £0 5s 2d 5 teapots, £0 7s 6d 7 [...] dishes and plates, £1 0s 7d 1 soup dish, £0 7s 9d 2 goglets and basins, £0 6s 2½d 6 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 5s 4d Total for porcelain, £6 1s 7d Long cloth 2 pieces of sort A, £12 7s 4d 1 piece of sort G, £2 17s 8d 2 pieces of sort H, £5 9s 0d 2½ pieces of sort I, £3 16s 2d 1 piece of sort K, £1 1s 7d 1 piece of sort no. 7, £1 10s 1d 1 piece of sort C, £4 17s 3d 1 piece of sort D, £7 19s 4d Total for long cloth, £39 18s 5d Copper and brass goods 6½ lb of copper plate, £0 9s 9d 1 pair of candlesticks, £0 8s 3d 1 lb of brass wire, £0 1s 2d 1 lb of brass plate, £0 1s 9d Total for copper and brass goods, £1 0s 11d Camlet 21¾ yards of blue camlet, £3 17s 11d 9 yards of scarlet camlet, £2 2s 0d Total for camlet, £5 19s 11d Table linen 1 tablecloth, £0 19s 6d 12 napkins, £2 4s 0d Total for table linen, £3 3s 6d Carried forward, £1,144 17s 5d **Interpretations** The long cloth was sold under the letters and numbers that marked each grade when it was sorted at Madras. These sorting marks let buyers choose a known quality without inspecting every bale, and the prices show how widely the grades differed. A single piece of sort D fetched almost £8, while a piece of sort K sold for little more than £1. This was the same graded cloth the Council ordered from Fort St George in its letter of 8 April 1764, when it asked for pieces priced from 3 to 12 pagodas. The porcelain came from China aboard Company ships returning from Canton, which carried

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£3 16s 2d K 1 Ps £1 1s 7d No 7 1 Ps £1 10s 1d C 1 Ps £4 17s 3d D 1 Ps £7 19s 4d £39 18s 5d Braziers Ware vizt Copper Plate 6½ lb £0 9s 9d Pr Candlesticks 1 Pr £0 8s 3d Brass Wire 1½ lb £0 1s 2d Brass Plate 1 lb £0 1s 9d £1 0s 11d Camblet vizt Blue 21¾ Yds £3 17s 11d Scarlet 9 Yds £2 2s 0d £5 19s 11d Table Linen vizt Table Cloth 1 Cloth £0 19s 6d Napkins 12 Napkins £2 4s 0d £3 3s 6d Carried over£1143 17s 5d	it as heavy ballast beneath the lighter tea. That trade made blue and white tableware cheap enough for ordinary households on the island. Sneakers were small porcelain bowls, the usual vessel for a single serving of punch. Goglets were long-necked water bottles of the kind used in India, often of porous earthenware so that evaporation kept the water cool, sold here with basins for washing. Shalloon was a light, closely twilled woollen cloth used mainly for lining coats. Camlet was a finer cloth woven from wool mixed with goat hair or silk, used for outer garments and cloaks. The blue and scarlet colours match the dress of military officers and the Company's uniformed servants. The sale of spelling books shows that children on the island were being taught to read, with the texts supplied through the Company's stores.
231	227	1764 Brought over£1144 17s 5d Ticking 25¾ Yards £3 7s 4d Serge ¼ Ps Fustain ¼ Ps £0 11s 2d Beer 1 Hhd £3 0s 9d £1151 16s 8d Sold to the Planters at 25 p Ct Flannel 4 Yards £0 0s 0d Camblet vizt Scarlet 2 Yards £0 10s 6d Blue 3 Yards £0 12s 2d £1 2s 8d Chellows 2 Ps £1 3s 5d Buckram 2 Yards £0 2s 2d	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from the £1,144 17s 5d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,144 17s 5d 25¾ yards of ticking, £3 7s 4d ¼ piece of serge fustian, £0 11s 2d 1 hogshead of beer, £3 0s 9d Total sold to the Company's servants, £1,151 16s 8d Goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost 4 yards of flannel, £0 0s 0d Camlet 2 yards of scarlet camlet, £0 10s 6d 3 yards of blue camlet, £0 12s 2d Total for camlet, £1 2s 8d 2 pieces of challows, £1 3s 5d 2 yards of buckram, £0 2s 2d 1 piece of dosooties, £0 12s 2d 1 yard of coloured shalloon, £0 2s 3d Shoes 1 pair of calamanco shoes, £0 4s 9½d 1 pair of women's Spanish leather shoes, £0 4s 9½d 2 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £0 10s 0d Total for shoes, £0 19s 7d 3 shirts of brown Holland, £0 6s 10d Goods sold at 40 per cent above cost 2 grindstones, £0 17s 3d 353 lb of flour, £4 0s 10d

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		Dosootees 1 Ps £0 12s 2d Shalloon Colored 1 Yard £0 2s 3d Shoes vizt Pr Calimanco 1 Pr £0 4s 9½d Pr Womns Spanish 1 Pr £0 4s 9½d Pr Mens Ordinary 2 Pr £0 10s 0d £0 19s 7d Shirts Brown Holland 3 Shirts £0 6s 10d Sold at 40 p Cent Grindstones 2 Grindstones £0 17s 3d Flour 353 lb £4 0s 10d Salt 9 Bushels £2 0s 6d Sope 40 lb £1 15s 10d Arrack 81¼ Gallons £24 4s 0d Cordage 51½ lb £1 6s 9d Rice and Paddy vizt Rice 1cwt 1qr 14lb £0 12s 10d Paddy 1cwt 2qr 0lb £0 7s 7d £1 0s 5d Tea vizt Congo 74 lb £7 8s 0d Bohea 19 lb £1 2s 2d £8 10s 2d Iron Pots 1 of 8 Gallons 1 Pot £0 12s 8d Thread Brown ½ lb £0 4s 7d Carried over£269 1s 1d	9 bushels of salt, £2 0s 6d 40 lb of soap, £1 15s 10d 814 gallons of arrack, £244 4s 0d 51½ lb of cordage, £1 6s 9d Rice and paddy 1 cwt 0 qr 14 lb of rice, £0 12s 10d 1 cwt 2 qr 0 lb of paddy, £0 7s 7d Total for rice and paddy, £1 0s 5d Tea 74 lb of Congou tea, £7 8s 0d 19 lb of Bohea tea, £1 2s 2d Total for tea, £8 10s 2d 1 iron pot holding 8 gallons, £0 12s 8d ½ lb of brown thread, £0 4s 7d Carried forward, £269 1s 1d **Interpretations** The account reveals a tiered pricing system that ranked the island's population by their relationship to the Company. Its own servants paid cost plus 10 per cent, the planters paid cost plus 25 per cent and a third group paid cost plus 40 per cent. The record does not name the buyers at the highest rate. The scale rewarded those on the Company's payroll, gave the settlers a middle rate and turned the stores into a source of profit from everyone else. It also meant the Company's revenue on the island depended heavily on what it sold at the upper tiers. Arrack dominated the sales at 40 per cent, with 814 gallons fetching £244 4s 0d, nearly all of that section's value. At about 6s a gallon it cost more than the 5s or so charged to servants earlier in the account. Buyers of such a volume were probably licensed retailers who resold it by the glass or as punch to soldiers and sailors from visiting ships. Selling spirits wholesale at a high markup let the Company profit from drinking on the island while keeping supply under its own control. Ticking was a strong, closely woven linen or cotton used to cover mattresses and pillows. Fustian was a stout cloth with a linen warp and cotton weft, and serge fustian was probably a twilled variety used for working clothes. Calamanco was a glossy woollen cloth, here used for the uppers of women's shoes. Grindstones were heavy wheels of sandstone turned by a handle to sharpen tools, and were essential to planters maintaining hoes, bills and axes.
232	228	16th April Brought over£269 1s 1d Hooks and Lines vizt 330 No 1 123 No 3 25 No 12 200 No 13 100 No 14 Hooks £2 2s 9d 3 doz No 2 3 doz No 3 Lines	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost continued from the £269 1s 1d brought forward. Brought forward, £269 1s 1d Fishing hooks and lines 330 hooks of size 1 123 hooks of size 3 25 hooks of size 12 200 hooks of size 13 100 hooks of size 14 All hooks together, £2 2s 9d 3 dozen lines of size 2 3 dozen lines of size 3

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		£1 11s 0d Log Do 6 Lines £0 8s 3d Hambro Do 4 Lines £0 8s 0d £4 10s 0d Nails vizt 7 lb No 3 14 lb No 4 12½ lb No 6 13½ lb No 10 8 lb No 20 Nails £1 15s 11d Gr Brads ½ Gr £0 1s 3d £1 17s 2d Oil Linseed 2½ Gallons £0 13s 9d China Ware vizt Chamber Pot 1 Pot £0 2s 4d Bowls 8 Bowls £0 9s 6d £0 11s 10d Twine 4 Skains £0 3s 6d Iron Ware vizt Pr Garden Shears 1 Pr £0 5s 10d Scythe Stone 1 Stone £0 0s 5d Stock Lock 1 Lock £0 3s 10½d Closet Locks 2 Locks £0 9s 2d Sm Fry Pan 1 Pan £0 3s 6d Pr Steelyards 1 Pr £0 9s 8½d £1 12s 6d Glass Ware vizt Sqrs 6 by 8 4 Sqrs £0 1s 9d Do 8 by 10 44 Sqrs £1 17s 7d Do 10 by 12 2 Sqrs £0 2s 4d Tumblers 2 Tumblers £0 1s 8d Half Flour Glasses 6 Glasses £0 5s 0d £2 8s 4d Carried over£280 18s 2d	All lines of sizes 2 and 3 together, £1 11s 0d 6 log lines, £0 8s 3d 4 Hamburg lines, £0 8s 0d Total for hooks and lines, £4 10s 0d Nails 7 lb of threepenny nails 14 lb of fourpenny nails 12½ lb of sixpenny nails 13½ lb of tenpenny nails 8 lb of twentypenny nails All nails together, £1 15s 11d ½ gross of brads, £0 1s 3d Total for nails, £1 17s 2d 2½ gallons of linseed oil, £0 13s 9d Porcelain 1 chamber pot, £0 2s 4d 6 bowls, £0 9s 6d Total for porcelain, £0 11s 10d 4 skeins of twine, £0 3s 6d Hardware 1 pair of garden shears, £0 5s 10d 1 scythe stone, £0 0s 5d 1 stock lock, £0 3s 10½d 2 closet locks, £0 9s 2d 1 small frying pan, £0 3s 6d 1 pair of steelyards, £0 9s 8½d Total for hardware, £1 12s 6d Glassware 4 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 1s 9d 44 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £1 17s 7d 2 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 2s 4d 2 tumblers, £0 1s 8d 6 half-hour glasses, £0 5s 0d Total for glassware, £2 8s 4d Carried forward, £280 18s 2d **Interpretations** Several items appear in both the servants' account and this one, and their prices show the tiered markup at work. A small frying pan cost 2s 9d at the servants' rate and 3s 6d here. A pair of steelyards rose from 7s 7d to 9s 8½d, and a stock lock from 3s 0d to 3s 10½d. Each increase comes to roughly 27 per cent, exactly the gap between a 10 per cent and a 40 per cent advance on the same cost. The storekeeper was clearly pricing every item from a single cost figure and applying the rate that suited the buyer, which made the system simple to run and hard to dispute. Half-hour glasses were sandglasses that ran for 30 minutes. At sea they timed the ship's watches and the heaving of the log line, and ashore they served to measure guard duties. Their sale alongside log lines and Hamburg lines suggests buyers who worked boats or supplied ships. Garden shears point to the gardens kept by the island's householders, where fruit and vegetables were grown both for their own tables and for sale to passing ships.
233	229	1764 Brought over£280 18s 2d Cutlery Shoe Knife	The storekeeper's account of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost continued from the £280 18s 2d brought forward.

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		1 Knife £0 0s 6d Pitch Gallon Tar ½ Gallon £0 0s 6d Tin Ware Lamps 2 Lamps £0 3s 3d Braziers Ware Brass Wire ¾ lb £0 10s 3d Deals vizt Wainscoat Board 1 Board £0 9s 6d Double Deals 6 Deals £1 5s 9d Single Deal 1 Deal £0 2s 10d £1 18s 1d Turners Ware vizt Paint Brushes 2 Brushes £0 1s 7d Shoe Do 3 Brushes £0 2s 5d Hair Broom 1 Broom £0 3s 3d Scrub Brush 1 Brush £0 3s 3d £0 10s 6d Haberdashery vizt doz Mohair Bt Buttons 2½ doz £0 1s 3d Skains Silks 4 Skains £0 3s 0d Sks Mohair 4 Sks £0 2s 6d £0 6s 9d Paint vizt Ven Red dry 5 lb £0 1s 5½d Whiting 12 lb £0 1s 6d Ven Red mixed 1½ lb £0 0s 1½d Olive Colour ½ lb £0 1s 3d White Lead dry 5 lb £0 2s 9d Indico 1 lb £0 2s 6d Red Lead 1 lb £0 0s 3d £0 10s 9d Sugar and Candy vizt Sugar 463 lb £10 12s 2d Candy 200 lb	Brought forward, £280 18s 2d 1 shoemaker's knife, £0 0s 6d ½ gallon of tar, £0 0s 6d 2 tin lamps, £0 3s 3d ¾ lb of brass wire, £0 10s 3d Sawn timber 1 wainscot board, £0 9s 6d 6 double deals, £1 5s 9d 1 single deal, £0 2s 10d Total for sawn timber, £1 18s 1d Brushes and wooden goods 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 7d 3 shoe brushes, £0 2s 5d 1 hair broom, £0 3s 3d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 3s 3d Total for brushes and wooden goods, £0 10s 6d Sewing goods and trimmings 2½ dozen mohair waistcoat buttons, £0 1s 3d 4 skeins of silk, £0 3s 0d 4 skeins of mohair, £0 2s 6d Total for sewing goods and trimmings, £0 6s 9d Paint 5 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 1s 5½d 12 lb of whiting, £0 1s 6d 1 lb of mixed Venetian red, £0 1s 0½d ½ lb of olive colour, £0 1s 3d 5 lb of dry white lead, £0 2s 9d 1 lb of indigo, £0 2s 6d 1 lb of red lead, £0 0s 3d Total for paint, £0 10s 9d Sugar and sugar candy 463 lb of sugar, £10 12s 2d 200 lb of sugar candy, £6 13s 4d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £17 5s 6d Total sold to the planters and at 40 per cent, £302 4s 3d **Interpretations** The quarter's sales to the Company's own servants came to £1,151 16s 8d, almost four times the £302 4s 3d taken from the planters and the buyers at 40 per cent. The stores therefore served chiefly as a supply system for the Company's payroll rather than as a general shop for the island. Outside that payroll, sales were dominated by a single commodity. Arrack alone accounted for £244 4s 0d of the £302 4s 3d, leaving every other item sold to these buyers worth less than £60 together. Sugar and sugar candy sold in large amounts at the higher rate, with 463 lb of sugar and 200 lb of candy in the quarter. Taken with the heavy sales of arrack, these purchases were probably destined for making punch. Olive colour was a dull greenish-brown paint, perhaps sold ready-mixed like the stone colour sold to the servants, and commonly used for doors, shutters and railings.

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		£6 13s 4d £17 5s 6d £302 4s 3d	
234	230	16th April Sold to the Honorable Company's Ships at 40 p Ct vizt Lines Log 9 Lines £0 8s 3½d Turners Ware Paint Brushes 6 Brushes £0 4s 6d Paint vizt Red Lead 25 lb £0 7s 3½d W Lead dry 13 lb £0 6s 10½d £0 14s 2d Oil Linseed 3 Gallons £0 16s 0d Canvas vizt Bolts Eng Canvas 2 Bolts £6 6s 8d Ticklingburgs 70 Yds £5 4s 6d £11 11s 2d Iron Ware Wire Rat Traps 2 Traps £0 15s 6d Twine 24 Skains £1 1s 0d Tar 2 Barrels £3 2s 6d £18 13s 1½d Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1764 vizt Nails vizt ½ lb No 2 4 lb No 3 4 lb No 4 33 lb No 6 20 lb No 10 14 lb No 20 1 Gr Brads To Repr Turks Cap Guard House Gun Barracks, one of the Compys Houses, Fort Church, Prospt Bay G House, Stores, Market House to make forms for the Jury & the at Mundens point £1 17s 4¾d Tacks ¼ lb £0 1s 8¾d Coopers Rivets to make Trivets 9 Rivets £0 0s 3½d £0 4s 2d £2 3s 7d Deals vizt Wainscot Board for the Bakers 1 Board £0 6s 9d Single Deals to make Centry Boxes and a Scaun, and to Repr the G House, one of the Company's Houses & new Plat House 34 Deals £3 7s 4d Deals to repr the new Platt House and Stable 6 Deals £0 18s 3d	Goods sold to the Company's ships at 40 per cent above cost were recorded as follows. Goods sold to the Company's ships at 40 per cent above cost 9 log lines, £0 8s 3½d 6 paint brushes, £0 4s 6d Paint 25 lb of red lead, £0 7s 3½d 13 lb of dry white lead, £0 6s 10½d Total for paint, £0 14s 2d 3 gallons of linseed oil, £0 16s 0d Canvas and coarse linen 2 bolts of English canvas, £6 6s 8d 70 yards of ticklenburgs, £5 4s 6d Total for canvas and coarse linen, £11 11s 2d 2 wire rat traps, £0 15s 6d 24 skeins of twine, £1 1s 0d 2 barrels of tar, £3 2s 6d Total sold to the Company's ships, £18 13s 1½d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1764 and charged to the general expenses account. Stores charged to general expenses, 1 January to 31 March 1764 Nails ½ lb of twopenny nails 4 lb of threepenny nails 4 lb of fourpenny nails 33 lb of sixpenny nails 20 lb of tenpenny nails 14 lb of twentypenny nails All nails together, used to repair the Turk's Cap guardhouse, the gunners' barracks, one of the Company's houses, the fort, the church, the Prosperous Bay guardhouse, the main guardhouse, the stores and the market house, and to make benches for the jury and for the post at Munden's Point, £1 17s 4¾d 1 gross of brads, £0 1s 8¾d ¼ lb of tacks, £0 0s 3½d 9 cooper's rivets for making trowels, £0 4s 2d Total for nails and fixings, £2 3s 7d Sawn timber 1 wainscot board for the bakers, £0 6s 9d 34 single deals to build sentry boxes and a [...], and to repair the main guardhouse, one of the Company's houses and the new [...] house, £3 7s 4d 6 double deals to repair the new [...] house and the stable, £0 18s 3d 4 baulks to repair one of the Company's houses and to make capstan bars, £2 1s 11d Total for sawn timber carried forward, £6 14s 3d Carried forward, £2 3s 7d **Interpretations** The Company charged its own ships the full 40 per cent rate. Most East Indiamen were not owned by the Company but hired from private owners under charter. Stores supplied to a ship were therefore billed to her account and recovered from the owners when the voyage was settled in London. The high rate ensured the island's treasury gained from supplying ships, even those sailing in the Company's service. Tar, canvas and linseed oil were the typical repair stores of a ship at anchor after a long passage. The general expenses account recorded stores that the Company used for its own works rather than sold. Every nail and plank taken from the warehouse had to be entered either as a sale, which brought money in, or as a charge against a named account. The storekeeper's detailed notes of where each batch of nails went let the Council see exactly which

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Baulks to Repr one of the Comps Houses & to make Capston Bars 4 Baulks £2 1s 11d Deals Carried over£6 14s 3d Carried over£2 3s 7d	buildings consumed stores. They also made it harder for materials to vanish into private use. The list of repairs maps the island's defences. Turk's Cap and Prosperous Bay lay on the rugged eastern coast, where a landing was thought possible, and each had a guardhouse manned to watch for enemy ships. Munden's Point guarded the eastern side of James Bay itself. Benches for the jury show that the island's courts sat with juries drawn from the inhabitants, in the English manner. Baulks were squared beams of rough timber, and capstan bars were the long wooden levers pushed round a capstan to haul heavy loads, perhaps used at the landing place to draw boats and cargo ashore.
235	231	1764 Brought over£2 3s 7d Deals brought over £6 14s 3d Coffins to Repr one of the Compys Houses & for the Gard 3 Coffins £0 12s 3d £7 6s 6d Oil vizt Train for the Kitchen B House, & Armorers Shop 15 Gallons £2 17s 6d Linseed to paint the new top of the Pidgeon House, Door & Window Cases for the Gunners Barks Blind and Porch of the Castle and Chair for the Sick 13⅛ Gallons £2 10s 3d Flo for the Armorer & Armory 2 Bottles £0 5s 8d £5 13s 5d Ironmongers Ware vizt Yellow Spelter for the Armorer ¼ lb £0 0s 5¼d Pr Sm H Hinges for a Chair for the Hospital 1 Pr £0 1s 8d Pair Spare Plane Irons Carpenters use 6 Pair £0 2s 0d Smith Rubbers 5 Rubbers £0 18s 11½d Rasps 4 Rasps £0 2s 9d Files 26 Files £0 17s 4d for the Armorer & Armory Flour Emery to Clean Small Arms 1¼ lb £0 0s 9¼d Binding Wire for the Armorer ½ lb £0 1s 0d Black Keys the Offices and Store use 2 Keys £0 1s 2d Bricklayers Trowel for the Masons 1 Trowel £0 1s 7d Helves for the Masons & Armorer 10 Helves £0 0s 6½d Sopp Axes to Cut Wood 2 Axes £0 5s 6d Sm H Hatchet for the Fort Garden	The stores charged to general expenses continued from the £2 3s 7d brought forward. Brought forward, £2 3s 7d Sawn timber brought forward, £6 14s 3d 3 rafters to repair one of the Company's houses and the guardhouse, £0 12s 3d Total for sawn timber, £7 6s 6d Oil 15 gallons of train oil for the kitchen, the bakehouse and the armourer's shop, £2 17s 6d 13⅛ gallons of linseed oil to paint the new roof of the pigeon house, the door and window frames of the gunners' barracks, the blind and porch of the Castle and the chair for carrying the sick, £2 10s 3d 2 bottles of Florence oil for the armourer and the armoury, £0 5s 8d Total for oil, £5 13s 5d Hardware ¼ lb of yellow spelter for the armourer, £0 0s 5¼d 1 pair of small H hinges for the hospital chair, £0 1s 8d 6 spare plane irons for the carpenters, £0 2s 0d 5 smith's rubbers for the armourer and the armoury, £0 18s 11½d 4 rasps for the armourer and the armoury, £0 2s 9d 26 files for the armourer and the armoury, £0 17s 4d 1¼ lb of flour of emery for cleaning small arms, £0 0s 9¼d ½ lb of binding wire for the armourer, £0 1s 0d 2 blank keys for the offices and the stores, £0 1s 2d 1 bricklayer's trowel for the masons, £0 1s 7d 10 tool handles for the masons and the armourer, £0 6s 0½d 2 [...] axes for cutting wood, £0 5s 6d 1 small hand hatchet for the fort garden, £0 1s 8½d 1 pair of butt hinges for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 1s 8d 1 stock lock for the stables, £0 2s 10½d 1 dozen [...] screws for the table in the officers' guardroom, £0 0s 8d 1 chafing dish for the Castle, £0 6s 7¼d 2 sail needles for sewing up packets, £0 0s 2d ½ lb of borax for the armourer's shop, £0 6s 8¼d 1 frying pan for the workmen, £0 2s 6d Total for hardware, £4 2s 0d Glassware 4 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, to repair the windows of the barracks and the Castle, £0 9s 5½d 11 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, for the hospital chair and to repair the church windows, £0 6s 7½d Total for glassware, £0 16s 1d 262¼ lb of cordage to tie down the thatch on the [...] wood house and the church, to bind the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Hatchet £0 1s 8½d Pr Back Hinges Lieut Governors House 1 Pr £0 1s 8d Stock Lock for the Stable 1 Lock £0 2s 10¼d doz Wood Screws for the Table in the Officers G Room 1 doz £0 0s 8d Chaff Dish for the Castle 1 Dish £0 6s 7¼d Sail Needles for Sewing Packets 2 Needles £0 0s 2d Borax for the Armourers Shop ½ lb £0 6s 8¾d [...] Fry Pan for the Workmen 1 Pan £0 2s 6d £4 2s 0d [...]Ware vizt Sqrs 6 by 8 to Repr the Windows of Barks and Castle 4 Sqrs £0 0s 9½d Sqrs 8 by 10 for a Chair for Hospital and to Repr the Windows of the Church 11 Sqrs £0 6s 7½d £0 16s 1d Cordage to Thatch the G Wood House and Church to tye the Arbor in the Garden for a Bell Rope & use of the Slaughter House 262¼ lb £4 12s 10d Carried over£24 14s 6d	arbour in the garden, for a bell rope and for the slaughterhouse, £4 12s 10d Carried forward, £24 14s 6d **Interpretations** The armourer's stores show that the garrison's muskets were repaired and rebuilt on the island rather than sent home. Yellow spelter was a brass solder and borax the flux that made it flow, so together they let the armourer braze broken parts of gun locks and fittings. Smith's rubbers were coarse heavy files for shaping metal, emery was a fine abrasive for polishing barrels free of rust, and binding wire held parts together while they were joined. This work depended on having a skilled man in post, which explains why the Council kept George Streaight as the Company's armourer under a new three-year contract when it released him from the garrison on 26 March 1764. The chair for carrying the sick was a sedan chair, fitted with hinges and glazed windows and painted against the weather. Invalids could not easily walk the island's steep paths to the hospital, so they were carried in an enclosed seat on poles. The glazing kept wind and rain off patients who were already weak. Several Company buildings, including the church, were still roofed with thatch. Cordage was used to lash the thatch down against the strong south-east trade winds that blow across the island for much of the year. The pigeon house was a dovecote, a common feature of the period that supplied young birds for the table.
236	232	16th April Brought over£24 14s 6d Candles vizt Doctors Shop 4 lb £0 7s 10d Castle 114½ lb £11 4s 3d Council 155 lb £15 3s 6d Delivered on Alarms 3 lb £0 5s 10d £27 1s 5d Tin Ware vizt Small Horn Lanthn for the Stable 1 Lanthorn £0 2s 9d Lanthn Leaves to repr a Lanth Offrs G Room 6 Leaves £0 1s 3d Solder to Tin Castle Furniture 4 lb £0 3s 6d Lamp for the Main Fort 1 Lamp £0 1s 1d £0 8s 7d Paint vizt White Lead mixed 80 lb £1 10s 0d Barl Blacking	The stores charged to general expenses continued from the £24 14s 6d brought forward. Brought forward, £24 14s 6d Candles 4 lb for the doctor's shop, £0 7s 10d 114½ lb for the Castle, £11 4s 3d 155 lb for the Council, £15 3s 6d 3 lb issued during alarms, £0 5s 10d Total for candles, £27 1s 5d Tinware 1 small horn lantern for the stable, £0 2s 9d 6 lantern panes to repair a lantern in the officers' guardroom, £0 1s 3d 4 lb of solder for tinning the Castle's kitchen vessels, £0 3s 6d 1 lamp for the Main Fort, £0 1s 1d Total for tinware, £0 8s 7d Paint, used on the new roof of the pigeon house, the window frames of the gunners' barracks, the blinds and porch of the Castle, and the sashes, doors and windows of the Secretary's office and the kitchen 80 lb of mixed white lead, £1 10s 0d 7 bars of blacking, £0 3s 9½d 28 lb of whiting, £0 0s 7d 35 lb of mixed Venetian red, £0 1s 6½d 4¼ lb of copperas, £0 4s 1d ¼ lb of umber, £0 0s 1d 1 lb of chocolate colour, £0 0s 7d 3 lb of blue smalts, £1 4s 1d Total for paint, £2 19s 3d 60 lb of soap for washing linen, £1 18s 9d 7 lb of starch for linen, £0 2s 6d Brushes and wooden goods 6 painting brushes, £0 3s 0d 1 brass wire sieve for the bakers, £0 10s 0d

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		7 lb £0 3s 9½d Whiting 28 lb £0 0s 7d Ven Red mixed 35 lb £0 16s 0½d Copperas 4¼ lb £0 4s 1d Umber ¼ lb £0 0s 1d Chocolate Color 1 lb £0 0s 7d Blue Smalts 3 lb £0 4s 1d to paint the new Top of the Pidgeon House Window Cases for the Gunrs Barks Blinds and Porch for the Castle Sashes of the Secy Office and Kitchen Doors & Windows £2 19s 3d Sope 60 lb Starch 7 lb for Linen £1 18s 9d £0 2s 6d Turners Ware vizt Brushes for Painting 6 Br £0 3s 0d Brass Wire Sieve for Bakers 1 Sieve £0 10s 0d Mops for the Rooms in the L Wood & the Church 2 Mops £0 2s 4d Scrub Brushes for the Fort Church 1 Brush £0 2s 3d Sift Baskets to bring Lime Stone at Sandy Bay 12 Baskets £0 9s 0d £1 7s 2d Pitch and Tar vizt Pitch to repr the covering of the Castle 69 lb £0 8s 7d Rozin for Tining 1 lb £0 0s 2d £0 8s 9d Cart Wheels Wheel Barrows for the Masons 2 Barrows £0 18s 0d Carried over£60 8s 10d	2 mops for the rooms in the [...] and the church, £0 2s 4d 1 scrubbing brush for the fort church, £0 2s 3d 12 small baskets for carrying limestone from Sandy Bay, £0 9s 7d Total for brushes and wooden goods, £1 7s 2d Pitch and rosin 69 lb of pitch to repair the roof covering of the Castle, £0 8s 7d 1 lb of rosin for tinning, £0 0s 2d Total for pitch and rosin, £0 8s 9d 2 wheelbarrows for the masons, £0 18s 0d Carried forward, £60 8s 10d **Interpretations** Candles were the largest single charge, and the Council's own consumption of 155 lb in a quarter exceeded that of the whole Castle household. The Council met, wrote and copied its letters and accounts largely by candlelight, since daylight hours were short in the southern winter and business ran into the evening when ships were in the road. Candles issued during alarms lit the lanterns carried to the batteries and lookouts when a ship was sighted after dark. Tinning coated the inside of copper and brass cooking vessels with a thin layer of tin, applied with solder and rosin as a flux. Without it, acidic food reacted with the copper to form verdigris, which was poisonous. Regular retinning was therefore a routine safeguard in any large kitchen. The baskets for carrying limestone from Sandy Bay point to lime-burning on the island. Limestone was burned in kilns to make quicklime, which was then slaked and mixed with sand to form the mortar used by the masons. Sandy Bay lay on the far side of the island from James Bay, so the stone had to be carried over steep, rough ground, which explains why it moved in baskets rather than by cart. Copperas was iron sulphate, used to darken paint and as a dye, and chocolate colour was a deep brown paint for woodwork. Pitch spread over the Castle's roof sealed it against rain, perhaps over a flat or lead-covered section.
237	233	1764 Brought over£60 8s 4d Hooks & Lines vizt Lines No 4 for the Masons 12 Lines £0 4s 6½d Hambro Castle 2 Lines £0 2s 8½d £0 7s 3d Twine for the Garden and Castle 61 Sks £0 3s 1d Lead vizt	The stores charged to general expenses continued from the £60 8s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £60 8s 4d Fishing lines 12 lines of size 4 for the masons, £0 4s 6½d 2 Hamburg lines for the Castle, £0 2s 8½d Total for lines, £0 7s 3d 6 skeins of twine for the garden and the Castle, £0 3s 1d Lead 25 lb of lead shot for the Castle, £0 4s 8d 22½ lb of sheet lead for the new plantation house, £0 4s 2d Total for lead, £0 8s 10d

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		Shot Castle 25 lb £0 4s 8d Sheet Lead for the new Plantation House 22½ lb £0 4s 2d £0 8s 10d Arrack for Drams to Sundrys 8⅞ Gallons £1 7s 11d Canvas vizt Yds Oznbrigs for Packets 3 Yds £0 2s 3d Yds E Canvas to Cover Rabbit Hutches and a Cot for the Armourer 10½ Yds £0 11s 4d £0 13s 7d Sugar for the Repr for the Castle 10 lb £0 2s 11d Coals 82 Bushels £0 5s 9d £68 13s 2d Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1764 vizt Arrack 72 Gallons £11 9s 6d Pork 24 Ps £2 17s 6d Tea Congo 9 lb £0 11s 3d Rice 400 lb £1 9s 4d Flour 1180 lb £7 7s 6d Sugar 30 lb £0 8s 9d Coffee 10 lb £0 3s 4d Salt 1 Bushel £0 3s 2d Candy 316 lb £6 11s 8d Oil Florence 8 Bottles £1 2s 8d £32 9s 8d	8⅞ gallons of arrack issued as drams to various people, £1 7s 11d Canvas 3 yards of [...] for making up packets, £0 2s 3d 10½ yards of English canvas to cover the rabbit hutches and a [...] for the armourer, £0 11s 4d Total for canvas, £0 13s 7d 10 lb of sugar for use at the Castle, £0 2s 11d 2 bushels of coal, £0 5s 9d Total charged to general expenses, £68 13s 2d The storekeeper next set out the stores issued from 1 January to 31 March 1764 and charged to the diet expenses account. Stores charged to diet expenses, 1 January to 31 March 1764 72 gallons of arrack, £11 9s 6d 24 pieces of pork, £2 17s 6d 9 lb of Congou tea, £0 11s 3d 400 lb of rice, £1 9s 4d 1,180 lb of flour, £7 7s 6d 30 lb of sugar, £0 8s 9d 10 lb of coffee, £0 3s 4d 1 bushel of salt, £0 3s 2d 316 lb of sugar candy, £6 11s 8d 8 bottles of Florence oil, £1 2s 8d Total charged to diet expenses, £32 9s 8d **Interpretations** The diet expenses account covered provisions drawn from the Company's own warehouses for the official table at the Castle. Fresh meat, poultry and wine bought locally or from ships went through the steward's monthly account, while imported staples such as flour, rice, arrack and sugar candy were issued directly from stores. Splitting the cost this way let the Council track the full expense of official hospitality from two separate sources. It also kept the storekeeper's books balanced, since every item leaving the warehouse had to be matched either to a sale or to a charge. Drams of arrack issued to various people were a customary reward for hard or unpleasant labour, such as landing stores through the surf or working through bad weather. Paying partly in spirits was cheap for the Company and expected by the men, and recording each issue under general expenses kept this informal practice within the accounts. The canvas for rabbit hutches shows that the Company bred rabbits, perhaps for its table, alongside its pigeons and poultry. Coal was scarce and costly on an island that burned wood for most purposes. The small quantity here was probably for the armourer's forge, where a steady, intense heat was needed for brazing and shaping metal.
238	234	16th April Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Janry to the 31st March 1764 Tea Boheas 90 lb £3 15s 0d Oil Train for the several Guards 114½ Gallons £21 18s 11d Nails vizt 3 lb No 3 6 lb No 6 for Coffins £0 3s 10d	The storekeeper recorded the stores issued to the garrison between 1 January and 31 March 1764. Stores charged to the garrison, 1 January to 31 March 1764 90 lb of Bohea tea, £3 15s 0d 114½ gallons of train oil for the various guards, £21 18s 11d Nails [...] lb of threepenny nails for coffins 6 lb of sixpenny nails for coffins All nails for coffins together, £0 3s 10d ½ lb of tacks, £0 0s 7d Total for nails, £0 4s 5d 12 single deals for coffins, £1 3s 9d Lines

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		Tacks ½ lb £0 0s 7d £0 4s 5d Deals Single for Coffins 12 Deals £1 3s 9d Lines vizt Whip Cord for Whips 1 lb £0 2s 10½d No 20 6 Lines £0 1s 8d Log for Drum Cords 3 Lines £0 2s 9½d £0 7s 4d Iron Ware vizt Sm Frying Pans 2 Pans £0 5s 0d Large Do 1 Pan £0 3s 4d £0 8s 4d Turners Ware Wood Laddle for Bankss Guard 1 Laddle £0 0s 4d Glass Ware Sqrs 6 by 8 See Companys Barracks 4 Sqrs £0 1s 1d Rice 20 lb £0 1s 7d Flour for the Recruits 120 lb £0 15s 0d Arrack for Drams on Mustering 23 Gallons £3 13s 4d Tin Ware Lamps for the several Guards 4 Lamps £0 4s 6d Beef for the Recruits 255 lb £3 18s 1d £35 11s 8d Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Janry to the 31st March 1764 vizt Shoes Mens Ordinary 28 Pr £5 12s 0d Tea Boheas 46½ lb £1 18s 9d Sugar 117 lb £1 14s 1d Beef and Pork vizt Beef 671 Ps £104 16s 10d Pork 278 Ps £33 6s 0d £138 2s 10d Carried over£147 7s 8d	7 lengths of whipcord for whips, £0 2s 10½d 6 lines of size 20, £0 1s 8d 3 log lines for crane ropes, £0 2s 9½d Total for lines, £0 7s 4d Hardware 2 small frying pans, £0 5s 0d 1 large frying pan, £0 3s 4d Total for hardware, £0 8s 4d 1 wooden ladle for the guard at Banks's, £0 0s 4d 4 panes of window glass, 6 by 8 inches, for the Company's barracks, £0 0s 11d 20 lb of rice for the recruits, £0 1s 7d 120 lb of flour for the recruits, £0 15s 0d 23 gallons of arrack issued as drams at musters, £3 13s 4d 4 tin lamps for the various guards, £0 4s 6d 25 pieces of beef for the recruits, £2 18s 3d Total charged to the garrison, £35 11s 8d The storekeeper then listed the stores issued to the Company's slaves over the same quarter. Stores charged to the Company's slaves, 1 January to 31 March 1764 28 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £5 12s 0d 46½ lb of Bohea tea, £1 18s 9d 117 lb of sugar, £1 14s 1d Beef and pork 67½ [...] of beef, £104 16s 10d 278 [...] of pork, £33 6s 0d Total for beef and pork, £138 2s 10d Carried forward, £147 7s 8d **Interpretations** Salted beef and pork made up almost the whole cost of keeping the Company's slaves, at more than £138 in a single quarter. Their daily staple was the yam grown on the Company's plantation, as the livestock account for March 1764 showed, with over 24,000 yams issued to them in that month alone. Imported salt meat supplied the protein that yams lacked. The scale of the charge shows how costly it was to feed a labour force on imported provisions, even with a home-grown staple. Shoes, tea and sugar were smaller issues, perhaps reserved for particular workers, the sick or those in positions of trust. The garrison's largest charge was train oil for the guards' lamps, which burned through the night at every post around the coast. The flour, rice and beef issued to the recruits probably fed the 20 men landed from the *Duke of Richmond*, who reached the island on 27 March 1764 and needed rations before they joined the regular issue. Arrack given as drams at musters was a customary allowance that made the regular assemblies of the garrison more tolerable to the men. The deals and nails for coffins show that the garrison paid for burying its own dead. Soldiers died regularly from illness and accident, as the deaths of John Holloway and William Dicks on 5 and 6 April 1764 showed. Charging coffin materials to the garrison account let the Council see the true cost of maintaining its troops.
239	235	1764 Brought over£147 7s 8d Rice 4621 lb £16 18s 1d Flour	The stores charged to the Company's slaves continued from the £147 7s 8d brought forward. Brought forward, £147 7s 8d 4,621 lb of rice, £16 18s 7d 18 lb of flour, £0 2s 3d 1½ gallons of train oil, £0 6s 3d

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		18 lb £0 2s 3d Oil Train 1⅞ Gallons £0 6s 8d Hooks and Lines vizt 100 No 7 100 No 12 Hooks £0 5s 2d 2½ doz No 2 1 doz No 3 Lines £0 12s 2d £0 17s 4d Twine 1 Skain £0 0s 6d Salt 1 Bushel £0 3s 2d Thread Coloured 2 lb £0 6s 6d Arrack 4¼ Gallons £0 13s 6d Cutlery Butchers Knives 3 Knives £0 2s 2d Iron Pots 1 of 8 Gallons 1 Pot £0 9s 0d Iron Ware Sm Fry Pan 1 Pan £0 2s 6d £167 9s 5d Mallay Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1764 vizt Arrack 3¼ Gallons £0 10s 4d Sugar 26 lb £0 7s 7d Rice 155 lb £0 11s 5d Tea Boheas 4 lb £0 3s 4d Beef 13 Pieces £2 0s 7d Sope 6 lb £0 3s 10d Oil Train ¾ Gallon £0 2s 10d £3 19s 11d Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Janry to the 31st March 1764 vizt Nails 2½ lb No 2 3 lb No 3 2 lb No 4 26½ lb No 6 11 lb No 10 1 lb No 20 To Repair the Pasture Gates, Plant House Pidgeon House and Wood Cart £0 1s 8¾d £0 2s 1½d £0 1s 2d	Fishing hooks and lines 100 hooks of size 1 100 hooks of size 12 All hooks together, £0 5s 2d 2½ dozen lines of size 2 1 dozen lines of size 3 All lines together, £0 12s 2d Total for hooks and lines, £0 17s 4d 1 skein of twine, £0 0s 6d 1 bushel of salt, £0 3s 2d 2 lb of coloured thread, £0 6s 6d 4¼ gallons of arrack, £0 13s 6d 3 butchers' knives, £0 2s 2d 1 iron pot holding 8 gallons, £0 9s 0d 1 small frying pan, £0 2s 6d Total charged to the slaves, £167 9s 5d The storekeeper set out a separate account for the Malays, covering stores issued to them from 1 January to 31 March 1764. Stores charged to the Malays, 1 January to 31 March 1764 3¼ gallons of arrack, £0 10s 4d 26 lb of sugar, £0 7s 7d 155 lb of rice, £0 11s 5d 4 lb of Bohea tea, £0 3s 4d 13 pieces of beef, £2 0s 7d 6 lb of soap, £0 3s 10d ¼ gallon of train oil, £0 2s 10d Total charged to the Malays, £3 19s 11d The plantation's account for the same quarter began with nails. Stores charged to the plantation, 1 January to 31 March 1764 Nails, used to repair the pasture gates, the plantation house, the pigeon house and the wood cart 2½ lb of twopenny nails, £0 1s 8¾d 3 lb of threepenny nails, £0 2s 1½d 2 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 1s 2d 26½ lb of sixpenny nails, £0 13s 9¾d 11 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 4s 9¼d 1 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 0s 4½d Total for nails carried forward, £1 4s 0d **Interpretations** The Malays were kept on an account of their own, separate from the Company's other slaves. They were perhaps a small group brought from the East Indies through Bencoolen or Batavia, and their rations reflected their origins. Rice was their grain rather than yams, and they received tea, sugar and arrack in proportions closer to an Asian diet than to the ration given the African slaves. Recording them apart let the Council track the cost of a group whose food had to be imported rather than grown on the island. The slaves' account shows that rice supplemented the yam ration on a large scale, with more than 4,600 lb issued in the quarter. Hooks and lines were given to them so that they could catch fish for themselves, which eased the Company's cost of feeding them. The iron pot, frying pan and butchers' knives were probably for a communal kitchen where rations were cooked in bulk. The plantation was the Company's farm in the interior, where yams were grown and cattle kept. Its separate account let the Council measure what the farm cost to run against the food and livestock it produced.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 13s 9¼d £0 4s 9¼d £0 0s 4½d £1 4s 0d Carried over£1 4s 0d	
240	236	16th April Brought over£1 4s 0d Tin Ware Watering Pots for the Garden 3 Pots £0 15s 9d Rice and Paddy vizt Rice 0cwt 3qr 20lb £0 7s 8d Paddy for Poultry & Horses 39cwt 0qr 1lb £7 1s 4d £7 9s 0d Pitch and Tar vizt Rozin for the Plantn House 3 lb £0 0s 6d Tar for the Carts Repairg Gates & Capes Sheep 4½ Gallons £0 3s 4d £0 3s 10d Iron Ware vizt Scythe Stones for Garden 38 Stones £0 7s 0d Helve for the Plations 1 Helve £0 0s 7¼d Hatchet Helve for the Pastures 1 Helve £0 0s 3¾d Shod Shovel for the Peak House 1 Shovel £0 1s 11d Scythe for the Great wood 1 Scythe £0 5s 7d £0 15s 5d Deals vizt Double 3 Deals £0 9s 1½d Single 1 Deal £0 1s 11½d for the Plantation House £0 11s 1d Cutlery Ware vizt Butchers Knives 4 Knives £0 1s 9d Pruning Do 2 Knives £0 1s 5d for the Gardeners use £0 3s 2d Oil vizt Tr for the overseer in the Wood & Carts 1⅞ Gallons £0 6s 8½d L to paint the Cornice of the Pl House 2¾ Gallons £0 10s 6½d £0 17s 3d Paint vizt W Lead mixed 3 lb £0 0s 11½d Do dry 25 lb	The stores charged to the plantation continued from the £1 4s 0d brought forward. Brought forward, £1 4s 0d 3 watering cans for the garden, £0 15s 9d Rice and paddy for the poultry and hogs 0 cwt 3 qr 20 lb of rice, £0 7s 8d 39 cwt 0 qr 0 lb of paddy, £7 1s 4d Total for rice and paddy, £7 9s 0d Rosin and tar 3 lb of rosin for the plantation house, £0 0s 6d 4½ gallons of tar for the carts, for mending gates and for treating sheep with scab, £0 3s 4d Total for rosin and tar, £0 3s 10d Hardware [...] scythe stones for the garden, £0 7s 0d 1 tool handle for the plantation, £0 0s 7½d 1 hatchet handle for the pastures, £0 0s 3½d 1 iron-shod shovel for the Peak House, £0 1s 11d 1 scythe for the Great Wood, £0 5s 7d Total for hardware, £0 15s 5d Sawn timber for the plantation house 3 double deals, £0 9s 1½d 1 single deal, £0 1s 11½d Total for sawn timber, £0 11s 1d Knives for the gardeners 4 butchers' knives, £0 1s 9d 2 pruning knives, £0 1s 5d Total for knives, £0 3s 2d Oil 1⅞ gallons of train oil for the overseer in the Great Wood and for the carts, £0 6s 8½d 2¼ gallons of linseed oil for painting the cornice of the plantation house, £0 10s 6½d Total for oil, £0 17s 3d Paint for the cornice of the plantation house 3 lb of mixed white lead, £0 1s 1½d 25 lb of dry white lead, £0 7s 3½d 4 lb of whiting, £0 0s 1d Total for paint, £0 8s 6d 36 lb of cordage for the oxen and for use in the garden, £0 12s 9d Total charged to the plantation, £13 0s 9d **Interpretations** Nearly 40 hundredweight of paddy went to feed the plantation's poultry and hogs, making grain the largest single charge on the farm. The island could not grow enough fodder for its livestock, so rice imported from Bengal fed animals as well as people. This dependence tied the Company's own supply of fresh meat and eggs to the arrival of ships from India. Tar was the standard treatment for sheep scab, a skin disease caused by mites that made the animals lose their wool and condition. Smeared on the affected patches, it killed the mites and sealed the sores. Its use here reflects the importance of the Company's flock, which supplied mutton to the Castle and to passing ships. The Great Wood was the largest surviving tract of native forest on the island's eastern plateau, where the Company employed an overseer to control grazing and cutting. The forest provided fuel and timber but was steadily shrinking under pressure from livestock and felling. A scythe issued for the Great Wood suggests grass was being cut there for fodder, a sign that parts of the old woodland had already given way to pasture.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 7s 3½d Whiting 4 lb £0 0s 1d to paint the Cornice of the Plant House £0 8s 6d Cordage for the Oxen and Gardrs use 36 lb £0 12s 9d £13 0s 9d	
241	237	1764 Fortification Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Janry to the 31st March 1764 vizt Lines vizt Hambro for Lashing and down haulers for the Fort Flag 1 Line £0 1s 4d No 3 6 Lines £0 1s 11d £0 3s 3d Thread Coloured 1 lb £0 3s 3d Twine 3 Skains £0 1s 6d Cordage for the Port Cullis 84 lb £1 9s 9d £1 17s 9d Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Janry to the 31st March 1764 vizt Tar 5½ Gallons £0 4s 1d Nails vizt No 6 2 lb £0 1s 0½d No 10 2 lb £0 0s 10½d No 20 1 lb £0 0s 4d £0 2s 3d Cordage 9cwt 3qr 8lb £19 9s 7d Iron Ware vizt Large Fry Pan 1 Pan £0 3s 4d Pitching Shovels to get Lime Stone 6 Shovels £1 0s 0d H Hatchet 1 Hatchet £0 1s 8d £1 5s 0d Iron Pots 1 of 6 Gallons 1 Pot £0 4s 11d Blocks vizt Double of 8 Inches 4 Blocks £0 8s 2d Single of 6 Do 3 Blocks £0 2s 0d Do of 8 Do	The storekeeper recorded the stores issued for the fortifications between 1 January and 31 March 1764. Stores charged to the fortifications, 1 January to 31 March 1764 Lines for lashings and downhauls on the fort flagstaff 1 Hamburg line, £0 1s 4d 6 lines of size 3, £0 1s 11d Total for lines, £0 3s 3d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 3s 3d 3 skeins of twine, £0 1s 6d 84 lb of cordage for the portcullis, £1 9s 9d Total charged to the fortifications, £1 17s 9d The boats' account for the same quarter followed. Stores charged to the boats, 1 January to 31 March 1764 5½ gallons of tar, £0 4s 1d Nails 2 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 1s 0½d 2 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 0s 10½d 1 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 0s 4d Total for nails, £0 2s 3d 9 cwt 3 qr 8 lb of cordage, £19 9s 7d Hardware 1 large frying pan, £0 3s 4d 6 pitching shovels for loading limestone, £1 0s 0d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 8d Total for hardware, £1 5s 0d 1 iron pot holding 6 gallons, £0 4s 11d Blocks 4 double blocks of 8 inches, £0 8s 2d 3 single blocks of 6 inches, £0 2s 0d 3 single blocks of 8 inches, £0 2s 8d Total for blocks, £0 12s 10d Sawn timber 1 baulk, £0 8s 10d 3 single deals, £0 5s 11d Total for sawn timber, £0 14s 9d 2 skeins of marline, £0 1s 0d Carried forward, £22 15s 3d **Interpretations** Cordage dominated the boats' account, at almost 10 hundredweight and nearly £20 in a single quarter. James Bay had no harbour or wharf, so every cask, bale and passenger passed between ship and shore in open boats worked through the surf at the landing steps. Mooring lines, tow ropes and tackle wore out fast under this constant use, and their cost shows how much the island's whole supply depended on its boats. The pitching shovels for loading limestone suggest that the boats carried stone around the coast from Sandy Bay. Moving it by sea was far easier than hauling it overland across the island's ridges. This fits the baskets bought earlier in the same accounts for bringing limestone down to the shore, where it could be loaded for the kilns near James Town. The portcullis was the heavy grated gate at the entrance through the sea-facing line wall, which guarded the approach from the landing place into the town. It was raised and lowered by rope over a pulley, which is why its cordage appears among the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 Blocks £0 2s 8d £0 12s 10d Deals vizt Baulk 1 Baulk £0 8s 10d Single Deals 3 Deals £0 5s 11d £0 14s 9d Twine Marline 2 Skains £0 1s 0d Carried over£22 15s 3d	fortification charges. Blocks were the wooden pulleys through which the boats' tackle ran, and marline was a light tarred cord of two strands, used for binding the ends of ropes and seizing lines together.
242	238	16th April Brought over£22 15s 3d Iron 42 lb £0 8s 9d Bunting Red 1½ Yds £0 1s 0d Earthen Ware Milk Pans 2 Pans £0 1s 6d Tin Ware Quart Sauce Pan 1 Sauce Pan £0 0s 5d £23 15s 11d Hospital Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 Janry to the 31st March 1764 vizt Sugar 319 lb £4 13s 0d Flour 319 lb £1 19s 10d Salt 1½ Bushels £0 4s 9d Oil Train 13 Gallons £2 9s 10d Rice 400 lb £1 9s 4d Tea Bohea 6 lb £0 5s 0d Twine Cotton Yarn ½ lb £0 1s 5d £11 3s 2d Mercury Snow Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1764 vizt Iron Ware vizt Pad Locks 4 Locks £0 3s 0d Iron Plate 24 lb £0 9s 0d £0 12s 0d Beef and Pork vizt Puncns Beef 2 Puncheons £25 18s 10d Hhds Pork 2 Hhds £19 17s 8d £45 16s 6d Oars 6 Oars	The boats' account continued from the £22 15s 3d brought forward. Brought forward, £22 15s 3d 42 lb of iron, £0 8s 9d 1½ yards of red bunting, £0 1s 0d 2 earthenware milk pans, £0 1s 6d 1 tin quart saucepan, £0 0s 5d Total charged to the boats, £23 15s 11d The hospital's account for the quarter was as follows. Stores charged to the hospital, 1 January to 31 March 1764 319 lb of sugar, £4 13s 0d 319 lb of flour, £1 19s 10d 1½ bushels of salt, £0 4s 9d 13 gallons of train oil, £2 9s 10d 400 lb of rice, £1 9s 4d 6 lb of Bohea tea, £0 5s 0d ½ lb of cotton yarn, £0 1s 5d Total charged to the hospital, £11 3s 2d The storekeeper then charged the snow *Mercury* with the stores issued to her between 1 January and 31 March 1764. Hardware 4 padlocks, £0 3s 0d 24 lb of iron plate, £0 9s 0d Total for hardware, £0 12s 0d Beef and pork 2 puncheons of beef, £25 18s 10d 2 hogsheads of pork, £19 17s 8d Total for beef and pork, £45 16s 6d 6 oars, £1 3s 4d Glassware 8 panes of window glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 4s 10d 3 panes of window glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 2s 6d Total for glassware, £0 7s 4d ¼ gallon of linseed oil, £0 0s 11d Carried forward, £48 0s 1d **Interpretations** A snow was a two-masted vessel rigged much like a brig, with a small extra mast behind the mainmast to carry the spanker. The *Mercury* drew heavily on the stores, taking four large casks of salted meat worth almost £46. That quantity was provisions for a crew on a voyage of some length rather than for a short coastal trip. Charging her supplies to a separate account let the Council measure the cost of keeping her at sea. The hospital's stores show the diet given to the sick. Sugar, flour, rice and tea were the foundation of the light food thought suitable for invalids: gruels, puddings, broths thickened with rice and sweetened drinks. The large quantity of sugar, equal in weight to the flour, reflects its use in medicines and restoratives as well as in food. Train oil lit the wards through the night, and the cotton yarn perhaps served for lamp wicks or for making dressings.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£1 3s 4d Glass Ware vizt Sqrs 8 by 10 8 Sqrs £0 4s 10d Sqrs 10 by 12 3 Sqrs £0 2s 6d £0 7s 4d Oil Linseed ¼ Gallon £0 0s 11d Carried over£48 0s 1d	Bunting was a light woollen cloth used for flags and signals. The red bunting in the boats' account probably made or repaired the small flags flown by the Company's boats when working ships in the road.
243	239	1764 Brought over£48 0s 1d Coals 1½ Chaldrons £3 6s 4d Pitch 1 Barrel £1 15s 9d Twine 30 lb £2 11s 0d Canvas English 3 Bolts £6 9s 7d Nails Coopers Rivets 3 lb £0 1s 4d Cordage Cable of 12 Inches wt 33cwt 3qr 16lb 1 Cable £69 1s 10d £131 5s 11d Fly Cutter Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Janry to the 31st March 1764 vizt Iron Ware vizt Splinter Lock 1 Lock £0 0s 5d Chest Do 1 Lock £0 3s 3d £0 3s 8d Deals Double 1 Deal £0 3s 0d Corks Sheet 2¼ lb £0 1s 6d Paint vizt Barrels Blacking 2 lb £0 1s 1d Whiting 3 lb £0 0s 1d Verdigrease 1½ lb £0 6s 9½d White Lead dry 1 lb £0 0s 3½d £0 8s 3d Salt ½ Bushell £0 1s 7d Oil vizt Linseed ½ Gallon £0 1s 11d Florence 2 Bottles £0 5s 8d	The account for the *Mercury* continued from the £48 0s 1d brought forward. Brought forward, £48 0s 1d 1½ chaldrons of coal, £3 6s 4d 1 barrel of pitch, £1 15s 9d 30 lb of twine, £2 11s 0d 3 bolts of English canvas, £6 9s 7d 3 cooper's rivets, £0 1s 4d 1 cable of 12 inches, weighing 33 cwt 3 qr 16 lb, £69 1s 10d Total charged to the Mercury, £131 5s 11d The cutter *Fly* was charged with the stores issued to her between 1 January and 31 March 1764. Hardware 1 spring lock, £0 0s 5d 1 chest lock, £0 3s 3d Total for hardware, £0 3s 8d 1 double deal, £0 3s 0d 2¼ sheets of cork, £0 1s 6d Paint 2 bars of blacking, £0 1s 1d 3 lb of whiting, £0 0s 1d 7½ lb of verdigris, £0 6s 9½d 1 lb of dry white lead, £0 0s 3½d Total for paint, £0 8s 3d ½ bushel of salt, £0 1s 7d Oil ½ gallon of linseed oil, £0 1s 11d 2 bottles of Florence oil, £0 5s 8d Total for oil, £0 7s 7d Beef and pork 1 puncheon of beef, £12 19s 5d 1 hogshead of pork, £9 18s 10d Total for beef and pork, £22 18s 3d 28 gallons of arrack, £4 9s 3d Rice and paddy 420 lb of rice, £1 11s 9d 100 lb of paddy, £0 3s 7d Total for rice and paddy, £1 15s 4d Carried forward, £30 8s 5d **Interpretations** The single cable issued to the *Mercury* cost £69 1s 10d, more than half her entire charge for the quarter. A cable was the heavy anchor rope, measured by its circumference, and one of 12 inches weighing nearly 34 hundredweight was a major piece of equipment. Together with the salted meat, canvas and pitch, it suggests the snow was being fitted out for sea rather than simply maintained at anchor. Anchoring in the open road off James Bay placed heavy strain on cables, which chafed on the rocky bottom and had to be replaced from the stores. The *Fly* was the cutter that reached the island on 30 March 1764. A cutter was a small, fast single-masted vessel, suited to carrying letters and small cargoes or to scouting for approaching ships. Her provisions of salt meat, rice and arrack were enough for a short voyage with a small crew. The verdigris in her paint account was probably for coating the bottom or the waterline, since its copper content helped deter weed and shipworm.

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		£0 7s 7d Beef and Pork vizt Puncn Beef 1 Puncheon £12 19s 5d Hhd Pork 1 Hhd £9 18s 10d £22 18s 3d Arrack 28 Gallons £4 9s 3d Rice and Paddy vizt Rice 420 lb £1 11s 9d Paddy 100 lb £0 3s 7d £1 15s 4d Carried over£30 9s 5d	
244	240	16th April Brought over£30 8s 5d Sugar and Candy vizt Sugar 12 lb £0 3s 6d Candy 36 lb £0 15s 0d £0 18s 6d Tea vizt Congo 1 lb £0 1s 3d Single 1 lb £0 1s 3d £0 2s 6d Cordage 160 lb £2 16s 8d Flour 20 lb £0 2s 6d Nails Tacks ¼ lb £0 0s 4d Coals 18 Bushels £1 2s 1d Oars 2 Oars £0 7s 9d Hooks and Lines vizt 23 No 1 25 No 3 50 No 13 Hooks £0 1s 10d 4 Log 12 No 3 Lines £0 7s 7d £0 9s 5d £36 8s 2d St Helena 31st March 1764 Errors Excepted (signed) Pr J Cowle Storekeeper	The *Fly*'s account continued from the £30 8s 5d brought forward. Brought forward, £30 8s 5d Sugar and sugar candy 12 lb of sugar, £0 3s 6d 36 lb of sugar candy, £0 15s 0d Total for sugar and sugar candy, £0 18s 6d Tea 1 lb of Congou tea, £0 1s 3d 1 lb of Singlo tea, £0 1s 3d Total for tea, £0 2s 6d 160 lb of cordage, £2 16s 8d 20 lb of flour, £0 2s 6d ¼ lb of tacks, £0 0s 4d 18 bushels of coal, £1 2s 1d 2 oars, £0 7s 9d Fishing hooks and lines 25 hooks of size 1 25 hooks of size 3 50 hooks of size 13 All hooks together, £0 1s 10d 4 log lines 12 lines of size 3 All lines together, £0 7s 7d Total for hooks and lines, £0 9s 5d Total charged to the Fly, £36 8s 2d J Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 31 March 1764, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The storekeeper closed his quarterly account with a standard reservation allowing for the correction of errors. This protected him personally, since he was answerable for every item in the warehouses and could be charged for any shortfall. By signing with that reservation, he accepted responsibility for the account while keeping the right to amend a mistaken figure later without being accused of false returns. The Council's examination and approval, recorded on 16 April 1764, then transferred the accounts into the Company's books. The completed account shows how every item leaving the warehouses was classified. Goods went either to sales at one of three rates, bringing money into the treasury, or to a charge against a named department or vessel: general expenses, the official diet, the garrison, the slaves, the Malays, the plantation, the fortifications, the boats, the hospital, the *Mercury* and the *Fly*. This division let the Council see at a glance where the island's imported supplies were consumed and what each part of the settlement cost to run.

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245	241	1764 List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salary's diet Money &c for the Quarter Commencing from the 1st January & ending the 31st March 1764 vizt Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor Salary £125 0s 0d ditto allowance for Servants Usual £31 14s 9d £156 14s 9d John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Salary £62 10s 0d Diet Money £25 0s 0d £87 10s 0d Matthew Purling of Council Salary £15 0s 0d Ditto Accountant £17 10s 0d Do diet Money £15 0s 0d £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Salary £7 10s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £10 0s 0d William Lee Chaplain Salary £25 0s 0d Do diet Money £15 0s 0d £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett Secretary Salary £17 10s 0d Do diet Money £15 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d James Cowle Storekeepers Salary £17 10s 0d Do Diet Money £15 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d William Wrangham Factors Salary £7 10s 0d Do diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d Do Assistant Storekeeper £5 0s 0d £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham Factors Salary £7 10s 0d Do diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £20 0s 0d Carried over£456 14s 9d	The Council recorded the salaries, diet money and other allowances paid to the Company's officers and servants on St Helena for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1764. Charles Hutchinson, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d Charles Hutchinson, customary allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d Total for Charles Hutchinson, £156 14s 9d John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d John Skottowe, diet money, £25 0s 0d Total for John Skottowe, £87 10s 0d Matthew Purling, member of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Purling, as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Purling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total for Matthew Purling, £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, member of Council, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Kirkpatrick, £10 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d William Lee, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total for William Lee, £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Matthew Bazett, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for James Powell, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Total for William Wrangham, £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Francis Wrangham, £20 0s 0d Carried forward, £456 14s 9d **Interpretations** Diet money was a cash allowance paid instead of meals at the Company's table. Officials who did not dine at the Castle received it to feed themselves, and those without Company housing drew a separate house-rent allowance. For many servants these payments equalled or exceeded the basic salary itself. The factors, for example, received £7 10s 0d a quarter in salary but £12 10s 0d in allowances. The true cost of an official therefore lay as much in his allowances as in his nominal pay. Several men held more than one post and drew a payment for each. Matthew Purling was paid more as accountant than as a member of Council, and William Wrangham added an assistant storekeeper's allowance to his pay as a factor. Combining offices let the Company run the island with a very small civil staff, while giving each official enough to live on. Factor was a grade in the Company's hierarchy of civil servants, above writer and below merchant, rather than a description of the work each man actually did. The Governor's salary came to £500 a year, with a further allowance for keeping a household of servants suitable to his rank. Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick received only £7 10s 0d a quarter as a councillor, perhaps because his main pay came from his military command. The chaplain William Lee was the Reverend Mr Lee to whom the Council passed on the Directors' orders on 27 March 1764.
246	242	16th April Brought over£456 14s 9d	The list of salaries and allowances for the quarter continued from the £456 14s 9d brought forward.

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		Richard Lacy Factors Salary £7 10s 0d Do diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d Do Assistant to the Governor £10 0s 0d £30 0s 0d David Alcock Writers Salary £5 0s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £17 10s 0d Britannicus Wright Writers Salary £5 0s 0d Do diet money £10 0s 0d £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay Surgeons Salary £9 15s 0d Do diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £22 5s 0d John Pritchard Surgeons Mate Salary £6 5s 0d Do Diet Money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £18 15s 0d Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary £10 0s 0d Do Schoolmaster £3 8s 3d £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander Overseers £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett Overseers £7 10s 0d £15 0s 0d John Bland Master Mason Salary £17 10s 0d Do diet money £10 0s 0d Do House Rent £1 10s 0d £29 0s 0d Thomas Townsend Stone Masons Salary £19 10s 0d John Robinson Carpenters Salary £12 10s 0d Do diet Money £0 15s 0d £13 5s 0d Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace £10 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain Carpenters Mate £7 10s 0d David Belford Gardener £10 0s 0d James Torbett Cooper £8 15s 0d £36 5s 0d Carried over£686 13s 0d	Brought forward, £456 14s 9d Richard [...]aw, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Richard [...]aw, diet money, £10 0s 0d Richard [...]aw, house rent, £2 10s 0d Richard [...]aw, as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d Total for Richard [...]aw, £30 0s 0d David Alcock, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d David Alcock, diet money, £10 0s 0d David Alcock, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for David Alcock, £17 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £10 0s 0d Total for Britannicus Wright, £15 0s 0d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Robert Barclay, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Pritchard, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, as schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d Total for Richard Beale, £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £7 10s 0d Total for the overseers, £15 0s 0d John Bland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d John Bland, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Bland, house rent, £1 10s 0d Total for John Bland, £29 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stonemason, salary, £19 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d John Robinson, diet money, £0 15s 0d Total for John Robinson, £13 5s 0d Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain, carpenter's mate, £7 10s 0d David Belford, gardener, £10 0s 0d James Torbett, cooper, £8 15s 0d Total for these four, £36 5s 0d Carried forward, £686 13s 0d **Interpretations** Skilled tradesmen were paid far more than the Company's junior civil servants. John Bland, the master mason, drew £29 0s 0d for the quarter, and the stonemason Thomas Townsend £19 10s 0d, while a writer received £15 0s 0d or £17 10s 0d with all allowances included. Masons and carpenters were scarce on a remote island and indispensable for keeping the forts, stores and houses in repair. The Company had to pay well to recruit them from England and keep them from leaving on passing ships. John Bland was the same man who petitioned on 2 April 1764 for leave for his son to go to sea. Writer was the lowest grade of the Company's civil service, the entry rank for young men who copied letters, kept registers and learned the business before promotion to factor. Their salary of £5 0s 0d a quarter was nominal, and they lived chiefly on their diet money and on the hope of advancement. Richard Beale combined the post of judge advocate with that of schoolmaster. As judge advocate he conducted prosecutions at courts martial and advised on military law, while his teaching allowance shows the Company paying for a school on the island, which explains the spelling books sold through its stores. The clerk of the peace kept the records of the island's civil courts and quarter sessions. Matthew Bazett's second payment, as an overseer, is another case of a senior official adding a minor post to his main office.
247	243	1764 Brought over£686 13s 0d	The list of salaries and allowances for the quarter continued from the £686 13s 0d brought forward.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Moore Steward £7 10s 0d Michael Frost Clock and Instrument Cleaner £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Saunderson Groom £2 0s 0d George Straight Armorer £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice Master at arms £6 5s 0d John Criswell Patron of the Long Boat £7 10s 0d John Price Marshall & Goaler £7 10s 0d William Smith Clerk £5 0s 0d £46 0s 0d First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob Adjutant Salary £22 16s 3d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Serjeants Robert Calger £7 12s 1d John Tull £7 12s 1d John Stewart £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals Jonathan Sabey £5 6s 5½d Silvanus Ross £5 6s 5½d Thomas Payne £5 6s 5½d William Bannister £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers Henry Howell £5 6s 5½d Richard Platfoot £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Carried over£925 9s 5½d	Brought forward, £686 13s 0d William Moore, steward, £7 10s 0d Michael Frost, keeper and cleaner of clocks and instruments, £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Saunderson, groom, £2 0s 0d George Streaight, armourer, £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d John Criswell, coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d William Smith, clerk, £5 0s 0d Total for these eight, £46 0s 0d First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Solomon St Maurice, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Samuel Desfountain, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for Solomon Jacob, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants Robert Calger, £7 12s 1d John Tull, £7 12s 1d John Stewart, £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Corporals Jonathan Lakey, £5 6s 5½d Silvanus Rolf, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Payne, £5 6s 5½d William Bannister, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d Drummers Henry Howell, £5 6s 5½d Richard Platfoot, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Carried forward, £925 9s 5½d **Interpretations** The garrison's non-commissioned officers were paid well above the rates of the British army at home. A sergeant's £7 12s 1d for the quarter came to about 1s 8d a day, and corporals and drummers received about 1s 2d a day. In an English regiment of foot a sergeant drew 1s and a corporal or drummer 8d a day, much of it stopped for food and clothing. The Company had to offer more to attract men to a distant island with no prospect of leave and a reputation for tedium. George Streaight appeared on the civil list as armourer, drawing £9 0s 0d for the whole quarter, although the Council released him from the garrison only on 26 March 1764. He had perhaps already been doing the armourer's work while still a matross, and the new contract formalised a role he held in practice. His pay was higher than that of a sergeant, reflecting the value of his skill to a garrison that repaired its own weapons. The list shows how often offices overlapped. Solomon St Maurice was both a lieutenant and master at arms, and Phillip Mahoney served as a sergeant while also acting as clerk of the peace. Combining military and civil posts let the Company staff its courts and administration from a small population. The marshal and gaoler was likewise one man who served legal processes and kept the prisoners. The coxswain of the longboat commanded the Company's largest boat, which carried stores and passengers between the ships and the landing.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
248	244	1764 Brought over£686 13s 0d William Moore Steward £7 10s 0d Michael Frost Clock and Instrument Cleaner £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Saunderson Groom £2 0s 0d George Straight Armorer £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice Master at arms £6 5s 0d John Criswell Patron of the Long Boat £7 10s 0d John Price Marshall & Goaler £7 10s 0d William Smith Clerk £5 0s 0d £46 0s 0d First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob Adjutant Salary £22 16s 3d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Serjeants Robert Calger £7 12s 1d John Tull £7 12s 1d John Stewart £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals Jonathan Sabey £5 6s 5½d Silvanus Ross £5 6s 5½d Thomas Payne £5 6s 5½d William Bannister £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers Henry Howell £5 6s 5½d Richard Platfoot £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Carried over£925 9s 5½d	The list of salaries and allowances for the quarter continued from the £925 9s 5½d brought forward, beginning with the private soldiers. Brought forward, £925 9s 5½d Private soldiers John Ware Welch, cadet, £7 12s 1d John Ware Welch, lieutenant's salary from 17 May 1763 to 31 March 1764 inclusive, £61 6s 8d Total for John Ware Welch, £68 18s 9d John Allis, £3 16s 0½d John Arkinstall, £3 16s 0½d Hans Ulrich Algaver, discharged on 1 March 1764, £3 0s 10d John Allman, £3 16s 0½d John Allen, £3 16s 0½d John William Blank, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Berwick, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d William Baker, £3 16s 0½d Edward Crocker, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, £3 16s 0½d John Finnen, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, £3 16s 0½d William French, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Godby, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, £3 16s 0½d William Hooks, £3 16s 0½d William Hebert, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, £3 16s 0½d James Hedge, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d William Rowlands, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d George Hibbett, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d William Lake, £3 16s 0½d Charles Lewis, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward separately, £121 2s 3½d Carried forward, £994 8s 2½d **Interpretations** John Ware Welch was one of the three men to whom the Council passed on the Directors' orders on 27 March 1764, the day the *Duke of Richmond* brought their packet. The payment here shows what those orders contained. The Directors had promoted him from cadet to lieutenant with effect from 17 May 1763, and the Council paid him the full arrears of a lieutenant's salary for more than ten months in a single sum. Promotions in the Company's service were decided in London and could take effect long before news of them reached the island. A private soldier's pay of £3 16s 0½d a quarter came to about 10d a day. That was a little more than the 8d a day paid to a private in a British foot regiment, and the Company also supplied subsidised rations through its stores at cost plus 10 per cent. Pay was calculated to the day, which is why Hans Ulrich Algaver received a reduced sum after his discharge on 1 March 1764. William Rowlands, who enlisted on 27 March 1764, received only a few days' pay and was perhaps one of the recruits landed from the *Duke of Richmond* that day. John William Blank, whose discharge the Council approved on 9 April 1764, still drew the full quarter because he served until its end.
249	245	1764 Brought over£994 8s 2½d Centinels brought over	The payments to private soldiers continued from the separate total of £121 2s 3½d brought forward, with the overall list standing at £994 8s 2½d.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£121 2s 3½d Richard Lawrence £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClaron £3 16s 0½d William Mumford £3 16s 0½d John May £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marr £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman dischd March 13 £3 0s 10d John Pickering £3 16s 0½d William Paulson £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price £3 16s 0½d Michael Read £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rogers £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reed £3 16s 0½d William Roebuck £3 16s 0½d William Robinson £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom £3 16s 0½d George Roe £3 16s 0½d William Swaby £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp £3 16s 0½d Henry Sawyer £3 16s 0½d John Stewart £3 16s 0½d Joseph Stacey Entd March 27 £0 4s 2d Edward Terry £3 16s 0½d John Taylor £3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon £3 16s 0½d John Wittingdale £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wase £3 16s 0½d William Watkins £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall £3 16s 0½d Thomas Warne £3 16s 0½d John Weston Entered March 27th £0 4s 2d George Young deserted March 5 £2 14s 2d Richard Yeheas £3 16s 0½d William Yates £3 16s 0½d £252 15s 0d	Brought forward, £994 8s 2½d Private soldiers brought forward, £121 2s 3½d Richard Lawrence, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McClaron, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d John May, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marr, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, discharged on 1 March 1764, £3 0s 10d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d William Paxton, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price, £3 16s 0½d Michael Read, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rogers, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reid, £3 16s 0½d William Roebuck, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, £3 16s 0½d George Roe, £3 16s 0½d William Swaby, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp, £3 16s 0½d Henry Sawyer, £3 16s 0½d John Stuart, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Stacey, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d John Wittingdale, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, £3 16s 0½d William Watkins, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Warne, £3 16s 0½d John Weston, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d George Young, deserted on 5 March 1764, £2 14s 2d Richard Yeoman, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, £3 16s 0½d Total for private soldiers, £252 15s 0d Carried forward, £1,247 3s 2½d **Interpretations** Martin Newman's entry shows the cycle by which the Company kept experienced men. His contracted term ended and he was discharged on 1 March 1764, with pay stopping that day. A month later, on 2 April 1764, he signed on for five more years and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. A man who knew his worth could therefore leave the service briefly, then return on better terms with a lump sum in hand. George Young's pay ended on 5 March 1764, the day he deserted. On an island with no hiding place for long, desertion almost always meant slipping aboard a departing ship, which is why a councillor mustered the *Osterley*'s company on 9 April 1764 and searched her specifically for deserters. Stopping a deserter's pay from the day he went missing meant the Company owed nothing further, and any arrears due to him were forfeited. Joseph Stacey and John Weston, like William Rowlands, enlisted on 27 March 1764 and received only a few days' pay. They were probably among the 20 recruits carried out on the *Duke of Richmond*, whose surgeon was paid 5s 0d a head for their care on the voyage.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carried over£1247 3s 2½d	
250	246	16th April Brought over£1247 3s 2½d Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Michael Frost Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Serjeants John Bazett £7 12s 1d William Beale £7 12s 1d John Burnham £7 12s 1d William Conquest £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals William Bell £5 6s 5½d Thomas Woffington £5 6s 5½d John Forbes £5 6s 5½d William Hayes £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers Robert Davis £5 6s 5½d Francis Soane £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Samuel Alstone £3 16s 0½d Josephs Banks £3 16s 0½d William Beckett £3 16s 0½d William Birch £3 16s 0½d William Brooks £3 16s 0½d Peter Brown £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bott £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Buffell £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bay £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over£41 16s 5½d Carried over£1410 6s 6½d **Margin Notes:** 100	The list of salaries and allowances for the quarter continued from the £1,247 3s 2½d brought forward with the Second Company. Brought forward, £1,247 3s 2½d Second Company Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Michael Frost, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Leech, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Leech, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Bazett, £7 12s 1d William Beale, £7 12s 1d John Burnham, £7 12s 1d William Conquest, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Corporals William Bell, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Woffington, £5 6s 5½d John Forbes, £5 6s 5½d William Hayes, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d Drummers Robert Davis, £5 6s 5½d Francis Soane, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Private soldiers Samuel Alstone, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d William Beckett, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Peter Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bott, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bay, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward separately, £41 16s 5½d Carried forward, £1,410 6s 6½d **Interpretations** The Bazett family held posts at almost every level of the island's service. Henry Bazett commanded the Second Company, John Bazett served in it as a sergeant and Matthew Bazett was the Council's secretary and an overseer. The Beale name appears in a similar way, with William Beale a sergeant and Richard Beale the judge advocate and schoolmaster. In a small settlement, a few established families supplied men to both the garrison and the civil administration, and their influence reached into the courts, the accounts and the command of the troops. Michael Frost drew pay as a lieutenant in the Second Company and also, on the civil list, as keeper of the clocks and instruments. John Burnham, the sergeant whose discharge was approved on 7 April 1764 and who sailed to Bencoolen on the *Duke of Richmond*, still drew his full quarter's pay because he remained in service until the end of March.

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251	247	1764 Brought over£1410 6s 6½d Centinels brought over £41 16s 5½d John Cave £3 16s 0½d Edward Couzens £3 16s 0½d Samuel Cord £3 16s 0½d William Clay £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly £3 16s 0½d David Dennis Entd 27th March £0 4s 2d Robert Dickens £3 16s 0½d John Dickenson £3 16s 0½d John Dobson £3 16s 0½d Thomas Eastwood £3 16s 0½d George Exton Entd 27th March £0 4s 2d Richard Esser Do £0 4s 2d Peter Eglestone Died 24th Febry £2 5s 10d William Finch £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford £3 16s 0½d William Fullwood £3 16s 0½d George Freeman £3 16s 0½d William Fry £3 16s 0½d Thomas Greenslade £3 16s 0½d John Goodall £3 16s 0½d John Gray Entd 27 March £0 4s 2d William Greenough £3 16s 0½d John Haurring Dischd 13th March £3 0s 10d William Harris £3 16s 0½d William Harris £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding £3 16s 0½d John Hawkswood £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hiles £3 16s 0½d William Hockley £3 16s 0½d Arnold Hermon Dischd 13 March £3 0s 10d John Holloway £3 16s 0½d John Holebrook £3 16s 0½d James Hudson £3 16s 0½d James Huxby £3 16s 0½d Clement Hyland £3 16s 0½d	The payments to private soldiers continued from the separate total of £41 16s 5½d brought forward, with the overall list standing at £1,410 6s 6½d. Brought forward, £1,410 6s 6½d Private soldiers brought forward, £41 16s 5½d John Carr, £3 16s 0½d Edward Couzens, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Cord, £3 16s 0½d William Clay, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, £3 16s 0½d David Dennis, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Robert Dickens, £3 16s 0½d John Dickenson, £3 16s 0½d John Dobson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Eastwood, £3 16s 0½d George Exton, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Richard Esser, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Peter Eglestone, died on 24 February 1764, £2 5s 10d William Finch, £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford, £3 16s 0½d William Fullwood, £3 16s 0½d George Freeman, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Greenslade, £3 16s 0½d John Goodall, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d William Greenough, £3 16s 0½d John Hawring, discharged on 13 March 1764, £3 0s 10d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d William Harris, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d John Hawkswood, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hiles, £3 16s 0½d William Hockley, £3 16s 0½d Arnold Hermson, discharged on 13 March 1764, £3 0s 10d John Holloway, £3 16s 0½d John Holebrook, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d James Haxby, £3 16s 0½d Clement Heyland, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward separately, £165 1s 10½d Carried forward, £1,410 6s 6½d **Interpretations** Pay was reckoned by the day, and each change in a man's status cut his entitlement at a precise point. Peter Eglestone's pay ran only to his death on 24 February 1764, and the sum due would pass to his estate or cover his debts on the island. John Hawring and Arnold Hermson were paid to 13 March 1764, the day of their discharge. John Holloway drew his full quarter, since he was still alive at its close, though he died on 5 April 1764 and appears among the deaths reported to the Council on 9 April. Four more men enlisted on 27 March 1764, bringing to seven the number of new soldiers entered on the pay list that day across both companies. The *Duke of Richmond*'s surgeon was paid for bringing out 20 recruits, but some of them, like James Byrne, were bound for Bencoolen. Those enlisted at St Helena were perhaps the share of that draft assigned to the island's own garrison.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Samuel Instone £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over£165 1s 10½d Carried over£1410 6s 6½d	
252	248	16th April Brought over£1410 6s 6½d Centinels brought over £165 1s 10½d Richard Jones £3 16s 0½d William Johnson £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan £3 16s 0½d Evans Knowles £3 16s 0½d Samuel Killson Dischd 24th March £3 10s 0d John Lewis Enterd 27th March £0 4s 2d Edmond Leach £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge £3 16s 0½d Thomas Newton Enterd 27 March £0 4s 2d William Pochen £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips £3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry £3 16s 0½d Abraham Penns £3 16s 0½d Thomas Shewes £3 16s 0½d Robert Saunders £3 16s 0½d John Christian Shof £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer £3 16s 0½d John Slade Dischd 13th March £3 0s 10d Thomas Taylor £3 16s 0½d John Tucker £3 16s 0½d Avery Treeman £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell £3 16s 0½d George Walls £3 16s 0½d £244 5s 10d Third Company Richard Beale Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d John Bridgwaters Lieut Salary £18 5s 0d Do Diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Serjeants Roger Wittwan £7 12s 1d	The payments to private soldiers continued from the separate total of £165 1s 10½d brought forward, with the overall list standing at £1,410 6s 6½d. Brought forward, £1,410 6s 6½d Private soldiers brought forward, £165 1s 10½d Richard Jones, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan, £3 16s 0½d Evans Knowles, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hillson, discharged on 24 March 1764, £3 10s 0d John Lewis, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Edmond Leach, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Newton, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d William Pitchen, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Penns, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Shewers, £3 16s 0½d Robert Saunders, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Shiff, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, £3 16s 0½d John Slade, discharged on 13 March 1764, £3 0s 10d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, £3 16s 0½d Avery Trueman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d George Walls, £3 16s 0½d Total for private soldiers, £244 5s 10d Third Company Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Bazett, £27 11s 10½d John Bridgwater, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Bridgwater, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Bridgwater, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Bridgwater, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants Roger Withwan, £7 12s 1d George Bazett, £7 12s 1d John Robinson, £7 12s 1d John Lemmon, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Carried forward, £1,785 16s 11½d **Interpretations** Richard Beale commanded the Third Company while also serving as judge advocate and schoolmaster. His captain's salary of £45 12s 6d a quarter, added to his other payments, made him one of the best-paid men on the island after the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Holding a military command alongside the post that prosecuted courts martial concentrated a great deal of the garrison's discipline in one man's hands. The Bazett family's reach extended into the Third Company as well, with Thomas Bazett a lieutenant and George Bazett a sergeant. Counting Henry, John and Matthew Bazett in earlier entries, five members of the family held paid posts in the garrison and the administration during this one quarter.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		George Bazett £7 12s 1d John Robinson £7 12s 1d John Leamon £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Carried over£1785 16s 11½d	
253	249	1764 Brought over£1785 16s 11½d Corporals William Hill £5 6s 5½d Fisher Gamble £5 6s 5½d William Robinson £5 6s 5½d John Maurice £5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers John Twaites £5 6s 5½d George Garrard £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Richard Ashford £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abbey £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams £3 16s 0½d James Anderson £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown £3 16s 0½d Mark Batts £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard £3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorn £3 16s 0½d James Brown £3 16s 0½d James Bottomly £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill £3 16s 0½d John Cripps Disch 30th March £3 15s 0d John Cocks £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain £3 16s 0½d William Clifton £3 16s 0½d William Carr Entd 27th March £0 4s 2d Baron Delofe Disch 23d Do £3 9s 2d William Dicks £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis Entd 27 March £0 4s 2d Charles Padgets £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eagly £3 16s 0½d William Fister £3 16s 0½d	The list of salaries and allowances for the quarter continued from the £1,785 16s 11½d brought forward with the rest of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,785 16s 11½d Corporals William Hill, £5 6s 5½d Fisher Gamble, £5 6s 5½d William Robinson, £5 6s 5½d John Maurice, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £21 5s 10d Drummers John Twaites, £5 6s 5½d George Garrard, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Private soldiers Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abbey, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Mark Batts, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, £3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorn, £3 16s 0½d James Brown, £3 16s 0½d James Bottomly, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Boult, £3 16s 0½d John Cripps, discharged on 30 March 1764, £3 15s 0d John Cooke, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d William Clifton, £3 16s 0½d William Carr, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Baron Delofe, discharged on 23 March 1764, £3 9s 2d William Dicks, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Charles Edgels, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eagly, £3 16s 0½d William Fester, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyfer, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward separately, £98 17s 6d Carried forward, £1,817 15s 8½d **Interpretations** Baron Delofe was discharged on 23 March 1764 and signed on again on 9 April 1764, this time without any bounty. Daniel Armin, who re-enlisted the same day, received £10 0s 0d. The pay list confirms that Delofe had completed a term and left the service before returning, so the absence of a bounty did not arise from any continuing contract. John Cripps, whose petition for discharge was presented on 30 March 1764, was paid exactly to that day. Joseph Chamberlain drew a private soldier's pay here and also appears on the civil list as carpenter's mate at £7 10s 0d for the quarter. If these were the same man, a soldier with a useful trade could nearly treble his income by working for the Company's works department while remaining on the garrison's

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Alexander Gray £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyper £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard £3 16s 0½d John Herring £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over£98 17s 0d Carried over£1817 15s 8½d	strength. William Dicks received his full pay for the quarter, although he died on 6 April 1764, shortly after it closed.
254	250	16th April Brought over£1817 15s 8½d Centinels brought over £98 17s 0d Robert Jewhurst £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson £3 16s 0½d James Kemp £3 16s 0½d James Lee £3 16s 0½d Edward Law Drowned Febry 11th £1 15s 0d Richard Linney £3 16s 0½d John Long £3 16s 0½d John Sandbridge £3 16s 0½d Edward Lambourn £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morriss £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews £3 16s 0½d William Mason disch 13th March £3 0s 10d Abraham Mayor Do 22 Do £3 8s 4d John Miller Entd 27 Do £0 4s 2d Peter Nelson £3 16s 0½d Darby O'Brien £3 16s 0½d John Passwater £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry £3 16s 0½d James Proctor £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen £3 16s 0½d Josephs Phillips Died Janry 28 £1 3s 4d David Patton Entd 27 March £0 4s 2d William Roberts £3 16s 0½d Robert Starks £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott £3 16s 0½d David Scott	The payments to private soldiers continued from the separate total of £98 17s 6d brought forward, with the overall list standing at £1,817 15s 8½d. Brought forward, £1,817 15s 8½d Private soldiers brought forward, £98 17s 6d Robert Tushurst, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, £3 16s 0½d James Kemp, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d Edward Law, drowned on 11 February 1764, £1 15s 0d Richard Linney, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d John Lambridge, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lambourn, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morriss, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, £3 16s 0½d William Mason, discharged on 13 March 1764, £3 0s 10d Abraham Major, discharged on 22 March 1764, £3 8s 4d John Miller, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Peter Nelson, £3 16s 0½d Darby O'Brien, £3 16s 0½d John Passwater, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 0½d James Proctor, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Phillips, died on 28 January 1764, £1 3s 4d David Patton, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d William Roberts, £3 16s 0½d Robert Starks, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Simpkins, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d John Wilburn, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward separately, £226 14s 9½d Carried forward, £1,817 15s 8½d **Interpretations** The pay list records the garrison's losses in the quarter as plainly as its gains. Joseph Phillips died on 28 January 1764 and Edward Law drowned on 11 February 1764, and both received pay only to that day. Drowning was a recognised hazard on an island where soldiers fished from the rocks and helped work boats through the surf at the landing place. Abraham Major was discharged on 22 March 1764 and re-enlisted on 2 April 1764 for a £10 0s 0d bounty, the same pattern as Martin Newman. Three more men enlisted on 27 March 1764, bringing to 14 the number of new soldiers entered across the three companies that day. The Directors' draft from the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£3 16s 0½d John Smith £3 16s 0½d Thomas Simkins £3 16s 0½d John Thompson £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent Entd 27 March £0 4s 2d John Wiburn £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over£226 14s 9½d Carried over£1817 15s 8½d	*Duke of Richmond* evidently went largely to the island garrison, with only a minority, such as James Byrne, bound onward to Bencoolen.
255	251	1764 Brought over£1817 15s 8½d Centinels brought over £226 14s 9½d John Waters £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch £3 16s 0½d James York £3 16s 0½d William Yates £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward £3 16s 0½d £245 15s 0d Fourth Company John Howard Captains Salary £45 12s 6d Henry De Sainne Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d Do diet House Rent £2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert Lieutenant Salary £18 5s 0d Do diet Money £6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Serjeants John Flanning £7 12s 1d Thomas Jervis £7 12s 1d George Hillesham £7 12s 1d Richard Wright £7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals Christian Hornicle disch 13th March £4 5s 2d Thomas Bailey £5 6s 5½d John Cary £5 6s 5½d John Juncox £5 6s 5½d £20 4s 6½d Drummers George Wills £5 6s 5½d John Smith £5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Daniel Armin disch 13th March	The payments to private soldiers continued from the separate total of £226 14s 9½d brought forward, with the overall list standing at £1,817 15s 8½d. Brought forward, £1,817 15s 8½d Private soldiers brought forward, £226 14s 9½d John Waters, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch, £3 16s 0½d James York, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 0½d Total for private soldiers, £245 15s 0d Fourth Company John Heward, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Laune, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Henry De Laune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Henry De Laune, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total for Thomas Lambert, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants John Flemming, £7 12s 1d Thomas Jarvis, £7 12s 1d George Hillesham, £7 12s 1d Richard Wright, £7 12s 1d Total for sergeants, £30 8s 4d Corporals Christian Hornick, discharged on 13 March 1764, £4 5s 2d Thomas Bailey, £5 6s 5½d John Carey, £5 6s 5½d John Simcox, £5 6s 5½d Total for corporals, £20 4s 6½d Drummers George Wills, £5 6s 5½d John Smith, £5 6s 5½d Total for drummers, £10 12s 11d Private soldiers Daniel Armin, discharged on 13 March 1764, £3 0s 10d John Allen, £3 16s 0½d George Barnett, £3 16s 0½d John McEckurdle, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward separately, £18 5s 0d Carried forward, £2,223 2s 9d **Interpretations** Daniel Armin was discharged on 13 March 1764 and re-enlisted on 9 April 1764 for a bounty of £10 0s 0d. Together with Martin Newman, Abraham Major and Baron Delofe, he was one of several men who left the garrison in March and returned within weeks. The clustering of these discharges suggests that a batch of five-year contracts expired together, and that most of the men concerned chose to sign on again rather than leave the island.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£3 0s 10d John Allen £3 16s 0½d George Bissell £3 16s 0½d John Blochwell £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell £3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over£18 5s 0d Carried over£2223 7s 9d	Thomas Lambert received no house-rent allowance, unlike every other lieutenant on the list. He perhaps lived in quarters provided by the Company, since the allowance was paid only to officers who had to find their own lodging.
256	252	16th April Brought over£2223 2s 9d Centinels brought over £18 5s 0d Michael Brown £3 16s 0½d Jacob Barnard £3 16s 0½d John Brooke £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff Entd March 27th £0 4s 2d James Cartwright £3 16s 0½d George Capeling £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron £3 16s 0½d James Culsher £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham £3 16s 0½d Henry Cooker died January the 8 £0 6s 8d Jonathn Chandler discharged 13th March £3 0s 10d Richard Cose Enterd March 27th £0 4s 2d Josiah Cumming Entd March 27th £0 4s 2d Edward Davis Enterd March 27 £0 4s 2d Henry Davis £3 16s 0½d John Enstone £3 16s 0½d George Green £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulsing £3 16s 0½d John Gillmore £3 16s 0½d Joseph Gillder £3 16s 0½d Edward German £3 16s 0½d Joseph Goet £3 16s 0½d Christian Greenawald Disch March 13th £3 0s 10d Alexander Groombridge from 1st March to the 13th the Corporal £3 0s 10d Do Corporal from March 14th £1 1s 0d Thomas Hailes £3 16s 0½d Henry Hetenburg £3 16s 0½d James Hendry £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard £3 16s 0½d	The payments to private soldiers continued from the separate total of £18 5s 0d brought forward, with the overall list standing at £2,223 2s 9d. Brought forward, £2,223 2s 9d Private soldiers brought forward, £18 5s 0d Michael Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Barnard, £3 16s 0½d John Brooke, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Culsher, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d Henry Cooke, died on 8 January 1764, £0 6s 8d Jonathan Chandler, discharged on 13 March 1764, £3 0s 10d Richard Cose, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Josiah Cumming, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Edward Davis, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d Henry Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Eustone, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d John Gillmore, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Gillder, £3 16s 0½d Edward German, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Goss, £3 16s 0½d Christian Greenawald, discharged on 13 March 1764, £3 0s 10d Alexander Groombridge, as private soldier from 1 January to 13 March 1764, £3 0s 10d Alexander Groombridge, as corporal from 14 March 1764, £1 1s 0d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0½d Henry Hetenburg, £3 16s 0½d James Hendy, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Howiston, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Henry Jenkins, discharged on 13 March 1764, £3 0s 10d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d William Lavicke, £3 16s 0½d William Lambon, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d John Marsh, £3 16s 0½d Private soldiers carried forward separately, £135 5s 9½d Carried forward, £2,223 2s 9d **Interpretations** Alexander Groombridge was promoted to corporal on 14 March 1764, the day after Christian Hornick left that rank in the Fourth Company on his discharge. The vacancy was filled at once from within the company. The pay list splits his quarter at the exact day of promotion, charging the private's rate to 13 March and the corporal's higher rate afterwards. This precision allowed the Company to reward promotion without paying a day more than was due.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Howerton £3 16s 0½d Stephen John £3 16s 0½d Henry Jenkins Discharged the 13th March £3 0s 10d Christian Johnson £3 16s 0½d William Swicke £3 16s 0½d William Lambon £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee £3 16s 0½d John Marsh £3 16s 0½d Centinels brought over£135 5s 9½d Carried over£2223 2s 9d	The date of 13 March 1764 recurs again and again among the discharges, confirming that a whole batch of contracts expired together. Christian Greenawald was among them and, like several of the others, re-enlisted on 2 April 1764 for a £10 0s 0d bounty. Henry Cooke died on 8 January 1764, only a week into the quarter, the earliest of the deaths recorded across the garrison in these months.
257	253	1764 Brought over£2223 2s 9d Centinels brought over £135 5s 9½d Richard Merbton £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason £3 16s 0½d Mordock McCloed £3 16s 0½d John Baptist Mitchland £3 16s 0½d John McAllester £3 16s 0½d William Mitchel £3 16s 0½d John McDonald £3 16s 0½d John Mallis Enterd 27th March £0 4s 2d George Marshall Do £0 4s 2d John Newton £3 16s 0½d John Oswald £3 16s 0½d Thomas Dorrin £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell £3 16s 0½d John Pipton Discharged 19 March £3 5s 10d James Richardson £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher £3 16s 0½d John Shaw £3 16s 0½d William Scotman £3 16s 0½d James Shad £3 16s 0½d John Swindall £3 16s 0½d John Sheens £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer £3 16s 0½d William Steadman £3 16s 0½d John Slade Enterd March 20	The payments to private soldiers continued from the separate total of £135 5s 9½d brought forward, with the overall list standing at £2,223 2s 9d. Brought forward, £2,223 2s 9d Private soldiers brought forward, £135 5s 9½d Richard Morleton, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Murdoch McCloed, £3 16s 0½d John Baptist Mitchland, £3 16s 0½d John McAllister, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchel, £3 16s 0½d John McDonald, £3 16s 0½d John Mallis, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d George Marshall, enlisted on 27 March 1764, £0 4s 2d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Porrin, £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell, £3 16s 0½d John Pipley, discharged on 19 March 1764, £3 5s 10d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Scotman, £3 16s 0½d James Shad, £3 16s 0½d John Swindall, £3 16s 0½d John Sheers, £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson, £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer, £3 16s 0½d William Steadman, £3 16s 0½d John Slade, enlisted on 28 March 1764, £0 0s 10d Thomas Tuffnell, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Whorwell, £3 16s 0½d William Wills, £3 16s 0½d William Waite, £3 16s 0½d Total for private soldiers, £245 9s 11½d Artillery Company Thomas Hall, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Gunner's mates Nathan Sampley, chief mate, £11 8s 1½d Nathan Sampley, as lieutenant from 17 May 1763 to 31 March 1764 inclusive, £48 0s 0d Total for Nathan Sampley, £59 8s 1½d John Whitchurch, £9 1s 6d Gunner's mates carried forward separately, £9 1s 6d Carried forward, £2,573 13s 4d **Interpretations** Nathan Sampley's arrears as lieutenant, backdated to 17 May 1763, match exactly the promotion given to John Ware Welch from the same date. Both men were among those to whom the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 10s 0d Thomas Tuffnell £3 16s 0½d John Thompson £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Whorwell £3 16s 0½d William Wills £3 16s 0½d William Waite £3 16s 0½d £245 19s 1½d Artillery Company Thomas Hall Captains Salary £45 12s 6d Gunners Mates Nathan Sampson Chief Mate £11 8s 9½d Do as Lieut from 17th May 1763 to 31st March 1764 inclusive £48 0s 0d John Whitchurch £9 8s 6d £69 8s 1½d Gunners Mates Carried over£9 [...] Carried over£2[...] 2s 6d **Margin Notes:** No	Council passed on the Directors' orders on 27 March 1764. The packet brought by the *Duke of Richmond* therefore carried a set of commissions dated together in London, and the Council paid each man the full arrears in one sum. The Company's officer appointments on the island depended entirely on decisions made months earlier and thousands of miles away. John Slade, discharged from the Third Company on 13 March 1764, reappears here as a new enlistment at the very end of the month. His brief absence from the rolls let him complete one contract and begin another. Zedekiah Saunderson drew a private's pay while also serving as the Company's groom on the civil list, another example of soldiers supplementing their pay with a second occupation. John Baptist Mitchland drew his full quarter, although he petitioned for discharge on 2 April 1764. The Artillery Company was commanded by Thomas Hall, the officer who signed the gunners' account of powder and stores for March 1764.
258	254	16th April Brought over£2571 2s 6d Gunners Mates brought over £9 2s 6d Adam Watson £9 2s 6d James Long £9 2s 6d John Jacks £9 2s 6d Thomas Taylor £9 2s 6d John Shirley £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse £9 2s 6d £63 17s 6d Quarter Gunners Andrew Barton £6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham £6 16s 10½d Daniel Tongue £6 16s 10½d William Stebben £6 16s 10½d George Nelson £6 16s 10½d William Hedges £6 16s 10½d John Cox £6 16s 10½d £54 15s 0d Matrosses William Beason £4 11s 3d Benjamin Barton £4 11s 3d William Brown £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck £4 11s 3d Richard Brown £4 11s 3d John Bowes	The list of pay for the Artillery Company continued, with the overall total standing at £2,574 2s 6d brought forward. Brought forward, £2,574 2s 6d Gunner's mates brought forward, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d James Long, £9 2s 6d John Jacks, £9 2s 6d Thomas Taylor, £9 2s 6d John Shirley, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, £9 2s 6d Total for gunner's mates, £63 17s 6d Quarter gunners Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones, £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham, £6 16s 10½d Daniel Tongue, £6 16s 10½d William Stubbs, £6 16s 10½d George Nelson, £6 16s 10½d William Hodges, £6 16s 10½d John Cox, £6 16s 10½d Total for quarter gunners, £54 15s 0d Matrosses William Beeson, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Barton, £4 11s 3d William Brown, £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck, £4 11s 3d Richard Brown, £4 11s 3d John Bruce, £4 11s 3d John Cope, £4 11s 3d John Criswell, £4 11s 3d Thomas Collier, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clarke, £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner, £4 11s 3d William McCullough, £4 11s 3d Andrew Crichton, £4 11s 3d John Dowde, £4 11s 3d Edward Durrant, £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn, £4 11s 3d William McFarling, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 3d John Grainger, £4 11s 3d Robert Glenn, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward separately, £91 5s 0d Carried forward, £2,692 15s 0d **Interpretations**

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£4 11s 3d John Cope £4 11s 3d John Criswell £4 11s 3d Thomas Collier £4 11s 3d Thomas Cook £4 11s 3d Edmond Corner £4 11s 3d William McCullough £4 11s 3d Andrew Critchton £4 11s 3d John Dowde £4 11s 3d Edward Durrant £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn £4 11s 3d William McFarling £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows £4 11s 3d John Grainger £4 11s 3d Robert Glenn £4 11s 3d Matrosses Carried over£91 5s 0d Carried over£2689 15s 0d	The artillery was paid on a higher scale than the infantry at every level. A matross earned £4 11s 3d for the quarter, exactly 1s a day, against about 10d for an infantry private. Quarter gunners received 1s 6d a day and gunner's mates 2s. Working the guns demanded training in laying, loading and handling powder, and the island's defence rested chiefly on its batteries, so the Company paid more to keep skilled gunners. The quarter gunner took his name from the old naval practice of placing one such man in charge of every four guns. Isaac Buck was the discharged man who agreed on 26 March 1764 to serve out the remainder of George Streaight's contract as a matross. His full quarter's pay on this list shows he was already on the artillery's strength, perhaps having rejoined before taking over Streaight's term. John Criswell, the coxswain of the longboat on the civil list, drew a matross's pay as well, another soldier combining his military place with a civil task for the Company.
259	255	1764 Brought over£2689 15s 0d Matrosses brought over £91 5s 0d Nicholas Houghton £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hall £4 11s 3d James Hill £4 11s 3d William Johnson £4 11s 3d John Jack £4 11s 3d Richard Hampton £4 11s 3d Bryan Lynch £4 11s 3d Daniel Malory £4 11s 3d John Martin £4 11s 3d Barnard Millard £4 11s 3d Isaac Nowland £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble £4 11s 3d John Plack £4 11s 3d William Phillips £4 11s 3d William Poulton £4 11s 3d John Roberson Discharged Janry 30th £1 10s 0d Christopher Reynolds £4 11s 3d John Slater £4 11s 3d John Stone drowned Febry 3d £1 9s 0d George Straight Discharged March 26th £4 6s 0d	The payments to matrosses continued from the separate total of £91 5s 0d brought forward, with the overall list standing at £2,692 15s 0d. Brought forward, £2,692 15s 0d Matrosses brought forward, £91 5s 0d Nicholas Houghton, £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hall, £4 11s 3d James Hill, £4 11s 3d William Johnson, £4 11s 3d John Jack, £4 11s 3d Richard Kempton, £4 11s 3d Bryan Lynch, £4 11s 3d Daniel Malory, £4 11s 3d John Martin, £4 11s 3d Barnard Millard, £4 11s 3d Isaac Newland, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 3d John Pluck, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, £4 11s 3d John Robertson, discharged on 30 January 1764, £1 10s 0d Christopher Reynolds, £4 11s 3d John Slater, £4 11s 3d John Stow, drowned on 8 February 1764, £1 19s 0d George Streaight, discharged on 26 March 1764, £4 6s 0d Samuel Smith, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 3d Andrew Sullivan, £4 11s 3d William Tolson, £4 11s 3d John Smith, £4 11s 3d John Swone, £4 11s 3d John Thomasson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor, £4 11s 3d Thomas Wale, £4 11s 3d John Ward, £4 11s 3d John Webbley, £4 11s 3d Eustace White, £4 11s 3d Richard Willman, £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young, £4 11s 3d Total for matrosses, £240 8s 9d

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		Samuel Smith £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith £4 11s 3d Andrew Sullivan £4 11s 3d William Tralson £4 11s 3d John Smith £4 11s 3d John Twiner £4 11s 3d John Thomason £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts £4 11s 3d John Ward £4 11s 3d John Webbley £4 11s 3d Eustace White £4 11s 3d Richard Willman £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young £4 11s 3d £240 8s 9d £2903 3s 9d	Total pay and allowances for the quarter, £2,933 3s 9d **Interpretations** The Company's wage bill for the quarter came to £2,933 3s 9d, roughly £11,700 a year. Against this, the storekeeper's sales for the same three months brought in about £1,470, from servants, planters, ships and other buyers. Around half of every pound paid out in wages therefore returned to the treasury through the Company's own stores. Because the Company was both employer and main supplier, much of its payroll circulated back to it rather than leaving the island, which reduced the amount of coin that had to be shipped out from England. George Streaight drew a matross's pay up to his discharge on 26 March 1764 and also £9 0s 0d as armourer on the civil list for the whole quarter. He was evidently paid in both capacities for the same weeks, which confirms that he had been working as the garrison's armourer well before the Council formally released him from the ranks. James Hill, the bricklayer sent to Bencoolen in place of James Byrne, drew his full quarter as a matross before his discharge on 4 April 1764. John Stow drowned on 8 February 1764, three days before the infantryman Edward Law. Two soldiers drowning within a week of each other points to the real dangers of the sea around the island, whether in the boats at the landing or while fishing from the rocks.
260	256	16th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr To Cash received £3555 0s 1½d Carried over£3555 0s 1½d	The paymaster's account for the quarter charged Thomas Kirkpatrick with the cash he received. Thomas Kirkpatrick, debit Cash received, £3,555 0s 1½d Carried forward, £3,555 0s 1½d **Interpretations** Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick served as the island's paymaster as well as a member of Council and commander of the First Company. His account was set out in the standard double-entry form, in which the debit side recorded money for which he was answerable. Entering the full £3,555 0s 1½d he received from the treasury made him personally liable for that sum until he could show how it had been spent. The quarter's pay and allowances alone came to £2,933 3s 9d, so the balance of what he received had to be accounted for through other payments.
261	257	1764 Per Contra Cr 1764 Janry 1 By Cash paid Richard Lacy for attending as Clerk of Arraignments and Charles Lewis as Cryer of the Court the last Quarterly Sessions £1 5s 0d By Cash paid the Officers and Seamen belonging to the Fly Cutter Six Months Wages £175 10s 0d By Cash paid two Seamen belonging to Do 2 Mo Wages at £2 5s 0d p Month £22 10s 0d By Cash paid Capt. Harold in part of Charles Snakenburgs Wages for his service on board the Snow Mercury being left at the Cape £15 0s 0d By Cash paid Do for the payment of 939 lb Beef at the Cape for the use of the Honorable Companys Ship Royal George amount 39 Rix Dollars £7 16s 0d By Cash paid Do for his Expences of fresh Beef for his Ships Company	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account recorded the payments he made from the cash he received. Credit January 1764 Paid to Richard [...]aw for serving as clerk of arraignment at the last quarter sessions, £1 5s 0d Paid to Charles Lewes for serving as crier of the court at the same sessions, £0 12s 6d Paid to the officers and seamen of the cutter *Fly* for six months' wages, £175 10s 0d.Paid to four seamen of the *Fly* and to Mr Vagas at £2 5s 0d a month, £22 10s 0d.Paid to Captain Harrold towards the wages of Charles Snakenburg for his service aboard the snow *Mercury*, who was left at the Cape, £15 0s 0d.Paid to Captain Harrold for [...] lb of beef bought at the Cape for the Company ship *Royal George*, costing 39 rix-dollars, £7 16s 0d.Paid to Captain Harrold for 280 lb of fresh beef at 2 stivers a pound for his ship's company from 27 to 31 December 1763, £1 18s 4d. 31 March 1764 Paid to Benjamin Mason for 13½ loads of rushes for the Company's use this quarter, £2 7s 0d Paid to Mark Batts for baking [...] of bread for the garrison this quarter, £9 15s 0d

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		from the 27th to the 31st December 1763 being 280 lb at 2 Stivers p lb £1 18s 4d March 31 By Cash paid Benjamin Mason for 13½ Yards of Rushes for the use of the Honorable Company this Quarter £2 7s 0d By Cash paid Mark Batts for Baking 117 Bottles of Bread for the use of the Garrison this Quarter £9 15s 0d By Cash paid Richard Bagley for 325 Lemmons and 13 Cabages for the use of the Honorable Companys Table this Quarter £0 17s 10½d By Cash paid Robert Barclay for his Care in the Hospital of Thomas Evans Seaman belonging to the Mercury Snow 26 days at 1 p day £1 4s 7d By Cash paid Do for Do of John Tollock Boats and John Barker Seamen belonging to the Fly Cutter £1 4s 6d By Cash paid Matthew Bazett for 11 Loads of Bamboos for Pondon for the use of the Fort Church, Stable &c at 2s 6d p Load £1 7s 6d By Cash paid George Hillisham for Coopers Work on board the Mercury Snow 12 days at 4s p d £2 8s 0d By Cash paid Swits Fabians for repairing a Yard belonging to the Snow Mercury £1 10s 0d By Cash paid John Robson for 13 Weeks Work in the Armorers Shop this Quarter at 9s p Week £5 17s 0d By Cash paid William Mumford for 3 Weeks do at 6s p Week £0 18s 0d By Cash paid Robert Brown for Joiners Work done this Quarter £3 13s 6d By Cash paid William Finch for Glaziers Work this Quarter £0 12s 0d By Cash paid Richard Elphinston a discharged Man from the Snow Mercury the Balance of his Account £13 13s 4d By Cash paid the Officers and Men belonging to the Snow Mercury Six Months Wages amounting to £259 10s 0d Carried over£536 12s 1½d	Paid to Richard Bagley for 325 lemons and 13 cabbages for the Company's table this quarter, £0 17s 10½d Paid to Robert Barclay for nursing Thomas Carr, a seaman of the snow *Mercury*, in the hospital for 25 days at 7d a day, £0 14s 7d.Paid to Robert Barclay for nursing John Tollock and John Barker, seamen of the cutter *Fly*, £1 4s 6d. Paid to Matthew Bazett for 11 loads of bamboo at 2s 6d a load for binding at the fort church, the table and elsewhere, £1 7s 6d Paid to George Hillesham for 12 days' cooper's work aboard the snow *Mercury* at 4s a day, £2 8s 0d.Paid to Jules Fabians for repairing a yawl belonging to the snow *Mercury*, £1 10s 0d. Paid to John Dobson for 13 weeks' work in the armourer's shop this quarter at 9s a week, £5 17s 0d Paid to William Mumford for 3 weeks' work in the armourer's shop at 6s a week, £0 18s 0d Paid to Robert Brown for joiner's work this quarter, £3 13s 6d Paid to William Finch for glazier's work this quarter, £0 12s 0d Paid to Richard [...], a man discharged from the snow *Mercury*, as the balance of his account, £13 13s 4d.Paid to the officers and men of the snow *Mercury* for six months' wages, £259 10s 0d. Carried forward, £529 19s 1½d **Interpretations** The two small vessels were a heavy charge on the island's cash. Six months' wages for the *Mercury* and the *Fly* came to more than £430, besides repairs, nursing for sick crewmen and the settlement of a discharged seaman's account. The Company kept these craft to fetch provisions from the Cape, carry letters and watch for approaching ships. The *Mercury*'s voyage to the Cape explains why her crew needed a whole cable and heavy stores of salt meat in the storekeeper's account. It also accounts for the payments for beef bought there and for a seaman left behind. Purchases at the Cape were reckoned in the currency of the Dutch colony. The rix-dollar was the Dutch account dollar, here converted at 4s 0d sterling, and the stiver was a small copper coin worth one forty-eighth of a rix-dollar. Captain Harrold was the same William Harrold who had paid £600 0s 0d into the treasury on 26 March 1764 in return for bills of exchange. Several payments went to soldiers for extra work in their trades. William Mumford, a private in the First Company, earned 6s a week in the armourer's shop, and William Finch, another private, was paid for glazing. John Dobson, a private in the Second Company, earned 9s a week for a full quarter in the armourer's shop, more than doubling his military pay. The Company relied on the skills within its garrison for much of its routine repair work. The lemons for the Company's table probably went into punch and sauces, as well as serving as a guard against scurvy. The clerk of arraignment read the charges to prisoners at the quarter sessions, and the crier called the court to order and summoned witnesses, both paid by the sitting. Rushes were used for thatching and for strewing floors, and bamboo, strong and light, was used for binding and light framing.
262	258	16th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr 1764 March 31st To Cash received £3555 0s 1½d £3555 0s 1½d	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account, dated 31 March 1764, again charged him with the cash he received during the quarter. Thomas Kirkpatrick, debit 31 March 1764, cash received, £3,555 0s 1½d Total, £3,555 0s 1½d

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263	259	1764 Per Contra Cr 1764 March 31. Brought over£526 12s 1½d By Cash paid Solomon Jacobs for subsisting 17 discharged Soldiers 397 at 6 p day £9 18s 6d By Cash paid Henry Harper for the Rent of a Room for Norgueiah Pickollam this Quarter £1 0s 0d By Cash paid Robert Jewhurst for taking Care of the Honorable Company's Stock in the Long Wood this Quarter £2 10s 0d By Cash paid Richard Platfoot for instructing the Young Drums £1 0s 0d By Cash paid William Cockray for 50 days service on board the Fly Cutter at 1 p day £2 10s 0d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for 78 days Work in repairing the Road to the Long Wood and Ladder Hill £3 18s 0d By Cash paid Do for 100 days Work in the Pastures £5 0s 0d By Cash paid Do for 68 days repairing the Company's House £3 8s 0d By Cash paid Do for working in the Long Boat this Quarter £13 11s 0d By Cash paid Do for 119 day work in build a Wall for supporting the Water Course £5 19s 0d By Cash paid Do for 523½ days Work at the several Fortifications £26 3s 9d By Cash paid Do for 125½ days Working getting Wood to burn Lime £6 5s 6d By Cash paid Do for 72 days Carpenters Work £3 12s 0d By Cash paid Do for 8½ days Working getting Limestone £0 8s 6d By Cash paid Do for 85 days Work in the Stores £4 5s 0d By Cash paid Do for coming express with Accounts of Ships to Windward this Quarter £2 0s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Townsend for Work done by his Apprentice this Quarter £3 5s 0d £621 16s 4½d By Cash paid the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants their several Salary's Diet Money &c for the Quarter commencing Janry the 1st and ending March the 31st 1764 £2933 3s 9d £3555 0s 1½d Island St Helena 31st March 1763 Errors Excepted (signed) Pr Thos Kirkpatrick Council	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account continued from the £526 12s 1½d brought forward. 31 March 1764 Brought forward, £526 12s 1½d Paid to Solomon Jacob for keeping 17 discharged soldiers for 397 days at 6d a day, £9 18s 6d Paid to Henry Harper for rent of a room for [...] this quarter, £1 0s 0d Paid to Robert Tushurst for looking after the Company's livestock at Longwood this quarter, £2 10s 0d Paid to Richard Platfoot for teaching the young drummers, £1 0s 0d Paid to William Cockey for 50 days' service aboard the cutter *Fly* at 1s a day, £2 10s 0d. Paid to men of the garrison for 78 days' work repairing the road to Longwood and Ladder Hill, £3 18s 0d Paid to men of the garrison for 100 days' work in the pastures, £5 0s 0d Paid to men of the garrison for 68 days' work repairing the Company's houses, £3 8s 0d Paid to men of the garrison for working in the longboat this quarter, £13 11s 0d Paid to men of the garrison for 119 days' work building a wall to support the watercourse, £5 19s 0d Paid to men of the garrison for 523½ days' work at the various fortifications, £26 3s 9d Paid to men of the garrison for 125½ days' work cutting wood for burning lime, £6 5s 6d Paid to men of the garrison for 72 days' carpentry, £3 12s 0d Paid to men of the garrison for 8½ days' work quarrying limestone, £0 8s 6d Paid to men of the garrison for 85 days' work in the stores, £4 5s 0d Paid to men of the garrison for carrying urgent messages about ships sighted to windward this quarter, £2 0s 0d Paid to Thomas Townsend for work done by his apprentice this quarter, £3 5s 0d Total of payments, £621 16s 4½d Paid to the Company's officers and servants for salaries, diet money and allowances for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1764, £2,933 3s 9d Total, £3,555 0s 1½d Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account at St Helena on 31 March 1764, subject to the correction of any errors. **Interpretations** The garrison was the island's main labour force for public works. Soldiers were paid 1s a day on top of their pay for extra work on roads, fortifications, pastures, lime-burning and the stores, and more than 1,200 man-days of such work were recorded in this quarter alone. This arrangement gave the Company a ready supply of labour without hiring civilians, and gave the men a way to add substantially to their earnings. It also kept a large body of soldiers occupied on an island where there was otherwise little for them to do. The Company went on supporting discharged soldiers until a ship could carry them home. The 17 men released during the quarter, many of them on 13 March 1764, were kept at 6d a day while they waited for passage. They could not easily support themselves on the island, and leaving them destitute would have been a charge on the parish and a source of disorder. The payment for carrying urgent messages about ships to windward shows how the island's early-warning system worked. Lookouts on the high ground to the south-east, the direction from which ships approached, sent runners to the Castle as soon as a sail was sighted. The Council then had time to

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			prepare the batteries and fire alarms before the vessel came within range. Longwood was the high plateau in the east of the island where the Company grazed its cattle, and Ladder Hill rose above James Town on the western side of the valley. The wall to support the watercourse protected the channel that carried fresh water down to the town and the landing place for supplying ships. The account balanced exactly, with the £3,555 0s 1½d received matching the payments made.
264	260	16th April Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of March last, which is as follows vizt Cash Dr 1764 March the 1st To Balance remaining £5762 7s 3d 3d To Ship Plassey received the Balance of her Account £22 11s 11d To Ship Earl of Ashburnham recd Do £12 16s 3d 5 To Exchange for a set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr Jordan Bigger for £177 1s 11d 26th To Exchange for a set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to John Hallet Esqr for £600 0s 0d 27 To Account Current London for one Chest of Treasure received from Ship Duke of Richmond amounting by Sale to £1002 10s 0d 31 To James Cowle received of him for Stores sold in the Quarter ending this day £1464 0s 11d To Plantation for provisions sold £34 1s 11d To Licences for 10 Public Houses £15 0s 0d £9080 10s 2d £9080 10s 2d	The Council counted and examined the Company's cash for March 1764. The debit side of the cash account read as follows. Cash, debit 1 March 1764, balance in hand, £5,762 7s 3d 3 March 1764, received from the *Plassey* in settlement of her account, £22 11s 11d.3 March 1764, received from the *Earl of Ashburnham* in settlement of her account, £12 16s 3d. 5 March 1764, received for a set of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors payable to Jordan Bigger, £177 1s 11d 26 March 1764, received for a set of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors payable to John Hallet, £600 0s 0d 27 March 1764, received from the *Duke of Richmond* one chest of coin, counted at £1,002 10s 0d and charged to the London current account. 31 March 1764, received from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter ending that day, £1,454 0s 11d Received from the plantation for provisions sold, £34 1s 11d Received for licences for 10 public houses, £15 0s 0d Total, £9,080 10s 2d **Interpretations** The sum received from James Powell, £1,454 0s 11d, matches exactly the storekeeper's sales for the quarter: £1,151 16s 8d from the Company's servants and £302 4s 3d from the planters and other buyers. This cross-check between two separate books was the point of the monthly count. It proved that the goods the storekeeper recorded as sold had produced the cash he paid into the treasury, leaving no room for stores to be sold privately and the proceeds kept. The island's cash came from three distinct sources. Coin shipped from England, like the chest from the *Duke of Richmond*, was charged to the London current account as a debt of the island to the Company at home. It was counted by tale, meaning coin by coin rather than by weight. Bills of exchange sold to ship commanders and passengers, such as the £600 0s 0d from Captain Harrold on 26 March 1764, brought in coin locally in return for payment later in London. Sales of stores and provisions, along with ships settling their accounts, made up the rest. The 10 public-house licences at £1 10s 0d each gave the Council both revenue and control over the sale of drink. Only licensed houses could sell spirits by the glass, and the heavy sales of arrack at 40 per cent over cost probably supplied these same houses. The Company thus profited twice from drinking on the island, once on the wholesale spirits and again on the licence to retail them.
265	261	1764 Per Contra Cr 1764 March 31st By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salary &c in the Quarter ending this day £3555 0s 1½d By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt Pagodas	The credit side of the cash account for March 1764 read as follows. Cash, credit 31 March 1764, advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other payments in the quarter ending that day, £3,555 0s 1½d Balance in hand, held in the following coin 5,560 pagodas at 8s 0d each, £2,224 0s 0d

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		5560 Pagodas @ 8s £2224 0s 0d Rupees 525 Rupees @ 2s 3d £59 1s 3d French Crowns 441 French Crs @ 2s £3 13s 6d Pisterines 1640 Pisterines @ 1s £82 0s 0d Dollars 10468 Dollars @ 5s £2617 0s 0d Odd Money £0 0s 3½d £4985 15s 0½d Cash Notes of Hand amounting to £539 15s 0d £5525 10s 0½d £9080 10s 2d £9080 10s 2d	525 rupees at 2s 3d each, £59 1s 3d 441 French pieces at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 1,640 pistareens at 1s 0d each, £82 0s 0d 10,468 Spanish dollars at 5s 0d each, £2,617 0s 0d Odd money, £0 0s 3½d Total in coin, £4,985 15s 0½d Promissory notes, £539 15s 0d Total balance in hand, £5,525 10s 0½d Total, £9,080 10s 2d **Interpretations** The treasury held no English coin at all. Its balance lay almost entirely in Spanish dollars and Madras pagodas, with smaller sums in rupees, pistareens and French pieces, each valued at a fixed island rate. Sterling served purely as the money of account in which the books were kept. In England, by contrast, everyday dealing ran on the national coinage. St Helena's position on the route between Europe, America and Asia meant its money arrived in whatever silver and gold passing ships carried, and the Council had to fix rates so that every coin could be entered in pounds, shillings and pence. The Spanish dollar at 5s 0d was the backbone of the island's currency, making up more than half the coin in hand. The same rate was used to convert the Cape account for sheep and flour earlier in these records. The pistareen was a small Spanish silver coin worth about a fifth of a dollar, widely circulated in Atlantic trade. The pagoda was the gold coin of the Madras presidency, reaching the island aboard homeward ships from India. The promissory notes, amounting to £539 15s 0d, were written promises by individuals to pay the Company, counted as part of the balance. They show that credit ran through the treasury as well as coin. Officials and inhabitants could draw on the Company's cash against their signed notes, leaving the treasury dependent on their ability to repay.
266	262	16th April The Executors to the last Wills and Testaments of John Holloway and William Dicks Soldier deceased this day presented the said Wills desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Wills are as follow vizt In the Name of God Amen The second day of April in the Year of our Lord 1764 I John Holloway Soldier being very Sick and Weak in body but of perfect mind and Memory thanks be unto God therefore Calling unto mind the Mortallity of my Body and knowing that it is appointed for all Men once to die do make and Ordain this my last Will and Testament That is to say Principally and first all I give recommend my Soul into the hands of God that gave it and for my Body I recommend it to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like Manner and as touching such worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with in this Life I give devise and dispose of the same in following Manner and form Item I give to my beloved friend John Simmons Sergt whom I likewise Constitute make and Ordain My only and Sole Executor of this my last will and Testament all my pay arrears of pay and Every thing that is my	The executors named in the wills of John Holloway and William Dicks, both soldiers who had recently died, brought the wills before the Council and asked for them to be proved. The Council did so after the witnesses to each will gave evidence on oath. John Holloway made his will on 2 April 1764, while seriously ill but still clear in his mind. He committed his soul to God and asked that his body be given a Christian burial. He left everything he owned, including his pay and any arrears of pay, to his close friend Sergeant John Simmons. He also appointed Simmons as his sole executor and cancelled any earlier wills. Holloway signed and sealed the document in the presence of three witnesses: William Beckett, John Carey and John Robinson. William Dicks, another soldier, made his will on 31 March 1764 while he too was seriously ill. **Interpretations** The Council acted as the island's probate court, with the power to prove wills that in England would have gone before a church court. Proving a will on the oaths of its witnesses gave the executor legal authority to collect the dead man's estate and settle his debts. Without that step, the paymaster could not safely hand over a soldier's arrears to anyone. For a private soldier, the estate consisted almost entirely of money owed to him by the Company. Holloway's pay list entry showed him drawing his full quarter of £3 16s 0½d, since he was still alive on 31 March 1764. That sum, and anything else due to him, now passed to Sergeant Simmons. A will of this kind let a soldier choose who received his arrears, rather than leaving them to be claimed by creditors or swallowed by the Company. Both wills were made only days before death. Holloway made his on 2 April 1764 and died on 5

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		property, and I do hereby utterly disallow revoke and disannull all former wills and Testaments, by me made at any time ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my Hand and Seal the day and Year abovewritten Signed Sealed declared and published in the presence of us who have hereunto sett our Names as Witnesses (signed) (signed) Jno Holloway William Beckett John Cary John Robinson In the Name of God Amen The thirty first day of March in the Year of our Lord God 1764 I William Dicks Soldier being very Sick and Weak of Body but of	April, while Dicks made his on 31 March and died on 6 April. The witnesses were fellow soldiers from different companies: William Beckett was a private in the Second Company, John Carey a corporal in the Fourth and John Robinson a sergeant in the Third.
267	263	1764 of present mind and Memory thanks be to God for the same, and calling to mind the Mortality of the Body, and that it is appointed for all Men once to Die, and as to what worldly Goods and Effects it has pleased God to endow me with, I hereby dispose of as follows Item I give and bequeath to James Shade all my Cloathing as to Linen and wearing apparel and Chest also my Arrears of pay due to me, Except my last New Clothing which I leave to Captain Beale and I do hereby Acknowledge this to be my last will Testament and the within mentioned Person shall be the sole Executor of all I possess as Witness my Hand and Seal the beforementioned date Signed and Sealed In the presence of Us (signed) William his Dicks Mark + Test (signed) John Robinson Andrew Sullivan William Watkins + Mark On the 13th Instant we relisted William Cooksey to serve the Honorable Company five Years longer as a Soldier, and gave him ten pounds Bounty Money. Saturday the 14th George Hillesham Sergeant and John Marsh Centinel Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times Granted. Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	William Dicks declared that he was of sound mind and memory when he made his will, and that he was mindful that all men must die. He left all his clothing, including his linen, his other garments and his chest, to James Shad. Shad was also to receive the arrears of pay owed to Dicks. The only exception was Dicks's newest set of clothing, which he left to Captain Beale. He named Shad as sole executor of everything he owned. Dicks could not write, so he signed with his mark and added his seal. John Robinson, Andrew Sullivan and William Watkins witnessed the will, Watkins also signing with his mark. William Cooksey signed on for five more years as a soldier on 13 April 1764 and received a bounty of £10 0s 0d. On Saturday 14 April 1764, Sergeant George Hillesham and John Marsh, a private soldier, asked to leave the garrison because their contracted terms had ended. The Council approved both discharges. Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Dicks's bequest of his newest clothing to Captain Beale probably reflects how soldiers were clothed. Each captain received an allowance to supply his men's uniforms and recovered the cost through deductions from their pay. Dicks served in Beale's Third Company, and a recently issued suit might not yet have been paid for in full. Returning it to the captain would settle that debt cleanly and leave the rest of the estate free for his friend. Both Dicks and one of his witnesses signed with a mark, a reminder that many soldiers could not write. A will witnessed by comrades from different parts of the garrison, among them John Robinson, a sergeant, and Andrew Sullivan, a matross, gave the document credibility when it came before the Council for proof. George Hillesham, whose discharge was approved here, was the sergeant also paid earlier for cooper's work aboard the *Mercury*, and his trade would give him a living on the island once he left the ranks.
268	264	19th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th Day of April 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling	The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 19 April 1764. Governor Hutchinson attended with John Skottowe, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 16 April 1764.

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		Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 16th April 1764 Tuesday the 17th Arrived the Britannia's Boat at Bankss half an Hour past Eleven in the Morning Do Do the Britannia from China and brought Us the followg Supplies vizt Invoice of Ship Britannia Sugar vizt No 1 Tare 39 Gross 391 No 2 Tare 36 Gross 391 No 3 Tare 39 Gross 347 No 4 Tare 36 Gross 345 No 5 Tare 37 Gross 400 No 6 Tare 39 Gross 407 No 7 Tare 39 Gross 337 No 8 Tare 38 Gross 345 No 9 Tare 39 Gross 359 No 10 Tare 40 Gross 343 No 11 Tare 38 Gross 373 No 12 Tare 38 Gross 407 No 13 Tare 39 Gross 387 No 14 Tare 38 Gross 401 No 15 Tare 37 Gross 402 No 16 Tare 39 Gross 404 No 17 Tare 37 Gross 386 Tare 342 Gross 3328 Tare 306 Gross 3103 Tare 648 Gross 6431 Gross 648 Tare 5783 Nett Pecl 43.37 @ 4.5 T m p P T 195 1m 6c 5ca Tea Congo 8 Chests No 1 103 No 2 105 No 3 97 No 4 110 No 5 101 No 6 106 No 7 107 No 8 102 415 416 831 Gross 176 Tare 655 Nett Pecl 4.91 @ 26.5 T m p P T 130 1m 1c 5ca Carried over Tales T 328 2m 8c 0ca	The *Britannia*'s boat landed at Banks's at half past eleven on the morning of Tuesday 17 April 1764. The *Britannia* herself arrived from China the same day, bringing the following supplies. The invoice gave no column headings for the weights, which are identified here from the calculation of each total as gross and tare in pounds. Sugar Bag 1, tare 39 lb, gross 391 lb Bag 2, tare 36 lb, gross 391 lb Bag 3, tare 39 lb, gross 347 lb Bag 4, tare 36 lb, gross 345 lb Bag 5, tare 37 lb, gross 400 lb Bag 6, tare 39 lb, gross 407 lb Bag 7, tare 39 lb, gross 337 lb Bag 8, tare 38 lb, gross 345 lb Bag 9, tare 39 lb, gross 339 lb Bag 10, tare 40 lb, gross 343 lb Bag 11, tare 38 lb, gross 373 lb Bag 12, tare 38 lb, gross 407 lb Bag 13, tare 39 lb, gross 387 lb Bag 14, tare 38 lb, gross 401 lb Bag 15, tare 37 lb, gross 402 lb Bag 16, tare 39 lb, gross 404 lb Bag 17, tare 37 lb, gross 386 lb Tare for bags 1 to 9, 342 lb Gross for bags 1 to 9, 3,328 lb Tare for bags 10 to 17, 306 lb Gross for bags 10 to 17, 3,103 lb Total tare, 648 lb Total gross, 6,431 lb Net weight, 5,783 lb, or 43.37 piculs, at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 195 taels 1 mace 6 candareens 5 cash Congou tea, 8 chests Chest 1, gross 103 lb Chest 2, gross 105 lb Chest 3, gross 97 lb Chest 4, gross 110 lb Chest 5, gross 101 lb Chest 6, gross 106 lb Chest 7, gross 107 lb Chest 8, gross 102 lb Gross for chests 1 to 4, 415 lb Gross for chests 5 to 8, 416 lb Total gross, 831 lb Tare, 176 lb Net weight, 655 lb, or 4.91 piculs, at 26 taels 5 mace per picul, 130 taels 1 mace 1 candareen 5 cash Carried forward, 325 taels 2 mace 8 candareens 0 cash **Interpretations** The invoice was made out at Canton in Chinese money and weights. The tael was a weight of silver used as money, divided decimally into 10 mace, each of 10 candareens, each of 10 cash. The picul was the standard Chinese load of 100 catties, reckoned by the English at 133⅓ lb, which is why the clerk converted the net pounds into piculs before pricing. Tare was the weight of the bag or chest itself, deducted from the gross so that only the goods were paid for. The Canton prices explain why tea and sugar were so cheap on the island. The Company usually valued the tael at 6s 8d, which put Congou at about 1s 4d a pound when bought. The storekeeper's account for the first quarter of 1764 sold Congou to the Company's servants at about 1s 5d, little more than the purchase price, and far below what tea cost in England once duties were added. Sugar at 4 taels 5 mace a picul came to under 3d a pound in China, against the 4d charged to servants on the island. St Helena drew these goods straight from Canton aboard homeward ships, bypassing the English customs that made them costly at home.
269	265	1763 Brought over	The *Britannia*'s invoice continued from the 325 taels 2 mace 8 candareens brought forward.

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		T 328 2m 8c 0ca Singlo 7 Chests No 1 98 No 2 98 No 3 99 No 4 99 No 5 102 No 6 101 No 7 99 394 302 302 Gross 696 Gross 140 Tare 556 Nett Picl 4.17 @ 24 T p P T 100 0m 8c 0ca To 17 Chests at 500 m p Chest for Lead T 8 5m 0c 0ca T 433 8m 6c 0ca Canton December 31st 1763 Errors Excepted (signed) Thos Fitzhugh Samuel Blunt Henry Revel St Hilary Torreano Nathl Garland Alex Hume Mann Horner Benj Jonn Thos Smith Robt Jno Harrison William Dines Thos Bevan The following is the state of the Debts and Effects of Lieutenant Samuel Price deceased vizt	Brought forward, 325 taels 2 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Singlo tea, 7 chests Chest 1, gross 98 lb Chest 2, gross 98 lb Chest 3, gross 99 lb Chest 4, gross 99 lb Chest 5, gross 102 lb Chest 6, gross 101 lb Chest 7, gross 99 lb Gross for chests 1 to 4, 394 lb Gross for chests 5 to 7, 302 lb Total gross, 696 lb Tare, 140 lb Net weight, 556 lb, or 4.17 piculs, at 24 taels per picul, 100 taels 0 mace 8 candareens 0 cash Lead for lining 17 chests at 5 mace per chest, 8 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total, 433 taels 8 mace 6 candareens 0 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 31 December 1763 and signed, subject to correction of any errors, by the following. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Henry Revel Hillary Torriano Nathaniel Garland Alexander Hume Mann Horner Benjamin Torin Thomas Smith Robert John Harrison William Dines Thomas Bevan The Council then set out an account of the debts and property of the late Lieutenant Samuel Price. **Interpretations** The signatories were the Company's supercargoes at Canton, the merchants who managed its trade with China. Unlike the presidencies in India, the Company had no permanent settlement at Canton, so each season's supercargoes bought tea, silk and porcelain on the Company's behalf and shipped them on the homeward vessels. Their joint signature made the invoice binding and fixed the value of the goods sent to St Helena in the Company's books. Tea chests were lined with thin sheets of lead to keep out damp and sea air on the long voyage, which would otherwise spoil the leaf. The lining was charged separately, per chest, because it formed part of the packing rather than the goods. The account of Lieutenant Price's estate followed from the notice of 16 April 1764, which had summoned his creditors to present their claims before the Council on 19 April 1764, the day of this meeting.
270	266	Lieutenant Samuel Price Dr 1761 April 24th To Cash advanced by the Paymaster Capt. John Clark as p his Account £6 0s 0d May 9 To Do as p Do £2 0s 0d To Loss upon 300 Pistereens at 3d each being reduced from 1s 3d to 1s £3 15s 0d £11 15s 0d To Balance paid Sundry persons as pr their several Receipts £31 4s 2d £42 19s 2d Per Contra Cr 1761 April 24 By Account Sales £24 0s 0½d By Cash received for his full pay as Lieutenant from the 1st April to the 11th May both inc	The account of the late Lieutenant Samuel Price's estate set his debts against the value of his property and pay. Lieutenant Samuel Price, debit 24 April 1761, cash advanced by the paymaster, Captain John Clark, as shown in his account, £6 0s 0d 9 May 1761, further cash advanced by the paymaster, as shown in his account, £2 0s 0d Loss on 300 pistareens at 3d each, after their value fell from 1s 3d to 1s 0d, £3 15s 0d Subtotal, £11 15s 0d Balance paid to various creditors against their receipts, £31 4s 2d Total, £42 19s 2d Lieutenant Samuel Price, credit 24 April 1761, proceeds of the sale of his effects, £24 0s 1½d

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		£12 2s 0½d By Cash received for his half pay from the 12 May to the 28th June both inc £6 17s 0d £42 19s 2d **Margin Notes:** 19th April	Full pay as lieutenant from 1 April to 11 May 1761 inclusive, £12 2s 0½d Half pay from 12 May to 28 June 1761 inclusive, £6 17s 0d Total, £42 19s 2d **Interpretations** The Council cut the official value of the pistareen from 1s 3d to 1s 0d, and Price's estate bore the loss on the 300 coins he held. Money on the island was valued at rates the Council set, so any revaluation changed the worth of every coin in private hands overnight. By the cash count of 31 March 1764 the pistareen stood at 1s 0d, confirming that the lower rate had held. Where a coin was overvalued against its silver content, merchants had an incentive to bring it in and exchange it for better coin, and reducing its rate removed that profit at the holders' expense. Price's estate was wound up almost three years after the last entries, which date from 1761. The creditors were paid what they were owed out of the sale of his belongings and his outstanding pay, but the estate balanced exactly, with nothing left for any heir. The change from full to half pay on 12 May 1761 marked a reduction in his status, and the half pay ending on 28 June 1761 perhaps marked the date of his death.
271	267	1764 Pursuant to the Advertizement published on Monday last, the Creditors of the late Lieutenant Samuel Price this day appeared when we paid them their several dividends as p their following receipts vizt Island St Helena 19th April 1764 We the Underwritten Creditors of Lieutenant Samuel Price Decd do hereby acknowledge to have received of Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor &c Council of the said Island, the sum set against Our respective Names being three Shillings and eleven pence in the Pound, the proportion of the Debt due to Us from the Estate and Effects of the said Lieutenant Samuel Price upon this Island, and is in full discharge of our Debts. John Bland £8 1s 3½d The mark of Peg X Joe £0 4s 10½d Thomas Harper for Danl Jewkes £0 6s 2d Jerem Smith £0 12s 11½d Thos Kirkpatrick for William Moore £0 15s 8d John Desfountain £1 15s 5½d Henry Bazett £0 5s 10½d The Mark X of John £0 12s 3d William Price Brown £0 4s 1d Thomas Watts £1 1s 0d Jean Michelard £0 4s 3½d Thos Kirkpatrick for John Wheeler £2 12s 4½d Solon Jacob £1 6s 11d Elizabeth Kennedy £2 2s 3½d Thos Kirkpatrick for Richard Bagley	Following the notice published on Monday 16 April 1764, the creditors of the late Lieutenant Samuel Price came before the Council on 19 April 1764. The Council paid each of them a share of what they were owed and took their receipts. In their joint receipt, dated at St Helena on 19 April 1764, the creditors confirmed that Governor Hutchinson and the Council had paid them the sums set against their names. Each payment amounted to 3s 11d for every pound owed, the share of Price's estate on the island that fell to them. The creditors accepted these sums as full settlement of their debts. John Bland, £8 1s 3½d Peg Joe, by her mark, £0 4s 10½d Thomas Harper, on behalf of Daniel Fowkes, £0 6s 2d Jeremiah Smith, £0 12s 11½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, on behalf of William Moore, £0 15s 8d John Desfountain, £1 15s 5½d Henry Bazett, £0 5s 10½d John Price, by his mark, £0 12s 3d William Brown, £0 4s 1d Thomas Watts, £1 1s 6d Jean Michelant, £0 4s 3½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, on behalf of John Wheeler, £2 12s 4½d Solomon Jacob, £1 6s 11d Elizabeth Kennedy, £2 2s 3½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, on behalf of Richard Bagley, £0 11s 9d Matthew Purling, on behalf of Godfrey Jones, £0 15s 8d Thomas Kirkpatrick, on behalf of Charles Haggis, £0 16s 3d Matthew Bazett, on behalf of Captain William Larkins, £0 16s 5d No name entered, £0 1s 5d No name entered, £7 16s 8d Total, £31 4s 2d **Interpretations** Price's estate was insolvent, and the Council divided what remained among his creditors in proportion to their claims. Each received 3s 11d in the pound, less than a fifth of the debt. By signing the receipt, every creditor accepted that sum in full discharge, so no further claim could be pursued against the estate or against anyone who later handled

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		£0 11s 9d C Purling for Godfrey Jones £0 15s 8d Thos Kirkpatrick for Charles Haggis £0 16s 3d M Bazett for Captn Willm Larkins £0 16s 5d £0 1s 5d £7 16s 8d £31 4s 2d	Price's affairs. The Council thus performed on a small scale the work of a bankruptcy court, gathering the assets, publishing a call for claims and dividing the proceeds equally by the pound. The creditors ranged across the island's society. John Bland, the master mason, was owed the largest sum, over £40 before the reduction. Women appear in their own right, including Elizabeth Kennedy and Peg Joe, who signed with her mark. Several creditors were represented by members of the Council or officers, with Thomas Kirkpatrick alone collecting on behalf of four people. These were perhaps men absent from the island or at sea, whose claims were entrusted to a senior figure to receive and pass on.
272	268	19th April The Money due to Esther Norton and Banks Mitchell We have received into the Honorable Company's Cash and wrote off to Account Current London, the first of them being in England, and the other gone off the Island. Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 23d day of April 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 19th April 1764. John Allen Centinel We discharged the Garrison agreeable to the Honorable Company's Orders. Mr Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ship Britannia to Muster her Company and inquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows vizt Muster Roll of Ship Britannia Thomas Bates Heus Commr George Seton Chief Mate Alexr Crie 2d Do John Henan 3d Do John Tidd 4th Mate Richard Little 5th Do John Webb 6th Do Thomas Seward Surgeon Thos Hodgson Purser Richd Gilfillen Gunner Singleton Weeder Carpentr Willm Bredin Boatswain	The Council paid the shares due to Esther Norton and Banks Mitchell into the Company's treasury and transferred them to the London current account. Norton was in England and Mitchell had left the island, so neither could collect the money in person. Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Monday 23 April 1764. Governor Hutchinson attended with John Skottowe, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 19 April 1764. The Council discharged John Allen, a private soldier, from the garrison in accordance with the Company's orders. Matthew Purling reported that he had gone aboard the *Britannia* to muster her crew and search for deserters, but had found none. The ship's muster roll read as follows. Thomas Bates, commander George Seton, chief mate Alexander Crie, second mate John Honan, third mate John Tidd, fourth mate Richard Little, fifth mate John Webb, sixth mate Thomas Seward, surgeon Thomas Hodgson, purser Richard Gilfillan, gunner Singleton Weaver, carpenter William Breden, boatswain **Interpretations** The two unnamed sums in the distribution of Lieutenant Price's estate were probably the shares of Esther Norton and Banks Mitchell. Since neither could sign a receipt on the island, the Council could not pay them directly. Transferring the money to the London current account moved the obligation to the Company's books at home, where Norton could claim her share in England and Mitchell wherever he could reach a Company office. The creditors' rights were preserved while the island's accounts were cleared.
273	269	1764 Joseph Malleson Cooper Thos Banks Capt Stewd James Dundas Midshipman Robert Seton Do Walter Greeves Do Joseph Bailey Do Thos Nicholds Do Wm Short Do John Stocks Quartr Masters George Thompson Do Willm Shields Do Amos Forrester Do	The *Britannia*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew. Joseph Malleson, cooper Thomas Banks, captain's steward James Dundas, midshipman Robert Seton, midshipman Walter Greaves, midshipman Joseph Bailey, midshipman Thomas Nicholds, midshipman William Short, midshipman John Stocks, quartermaster George Thompson, quartermaster William Shields, quartermaster

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		Ivory Shoulbrook Do	Amos Forrester, quartermaster
		Alx McMullin Surg Mate	Perry Shoulbrook, quartermaster
		Samuel Clough Sailmaker	Alexander McMullin, surgeon's mate
		Steph Bickenham Carpr Mate	Samuel Clough, sailmaker
		Willm Reed Coopers Mate	Stephen Bickenham, carpenter's mate
		Thos Gill Gunners Mate	William Reid, cooper's mate
		Richard Davis Caulker	Thomas Gill, gunner's mate
		Griffin Bond Caulkers Mate	Richard Davis, caulker
		Edward Clark Boatn Mate	Griffin Bond, caulker's mate
		Thos Hutchinson Armorer	Edward Clark, boatswain's mate
		James Malcome Ships Cook	Thomas Hutchinson, armourer
		Charles Morley Joiner	James Malcolm, ship's cook
		Henry Green Butcher	Charles Morley, joiner
		John Finson Poulterer	Henry Green, butcher
		William Jones Taylor	John Finton, poulterer
		Alexandr McCrally Boatn	William Jones, tailor
		Henry Fred Thompson Capt Servt	Alexander McCrally, [...]
		John Congleton Do	Henry Frederick Thompson, captain's servant
		Jonath Rose Chief Mates Do	John Congleton, captain's servant
		Thomas Moore 2d Do Do	Jonathan Rose, chief mate's servant
		Sayby Dymond Surgs Do	Thomas Moore, second mate's servant
		Willm Atkins Gunners Do	Sixby Dymond, surgeon's servant
		John Upton Carpentrs Do	William Atkins, gunner's servant
		Isaac Scotton Seaman	John Upton, carpenter's servant
		Thomas Pym	Isaac Scotton, seaman
		Thomas Hockner	Thomas Pym
		John Daney	Thomas Rockner
		Thomas Cream	John Janey
		Jonath Langley	Thomas Cream
		John Young	Jonathan Langley
		Thomas West	John Young
		John Rhodes	Thomas West
		Abrah Thomas	John Rhodes
		Stephen Jores	Abraham Thomas
		Jonath Martin	Stephen Jones
		David Davis	Jonathan Martin
		James Jochart	David Davis
		Bryon Gore	James Lockhart
		William Thompson	Bryan Gore
		Phillip Pattison	William Thompson
		Joseph Heathead	Phillip Pattison
		John Havous	Joseph Heathcoat
		Daniel McNeal	John Havers
		William Joalner Seaman	Daniel McNeal
		John Thomas	William Faulkner, seaman
		Donanick Pearn	John Thomas
		Henry Mayor	Dominick Pearn
		Nicholds Gemby	Henry Mayor
		Anthoney Joseph	Nicholas Gemby
		John Moore	Anthony Joseph
		Thoms Hewet	John Moore
		Henry Blanch	Thomas Hewet
		Willm Groves	Henry Blanch
		Edward Cane	William Groves
		Alexr Cameron	Edward Cane
		Thomas Brenon	Alexander Cameron
		James Mitell	Thomas Beanon
		Edward Southcorne	James Mitell
		Jake Silvester	Edward Southcombe
		Thomas Bearing	Luke Silvester
		Jacob Caster	Thomas Beering
		Michael Gaugh	Jacob Easter
		John Shorhet	Michael Gough
		Edward Anton	John Sherbet
		Robert Campbell	Edward Anston
		John Varney	Robert Campbell
		Thomas Kirby	John Varney
		Latham Boseman	Thomas Kirby
		John Sills	Latham Bateman
		Joseph Charston	John Sills
		Alexr Gloster	Joseph Charston
		Passengers	Alexander Gloster
		One Invalid from Bombay	Passengers
		One French gentleman	1 invalid from Bombay
		Four Do Petty Officers	1 French gentleman
		Twenty nine Do Common Men.	4 French petty officers

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		Pursuant to the Orders in Consultation of the 16th Instant, the Inhabitants this day assembled at the Chappel in this Valley to chuse Parish Officers for the ensuing Year and likewise to return three of the principal Inhabitants, that one might be elected to serve the Office	29 French common seamen As the Council had directed on 16 April 1764, the island's inhabitants met that day at the chapel in the valley. They gathered to choose the parish officers for the coming year and to put forward three leading inhabitants, so that one of them could be chosen to hold office. **Interpretations** The 34 Frenchmen travelling as passengers were perhaps prisoners of war being sent home after the peace, which the island had proclaimed on 31 March 1764. Many French officers and seamen had been captured in India during the war, and the treaty required their release. Company ships returning from the East carried them to Europe. For the Council, their presence meant a body of foreign sailors in the road that had to be watched while the *Britannia* lay at anchor. The roll shows how an East Indiaman carried her own self-contained household. Besides the seamen, she shipped a butcher, a poulterer to tend the live birds kept for the officers' table, a tailor, an armourer and a joiner. Each senior officer had a personal servant, and the captain two. On a voyage lasting well over a year, the ship had to supply and repair almost everything herself.
274	270	23d April Office of Sherriff and to chuse a Proper Person to serve in that of Constable, they accordingly returned the following Persons vizt Messrs Richard Bagley James Cowle John Desfountain Sherriffs Roderick Marchant Constable John Desfountain Francis Wrangham Church Wardens Orlando Bagley Senr Jonathan Dowdon Do James Cotgrave John Warrall Overseers of the East Division Benjamin Mason Gabriel Jracke Do of the West Do William Seale Jr James Easthope Do of the South Do We appointed Mr Richard Bagley to serve the Office of Sherriff and ordered Warrants to be drawn for Messrs John Desfountain and Francis Wrangham Church Wardens, and James Cotgrave Benjamin Mason and William Seale Junr Overseers The Storekeeper this day brought in the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Britannia vizt Account of Stores Short recd from Ship Britannia vizt 1 Chest Single Tea wt 78 lb Short delivered St Helena (signed) 23d April 1764 J Cowle Storekeepr Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The vestry was also asked to nominate candidates for sheriff and to choose a suitable man as constable. The inhabitants returned the following names. Richard Bagley, nominated for sheriff James Powell, nominated for sheriff John Desfountain, nominated for sheriff Roderick Marchant, constable John Desfountain, nominated for churchwarden Francis Wrangham, nominated for churchwarden Orlando Bagley senior, nominated for churchwarden Jonathan Dodson, nominated for churchwarden James Cotgrave, nominated for overseer of the East Division John Warrall, nominated for overseer of the East Division Benjamin Mason, nominated for overseer of the West Division Gabriel Tracke, nominated for overseer of the West Division William Seale junior, nominated for overseer of the South Division James Easthope, nominated for overseer of the South Division The Council appointed Richard Bagley as sheriff. It ordered warrants to be issued appointing John Desfountain and Francis Wrangham as churchwardens, and James Cotgrave, Benjamin Mason and William Seale junior as overseers. The storekeeper presented an account of stores delivered short from the *Britannia*, which showed one chest of Singlo tea short by 7½ lb. James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 23 April 1764. Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The inhabitants nominated, but the Council appointed. In England the vestry usually chose its own churchwardens, and overseers of the poor were appointed by local magistrates. At St Helena the Council held every one of these powers, issuing its own warrants for church and parish officers as well as selecting the sheriff. The settlers had a voice in

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			proposing names, but the Company kept control over who held any local office, however minor. In every pair and group, the Council chose the first name the vestry had put forward. The order in which the inhabitants returned their candidates evidently signalled their preference, and the Council followed it. This let the Company keep formal authority while avoiding friction with the settlers over parish appointments. The island's parish was divided into East, West and South Divisions for the relief of the poor, each with its own overseer. The candidates were drawn from the island's established families and from Company servants. James Powell, the storekeeper, was nominated for sheriff, and Richard Bagley, the man appointed, had supplied lemons and cabbages to the Company's table and was a creditor of Lieutenant Price.
275	271	30th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th Day of April 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed, dated the 23d April 1764 Thursday the 26th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Britannia for England Saturday the 28th Arrived the Egmonts Boat at Bankss twelve o'Clock at Noon. Do Do Arrived the Hectors Boat at Do a Quarter past twelve o'Clock at Noon Do Do Arrived the Egmont and Hector from China Do Do Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the King of Denmark Capt. Smit burther 900 Tons, carrys 26 Guns, and 140 Men loaden with Tea, China Ware and Silks, bound to Copenhagen This day Arrived Admiral Cornish with his Majesty's Ships Norfolk, Elizabeth, Chatham and America from the Cape Do the Hawkes Boat at Bankss at ten o'Clock in the forenoon Do the Honble Company's Ship Hawke from China The Egmont and Hector brought Us the following Supply vizt Invoice of Ship Egmont China Ware 9 Chests vizt Bowles 30 sets B White 150 Bowles @ 850 p T 25 5m 0c 0ca Saucers of 2 patt 317 Saucers @ 25 T 7 9m 2c 5ca Sallad dishes 30 dishes @ 90 T 2 7m 0c 0ca Half pint Cups and Saucers 150 Cups and Saucers @ 45 p T 6 7m 5c 0ca Quarter pt Cups and Saucers 150 Cups and Saucers @ 30 T 4 5m 0c 0ca Guglets and Basons 30 Guglets and Basons @ 280 T 8 4m 0c 0ca Chamber pots 30 pots @ 190 T 5 7m 0c 0ca Baking dishes 24 dishes @ 300	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 30 April 1764. Governor Hutchinson attended with John Skottowe, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 23 April 1764. The Company ship *Britannia* sailed for England on Thursday 26 April 1764. On Saturday 28 April the *Egmont*'s boat landed at Banks's at noon, followed by the *Hector*'s boat at a quarter past twelve. Both ships arrived from China later that day. A Danish ship from China, the *King of Denmark*, also came in on 28 April under Captain Smit. She was a vessel of 900 tons with 26 guns and 140 men, carrying tea, porcelain and silks to Copenhagen. On 30 April 1764 Admiral Cornish arrived from the Cape with the King's ships *Norfolk*, *Elizabeth*, *Chatham* and *America*. The *Hawke*'s boat landed at Banks's at ten that morning, and the Company ship *Hawke* herself arrived from China the same day. The *Egmont* and the *Hector* delivered supplies to the island. The *Egmont*'s invoice listed nine chests of porcelain. 30 sets of blue and white bowls, 150 bowls in all, at 8 mace 5 candareens per set, 25 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 317 punch bowls in 2 patterns at 2 candareens 5 cash each, 7 taels 9 mace 2 candareens 5 cash 30 salad dishes at 9 candareens each, 2 taels 7 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 150 half-pint cups and saucers at 4 candareens 5 cash per pair, 6 taels 7 mace 5 candareens 0 cash 150 quarter-pint cups and saucers at 3 candareens per pair, 4 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 30 goglets and basins at 2 mace 8 candareens each, 8 taels 4 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 30 chamber pots at 1 mace 9 candareens each, 5 taels 7 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 24 baking dishes at 3 mace each, 7 taels 2 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 50 quart teapots at 9 candareens each, 4 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 50 pint teapots at 6 candareens each, 3 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 5 sets of table dishes and plates at 1 tael 8 mace per set, 9 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 12 soup dishes at 5 mace each, 6 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 200 soup plates at 4 candareens 3 cash each, 8 taels 6 mace 0 candareens 0 cash 12 sauce boats at 6 candareens each, 0 taels 7 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Total, 181 taels 4 mace 9 candareens 5 cash Less 2 per cent allowed for breakage, 3 taels 6 mace 2 candareens 9 cash Net, 177 taels 8 mace 6 candareens 6 cash

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		T 7 2m 0c 0ca Quart Tea Pots 50 Pots @ 90 T 4 5m 0c 0ca Pint Do 50 Pots @ 60 T 3 0m 0c 0ca Table setts dishes & plates 50 setts 5 @ 1800 T 90 0m 0c 0ca Soop dishes 12 dishes @ 500 T 6 0m 0c 0ca Soop Plates 200 Plates @ 43 T 8 6m 0c 0ca Sauce Boats 12 Boats @ 60 T 0 7m 2c 0ca T 181 4m 9c 5ca Allowed for Breakage 2 p C T 3 6m 2c 9ca T 177 8m 6c 6ca Carried over T 177 8m 6c 6ca	Carried forward, 177 taels 8 mace 6 candareens 6 cash **Interpretations** Admiral Samuel Cornish commanded the Royal Navy's squadron in the East Indies during the war just ended, including the capture of Manila from Spain in 1762. His four ships of the line were returning home after the peace, and their arrival alongside three Company ships and a Danish East Indiaman filled the road with several thousand men. Such a gathering placed heavy demands on the island's water, fresh meat and vegetables, and on the Council's authority over sailors ashore. The Council recorded the Danish ship's tonnage, guns and crew in detail. Foreign ships were admitted to the road for water and provisions, but the Company watched them closely as potential rivals and, in wartime, as potential enemies. A 900-ton ship carrying 26 guns and 140 men was a substantial armed vessel, and noting her strength was a routine piece of intelligence gathering. The porcelain was priced in the smallest units of Chinese money, down to the cash, a thousandth of a tael. The invoice deducted 2 per cent at Canton as an allowance for breakage on the voyage, since some fragile ware was bound to arrive broken however carefully packed. That allowance meant the island paid only for the pieces expected to survive, shifting the ordinary risk of breakage onto the Company's account rather than the buyer's.
276	272	30th April Brought over T 177 8m 6c 6ca Sugar and Candy 14 Chests vizt No 21 Tare 40 Gross 366 No 22 Tare 38 Gross 367 No 23 Tare 37 Gross 361 No 24 Tare 40 Gross 364 No 25 Tare 38 Gross 373 No 26 Tare 37 Gross 369 No 27 Tare 37 Gross 367 No 28 Tare 39 Gross 364 No 29 Tare 39 Gross 364 No 30 Tare 41 Gross 363 No 31 Tare 41 Gross 374 No 32 Tare 38 Gross 361 No 33 Tare 40 Gross 376 No 34 Tare 47 Gross 384 Tare 267 Gross 2567 Tare 275 Gross 2886 Tare 275 Gross 2886 Tare 542 Gross 5153 Gross 542 Tare 4611 Nt Ps 34.58.76 T 262 8m 0c 8ca Chests 14 at 500 m p Chest for Lead T 7 0m 0c 0ca T 447 6m 7c 4ca Canton Janry 27th 1764 Errors Excepted (signed) Thos Fitzhugh Samuel Blunt Hillary Torreane Nath Garland Alx Hume Mam Honer Thomas Smith Robert Jno Harrison William Dines Thos Bevan Invoice of Ship Hector Tea Congo 9 Chests No 9 106 No 10 103 No 11 105 No 12 106	The *Egmont*'s invoice continued from the 177 taels 8 mace 6 candareens 6 cash brought forward. As before, the weight columns carry no headings and are identified from the totals as tare and gross in pounds. Brought forward, 177 taels 8 mace 6 candareens 6 cash Sugar and sugar candy, 14 chests Chest 21, tare 40 lb, gross 366 lb Chest 22, tare 38 lb, gross 367 lb Chest 23, tare 37 lb, gross 361 lb Chest 24, tare 40 lb, gross 364 lb Chest 25, tare 38 lb, gross 373 lb Chest 26, tare 37 lb, gross 369 lb Chest 27, tare 37 lb, gross 367 lb Tare for chests 21 to 27, 267 lb Gross for chests 21 to 27, 2,567 lb Chest 28, tare 39 lb, gross 364 lb Chest 29, tare 39 lb, gross 364 lb Chest 30, tare 41 lb, gross 363 lb Chest 31, tare 41 lb, gross 374 lb Chest 32, tare 38 lb, gross 361 lb Chest 33, tare 40 lb, gross 376 lb Chest 34, tare 37 lb, gross 384 lb Tare for chests 28 to 34, 275 lb Gross for chests 28 to 34, 2,586 lb Total gross, 5,153 lb Total tare, 542 lb Net weight, 4,611 lb, or 34.58 piculs, at 7 taels 6 mace per picul, 262 taels 8 mace 0 candareens 8 cash Lead for lining 14 chests at 5 mace per chest, 7 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total, 447 taels 6 mace 7 candareens 4 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 27 January 1764 and signed, subject to correction of any errors, by the following. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Hillary Torriano Nathaniel Garland Alexander Hume Mann Horner Thomas Smith Robert John Harrison William Dines Thomas Bevan

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		No 13 105 No 14 101 No 15 104 No 16 99 No 17 107 938 Gross 198 Tare 411 Gross 740 Nett Pecl 5.55 at 26.5 T m p Picl T 147 7m 5c 0ca Carried over T 147 7m 5c 0ca	The *Hector*'s invoice listed nine chests of Congou tea. Chest 9, gross 106 lb Chest 10, gross 108 lb Chest 11, gross 105 lb Chest 12, gross 106 lb Chest 13, gross 103 lb Chest 14, gross 101 lb Chest 15, gross 104 lb Chest 16, gross 99 lb Chest 17, gross 107 lb Gross for chests 14 to 17, 411 lb Total gross, 938 lb Tare, 198 lb Net weight, 740 lb, or 5.55 piculs, at 26 taels 5 mace per picul, 147 taels 0 mace 7 candareens 5 cash Carried forward, 147 taels 0 mace 7 candareens 5 cash **Interpretations** The sugar and candy shipped in the *Egmont* cost 7 taels 6 mace a picul, well above the 4 taels 5 mace paid for plain sugar in the *Britannia*'s invoice dated 31 December 1763. The higher price reflects the sugar candy mixed into this consignment, a refined product crystallised slowly into hard lumps and far dearer to make than ordinary sugar. It was the candy that the storekeeper sold at nearly twice the price of sugar in the island's accounts. The Congou in the *Hector* was bought at exactly the same price as the *Britannia*'s, 26 taels 5 mace a picul. Tea prices at Canton were set by the season's contracts with the Chinese merchants, so every Company ship loading that year paid the same rate for the same grade. That uniformity let the island's storekeeper price tea from different ships consistently.
277	273	1764 Brought over T 147 7m 5c 0ca Sugar and Candy 20 Chests No 1 Tare 38 Gross 352 No 2 Tare 39 Gross 380 No 3 Tare 41 Gross 371 No 4 Tare 41 Gross 361 No 5 Tare 41 Gross 380 No 6 Tare 39 Gross 364 No 7 Tare 39 Gross 378 No 8 Tare 39 Gross 366 No 9 Tare 39 Gross 381 No 10 Tare 40 Gross 365 No 11 Tare 38 Gross 363 No 12 Tare 38 Gross 359 No 13 Tare 39 Gross 361 No 14 Tare 41 Gross 372 No 15 Tare 37 Gross 369 No 16 Tare 39 Gross 359 No 17 Tare 38 Gross 379 No 18 Tare 39 Gross 372 No 19 Tare 38 Gross 372 No 20 Tare 37 Gross 375 Tare 396 Gross 3698 Gross Tare 384 Gross 3681 Tare 384 Gross 3681 Tare 780 Gross 7379 Gross Nett 6599 lb Ps 49.49 @ T 7.6 p P T 376 1m 2c 4ca To 20 Chests at 500 m p Chest for Lead T 10 0m 0c 0ca Tales T 533 1m 9c 9ca Canton Janry 20th 1764 Errors Excepted (signed) Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Henry Revell Nathl Garland Alexr Hume	The *Hector*'s invoice continued from the 147 taels 0 mace 7 candareens 5 cash brought forward. The weight columns again carry no headings and are identified from the totals as tare and gross in pounds. Brought forward, 147 taels 0 mace 7 candareens 5 cash Sugar and sugar candy, 20 chests Chest 1, tare 38 lb, gross 352 lb Chest 2, tare 39 lb, gross 380 lb Chest 3, tare 41 lb, gross 371 lb Chest 4, tare 41 lb, gross 361 lb Chest 5, tare 41 lb, gross 380 lb Chest 6, tare 39 lb, gross 364 lb Chest 7, tare 39 lb, gross 378 lb Chest 8, tare 39 lb, gross 366 lb Chest 9, tare 39 lb, gross 381 lb Chest 10, tare 40 lb, gross 365 lb Tare for chests 1 to 10, 396 lb Gross for chests 1 to 10, 3,698 lb Chest 11, tare 38 lb, gross 363 lb Chest 12, tare 38 lb, gross 359 lb Chest 13, tare 39 lb, gross 361 lb Chest 14, tare 41 lb, gross 372 lb Chest 15, tare 37 lb, gross 369 lb Chest 16, tare 39 lb, gross 359 lb Chest 17, tare 38 lb, gross 379 lb Chest 18, tare 39 lb, gross 372 lb Chest 19, tare 38 lb, gross 372 lb Chest 20, tare 37 lb, gross 375 lb Tare for chests 11 to 20, 384 lb Gross for chests 11 to 20, 3,681 lb Total tare, 780 lb Total gross, 7,379 lb Net weight, 6,599 lb, or 49.49 piculs, at 7 taels 6 mace per picul, 376 taels 1 mace 2 candareens 4 cash Lead for lining 20 chests at 5 mace per chest, 10 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total, 533 taels 1 mace 9 candareens 9 cash

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		Mann Horner Benj Tonn Thos Smith Robt John Harrison Willm Douse Thoms Bevan Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The invoice was dated at Canton on 20 January 1764 and signed, subject to correction of any errors, by the following. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Henry Revell Nathaniel Garland Alexander Hume Mann Horner Benjamin Torin Thomas Smith Robert John Harrison William Rouse Thomas Bevan Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The dates on the three Canton invoices show how long the passage from China took. The *Britannia*'s invoice was signed on 31 December 1763 and she reached the island on 17 April 1764, a voyage of about 15 weeks. The *Hector*, invoiced on 20 January 1764, and the *Egmont*, invoiced on 27 January, both arrived on 28 April, taking roughly 13 to 14 weeks. The homeward ships left Canton in a staggered sequence as each finished loading, but the monsoon winds and currents brought them to St Helena at similar intervals. Together the three ships landed more than 16,000 lb of sugar and candy and nearly 2,000 lb of tea for the island, invoiced at over 1,400 taels. At the Company's usual rate of 6s 8d to the tael, that came to around £470 of goods from China in a single month, enough to keep the stores supplied for several quarters at the rate of sale recorded in the storekeeper's accounts.
278	274	4th May At a Consultation held on Friday the 4th Day of May 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed and dated the 30th April 1764 Mr Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ships Egmont, Hector and Hawke to Muster their Company's and inquire for deserters but found none Their Muster Rolls is as follows vizt Muster Roll of Ship Egmont Chas Mears Commander John Soader 1st Mate James Williamson 2d Do William Mears 3d Do Andrew Lucy 4th Do Robert Craig 6th Do George Cupis Surgeon Thomas Stone Purser John Hilliard Gunner John Johnston Carpentr Joseph Martin Boatswn Robt Strachan Ships Stewd James Marsden Captns Do William Fuller Cooper Josph Jones Caulker James Godmen Ships Cook Jerem Dunacan Armorer Valintin Cecill Sailmaker Anur Cavour Butcher	The Council met at the Castle on Friday 4 May 1764. Governor Hutchinson attended with John Skottowe, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 30 April 1764. Matthew Purling reported that he had gone aboard the *Egmont*, the *Hector* and the *Hawke* to muster their crews and search for deserters, but had found none. The muster rolls were entered, beginning with that of the *Egmont*. Charles Mears, commander John Snader, first mate James Williamson, second mate William Mears, third mate Andrew Lucy, fourth mate Robert Craig, fifth mate George Capes, surgeon Thomas Stone, purser John Hilliard, gunner John Johnston, carpenter Joseph Martin, boatswain Robert Strachan, ship's steward James Marsden, captain's steward William Fuller, cooper Joseph Jones, caulker James Goodman, ship's cook Jeremiah Donovan, armourer Valentine Cecil, sailmaker Amos Carver, butcher James Lawson, baker Thomas Hamilton, surgeon's mate James Griffin, carpenter's mate Thomas Jones, carpenter's second mate Edward Ladd, caulker's mate Jasper Weymouth, boatswain's mate Francis Lindsey, gunner's first mate

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		James Lawson Baker Thos Hamilton Surgs Mate James Griffin Carpentrs Mate Thomas Jones Carpr Mate Edward Ladd Caulkers Do Jasper Weymouth Boats Do Francis Lindsey Gunrs Do Charles Moir Do 2d Do James White Coopers Do Christopher Savibrige Poultr Francis Loulston Taylor John Frame Barber Edwd Thorenhill Midshipman Matthew Williamson Do Richd Duckett Do Peter Simpson Do Edwd Heathcoat Do Ralph Walker Coxswain Dennis Henady Quartermast Thos Stephenson Do James Moorhead Do John Askew Do Hendrey Hare Do Alex Hewey Do Colin Stewart Seaman John Evans Seaman George Braswel Richd Randall Willm Hellos William Tomlison David Anderson Robert Blackburn John Furse William Gamble Willm Brown Matthew Wilson Geo. Christian Thomas Cameron William Lambert Andrew Henderson Phillip Young Andrew Thompson Richard Hollis Alex Hewitt David Carrie Francis Hart Matthew Antonio	Charles Moor, gunner's second mate James White, cooper's mate Christopher Savibrige, poulterer Francis Soulston, tailor John Frame, barber Edward Thorenhill, midshipman Matthew Williamson, midshipman Richard Duckett, midshipman Peter Simpson, midshipman Edward Heathcoat, midshipman Ralph Walker, midshipman and [...] Dennis Kennedy, quartermaster Thomas Stephenson, quartermaster James Moorhead, quartermaster John Askew, quartermaster Hendrey Hare, quartermaster Abraham Hevery, quartermaster Colin Steward, seaman John Evans, seaman George Braswel, seaman Ralph Randall, seaman William Hellos, seaman William Tomlinson, seaman David Anderson, seaman Robert Blackburn, seaman John Furse, seaman William Gamble, seaman William Brown, seaman Matthew Wilson, seaman George Christian, seaman Thomas Cameron, seaman William Lambert, seaman Andrew Henderson, seaman Phillip Young, seaman Andrew Thompson, seaman Richard Hollis, seaman Alexander Hewlett, seaman David Carrie, seaman Francis Hart, seaman Matthew Antonio, seaman
279	275	1764 Phillip Foxara Seaman David Brand Robert Dileman James Phillips John Garignon Jaffry Jacque Samuel Allen Edward Gillard James Mansey Seaman Thomas Mahelston Thomas Jagles William Burrus William Swingerton William Smith William Ferrington James Singleton Robert Thornton Seaman Arthur Gragneys Gilbert Gardner David Beeridge James Duckes Thomas Lewis Cornwaile Cezar Passengers Mr Thomas Bevan Supracargo Hugh McCordie Do Servant	The *Egmont*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her seamen, her passengers and the commander's signature. Phillip Fexara, seaman David Brand, seaman Robert Dileman, seaman James Phillips, seaman John Garignon, seaman Jaffry Jacque, seaman Samuel Allen, seaman Edward Gillard, seaman James Mansey, seaman Thomas Mahelston, seaman Thomas Ingles, seaman William Burns, seaman William Swingston, seaman William Smith, seaman William Farrington, seaman James Singleton, seaman Robert Thornton, seaman Arthur Magneys, seaman Gilbert Gardner, seaman David Beveridge, seaman James Ducks, seaman Thomas Lewis, seaman Cornwall, seaman Cezar, seaman Passengers

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		(signed) Charles Mears Muster Roll of Ship Hector John Williams Commander Geo Drake Chief Mate William Elphinstone 2d Do Henry Hawker 3d Do William Brown 4th Do John Thompson 5th Do Hercules Mills 6th Do Wm Hamson Purser Robert Stevens Surgeon Wm Bunten Gunner Matt Cotton Carpenter James Freeman Boatswain James Watson Ships Steward James Barker Capt Do Thomas Mitchell Capt Cook Richard Hastings Ships Do Thos Firon Cooper Jno Mayfield Caulker Thos Thorwood Midshipman Wm Austen Do Thos Prince Do Wm Cuming Do Thomas Blizard Do John Grumbledge 2d Mate Francis Manning Do James Mackey Do John Driskell Do Jacob Mekelson Do Henry Cummins Gunrs Mate Thos Sarte Carpenters Do Joseph Lord Boats Do Wm McGee Carpentrs Do Jno Sparks Coopers Do Hen Conrad Springle Caulkrs Do George Tate Armorer Wm Porter Butcher Wm Barker Boatswns 2d Mate Thos Legg Sailmaker Thomas Beane Barber Willm Waugh Taylor Mat Henney Poulterer Evan Brow Cooks Mate Jourdan Lettons Seaman Oliff Pierson Oliff Nelson Flensburgh Wm Evans Oliff Peterson Seaman Fransway Reale Darby Driskell Robt Jackson Otter Jacques Augustine Melice Robt Miler Andw Pierson John Davis Jean Tercia Antn Seria Anthony Javarino Wm Flinn Andw Patterson Fred Heyn John Francisco Rend Johnson Joseph Hilliard Isaac Grant Wm Hyman Thos Bond Fred Vannausen John Posey	Thomas Bevan, supercargo Hugh McCordie, the supercargo's servant Charles Mears signed the roll. The *Hector*'s muster roll followed. John Williams, commander Joseph Drake, chief mate William Elphinstone, second mate Henry Hawken, third mate William Brown, fourth mate John Thompson, fifth mate Hercules Mills, sixth mate William Hanson, purser Robert Stevens, surgeon William Bunten, gunner Matthew Totten, carpenter James Freeman, boatswain James Watson, ship's steward James Barker, captain's steward Thomas Mitchell, captain's cook Richard Hastings, ship's cook Thomas Firon, cooper John Mayfield, caulker Thomas Shirwood, midshipman William Austin, midshipman Thomas Prince, midshipman William Cumming, midshipman Thomas Blizard, midshipman John Grumbledge, quartermaster Francis Manning, quartermaster James Maskey, quartermaster John Driskell, quartermaster Jacob Mekelson, quartermaster Henry Cannon, gunner's mate Thomas Scafe, carpenter's mate Joseph Sward, boatswain's mate William McGee, carpenter's second mate [...] Sparks, cooper's mate Henry Conrad Springle, caulker's mate George Tate, armourer William Porter, butcher William Barber, boatswain's second mate Thomas Legg, sailmaker Thomas Beams, barber William Waugh, tailor Matthew Kenny, poulterer Jean Baum, cook's mate Jourdan Letters, seaman Olliff Pierson, seaman Olliff Nelson of Flensburg, seaman William Came, seaman Olliff Peterson, seaman Francisco Reale, seaman Darby Driskell, seaman Robert Jackson, seaman Otter Jaques, seaman Augustine Melier, seaman Robert Miller, seaman Andrew Pierson, seaman John Davis, seaman Francis Isola, seaman Antonio Soria, seaman Anthony Juvarino, seaman William Flinn, seaman Andrew Petterson, seaman Frederick Hyn, seaman John Francisco, seaman Ralph Johnson, seaman Joseph Hilliard, seaman Isaac Grant, seaman William Layman, seaman Thomas Bond, seaman Frederick Vanransum, seaman John Anory, seaman **Interpretations** Thomas Bevan, travelling home in the *Egmont*, was one of the supercargoes who had signed all three

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			Canton invoices landed at St Helena that month. Supercargoes served one or more trading seasons in China and then returned to England, often carrying considerable private fortunes made through the trade allowed them on the side. His passage shows the supercargoes rotating home on the very ships they had loaded. The *Hector*'s crew drew heavily on sailors from outside Britain. Scandinavian names such as Olliff Peterson, Andrew Pierson and a man from Flensburg sat alongside Portuguese and Italian names such as Francisco Reale, Antonio Soria and Anthony Juvarino. Company ships lost many men to disease and desertion in the East and replaced them with whatever seamen could be found in Asian ports. Cornwall and Cezar on the *Egmont*'s roll were recorded by a single name each, a form commonly given to slaves and servants of African or Asian origin, and they were perhaps men of that background serving before the mast.
280	276	4th May John Baker Seaman Jno Reynolds Joseph Pilo Peter Bateman Woole Armstrong Anthy Nicholls John Godfrey Shaffs John Skelton John Rock Matthew Spearson Charles Jordes Seaman John Elkins Andw Dougal Manuel Jevea John Michaelsink Anty Vutabra John Dearland John Peters Samuel Carter Robert Cooper Capt Servt Henry Bribey Capt Servant John Easterbrook Chief Mates Do Wm Gray 2d Do Do John Gladhill Gunners Do John Leach Boatns Do John Dutton Carpentrs Do John Gibson John Dumoner Naughton John Claxon John Innes Invalids Passengers Henry Revell Esqr Benj Tonn Esqr Elis Turner John Archer Do Servants (signed) Jno Williams Muster Roll of Ship Hawke John Cotton Commander Joseph Hall Chief Mate Robert Morgan 2d Do Thos Swettenham 3d Do Richard Pyde 4th Do Josephus Jona Cocks Boats Stephen Peirce Surgeon Jacob Wickman Gunner James Guy Boatswain Richard Edwardes Midn Simon Tokes Do Jonathan Baker Do John Winsor Do Lewis Stoolen Quart Mas James Russell Do	The *Hector*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew, her passengers and the commander's signature. John Baker, seaman John Reynolds, seaman Joseph Pile, seaman Peter Bateman, seaman Neale Armstrong, seaman Anthony Nicholls, seaman John Godfrey Shafts, seaman John Skelton, seaman John Rock, seaman Matthew Spearson, seaman Charles Forbes, seaman John Elkins, seaman Andrew Dougal, seaman Manuel Josea, seaman John Michaelsink, seaman Anthony Vutabra, seaman John Duckland, seaman John Peters, seaman Samuel Carter, seaman Robert Cooper, captain's servant Henry Burbey, captain's servant John Easterbrook, chief mate's servant William Gray, second mate's servant John Gladhill, gunner's servant John Leach, boatswain's servant John Button, carpenter's servant John Gibson John Dunmore Naughton John Claxon, invalid John Innes, invalid Passengers Henry Revell Benjamin Torin Eli Turner, servant John Archer, servant John Williams signed the roll. The *Hawke*'s muster roll followed. John Cotton, commander Joseph Hall, chief mate Robert Morgan, second mate Thomas Swettenham, third mate Richard Pyde, fourth mate Josephus Sena, captain's clerk Stephen Pedee, surgeon Jacob Wichman, gunner James Guy, boatswain Richard Edwards, midshipman Simon Yokes, midshipman Jonathan Baker, midshipman John Winsor, midshipman Lewis Sneden, quartermaster James Russell, quartermaster

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		John Simon Do Frances Drake Do Thomas Davies Caulk William Westly Joiner George McCulloch Carp Thos Manning Armorer Thos Allenby Ships Steward John Smith Capt Do John Rogers Carpt 1st Mate John Wood Do 2d Do James Mitchel Gunners Do Charles Sparkes Coopers Do Thos Scott Caulkers Do Willm Fryers Capt Cook Willm Cothery Ships Do Conrad Miller Taylor Henry Kempster Butcher Thos Harley Seaman Paul Johnson Do Richard Reid Charles Jacobson Robert Gregg William Brown John Goulding William McKey James Rathgate Christo Johnson Morrinews Sueman Seaman William Green John Jagger Peter Watterson John Gorman John White the 1st Anthony Taylor John Hadley Adam Moodie William Young John White the 2d Robert Dyer John Earnest Godfrey Menk Thos Williams James Murry William Jelf Edward Tokes Thomas Jones Anthony Bottle Thomas Roe Capt Servt	John Simon, quartermaster Francis Drake, quartermaster Thomas Davies, caulker William Westley, joiner George McCulloch, cooper Thomas Manning, armourer Thomas Allenby, ship's steward John Smith, captain's steward John Negus, carpenter's first mate John Wood, carpenter's second mate James Mitchell, gunner's mate Charles Sparkes, cooper's mate Thomas Scott, caulker's mate William Fryers, captain's cook William Cothery, ship's cook Conrad Miller, tailor Henry Kempster, butcher Thomas Harley, seaman Paul Johnson, seaman Richard Reid, seaman Charles Jacobson, seaman Robert Gregg, seaman William Brown, seaman John Goulding, seaman William McKey, seaman James Rathgate, seaman Christopher Johnson, seaman Morinnews Trueman, seaman William Green, seaman John Jagger, seaman Peter Watterson, seaman John Gorman, seaman John White the first, seaman Anthony Taylor, seaman John Hadley, seaman Adam Monroe, seaman William Young, seaman John White the second, seaman Robert Dyer, seaman John Earnest, seaman Godfrey Mink, seaman Thomas Williams, seaman James Murry, seaman William Jelfs, seaman Edward Vickers, seaman Thomas Jones, seaman Anthony Bottle, seaman Thomas Rose, captain's servant
281	277	1764 William Cothery Capt Servant Charles Clarke Chief Mates Do Richard Hole 2d Do Do John Wiggens Surgeons Do Jasper Harrison Gunners Do John Finch Boatswain Do John Pratt Carpenters Do Swin Lumbrey Samuel Shephard Seaman Peter Johnson Thomas Wheeler Joseph Yellen Joseph Hodges Danl Dunnavall Anthony Spearing Peter Castalius Peter Jacobson John Cline Seaman Lens Swithersten John Frederick Horson William Clayton Thomas Tibbolds Phillip Smith Malacca John Lawrence	The *Hawke*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew, a list of French prisoners and the commander's signature. William Cothery, captain's servant Charles Clarke, chief mate's servant Richard Hole, second mate's servant John Wiggens, surgeon's servant Jasper Harrison, gunner's servant John Finch, boatswain's servant John Pratt, carpenter's servant [...] Lumbey Samuel Shepherd, seaman Peter Johnson, seaman Thomas Wheeler, seaman Joseph Yellen, seaman Joseph Hodges, seaman Daniel Dannaval, seaman Anthony Spearing, seaman Peter Castalius, seaman Peter Jacobson, seaman John Oline, seaman Lens Swetherstem, seaman John Frederick, seaman [...] Horson, seaman William Clayton, seaman Thomas Tebbolds, seaman Phillip Smith, seaman

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		French Prisoners Prestabier Thoulouse Surmon St Galatte Lahoul Bottel Bellile Landrea Canouch St Bruce Leverik Aiboner Bossporhet Sangara St Grove (signed) John Cotton We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable Company vizt One Set to Lieutenant Edward Howerth for sixty pounds payable to himself or Order. And One Set to Mr William Lee for two hundred and Seventy pounds payable to Mr William Mallom or Order, both sets drawn at Ninety Days sight. Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Malacca, seaman John Lawrence, seaman French prisoners Prestabier Thoulouse Surmon St Galatte Lahoeil Bottel Bellile Landreu Canouch St Prince Levrik Arboner Bossporhet Sangara St Grove John Cotton signed the roll. The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Company. Lieutenant Edward Howorth received one for £60 0s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee. The chaplain William Lee received the other for £270 0s 0d, made payable to William Mallone or his nominee. Both bills fell due 90 days after they were presented. Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The *Hawke*'s roll names 15 Frenchmen as prisoners, confirming that French captives were being sent home in Company ships now that the war had ended. These men were known only by surname or by a single name, and carried separately from the crew and the ordinary passengers. Their presence explains the 34 Frenchmen aboard the *Britannia* on 23 April 1764, who were probably returning under the same arrangement. William Lee's bill for £270 0s 0d was a very large sum for a chaplain whose pay and diet money came to £40 0s 0d a quarter. Bills of exchange were the usual way for Company servants to send savings home safely, and the size of his remittance suggests income beyond his salary, perhaps from fees, lending or private trade with passing ships. The seaman listed simply as Malacca was probably named after the Malay port where he was recruited, a common practice for Asian sailors whose own names the clerks did not record.
282	278	7th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th Day of May 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 4th May 1764 Saturday the 5th Sailed his Majesty's Ships Norfolk Elizabeth America and Chatham for England. Yesterday Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Hector for England Do Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Queen Louisa Captain Hine burthen nine hundred Tons carrys thirty Guns and one hundred and forty Men loaden with Tea China Ware and Silks bound to Copenhagen. This day sailed the Dane Ship King of Denmark for Copenhagen. Charles Lewis Centinel being missed the Day	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 7 May 1764. Governor Hutchinson attended with John Skottowe, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 4 May 1764. The King's ships *Norfolk*, *Elizabeth*, *America* and *Chatham* sailed for England on Saturday 5 May 1764. The Company ship *Hector* followed on 6 May. The same day a Danish ship from China, the *Queen Louisa*, arrived under Captain Krue. She was a vessel of 900 tons with 30 guns and 140 men, carrying tea, porcelain and silks to Copenhagen. The Danish ship *King of Denmark* sailed for Copenhagen on 7 May. Charles Lewis, a private soldier, went missing on the day the King's ships sailed. The Council believed he had deserted aboard one of them. The storekeeper presented an account of stores delivered short from the *Egmont*. The following porcelain was found broken when the packages were opened. Wash basin, 1 Baking dish, 1 Bowl, 1

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		His Majestys Ships sailed we suppose he deserted in one of them The Storekeeper this day brought in the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Egmont vizt Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Egmont vizt Wash Basons 1 Bason Bakg Dish 1 Dish Bowl 1 Bowl Saucers 2 Saucers Quarter Pint Cups and Saucers 2 Cups and Saucers Half Pint Do Do 2 Cups and Saucers Sallad Dish 1 Dish Meat Do 10 Dishes found broke upon opening the Packages	Punch bowls, 2 Quarter-pint cups and saucers, 2 Half-pint cups and saucers, 2 Salad dish, 1 Meat dishes, 10 **Interpretations** The Council could only suppose that Charles Lewis had escaped aboard a King's ship, because it had no power to search one. Its routine musters applied to Company vessels, whose commanders were bound by the Company's orders. A Royal Navy ship answered to the Crown, and her captain would not submit his crew to inspection by a trading company's council. Naval captains were also usually short of men and glad to take on an able recruit without asking questions. The departure of a whole squadron therefore offered the garrison's soldiers an escape route that the Council could not close. The broken porcelain was recorded even though the Canton invoice had already deducted 2 per cent for breakage. The Canton allowance covered expected losses in the Company's accounts at purchase. The storekeeper's return of actual breakage allowed the Council to check whether the ship's handling had caused damage beyond that allowance, which could then be charged to the commander.
283	279	1764 Meat Plates 28 Plates Soop Do 11 Plates Do Dishes 3 Dishes found broke upon opening the Packages St Helena (signed) May 7th 1764 J Cowle Storekeeper Nicholas Dahleen Seaman belonging to the Fly Cutter dying in the Hospital we ordered his Account to be made up and the Balance amounting to twelve Pounds four Shillings and ten Pence paid into the Honorable Companys Cash and wrote it off to Account Current London. Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Thursday the 10th Day of May 1764 at the Castle Present Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor John Skottowe Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 7th May 1764 Yesterday Died William Hayes Inhabitant This day Do William Beckett Soldier We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable Company vizt One Set to Mr James Williamson for seventy five pounds payable to himself or Order.	The storekeeper's list of porcelain found broken in the *Egmont*'s packages continued. Meat plates, 28 Soup plates, 11 Soup dishes, 3 James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 7 May 1764. Nicholas Dahleen, a seaman of the cutter *Fly*, died in the hospital. The Council ordered his account to be drawn up. The balance due to him, £12 4s 10d, was paid into the Company's treasury and transferred to the London current account. Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 10 May 1764. Governor Hutchinson attended with John Skottowe, the Lieutenant Governor, and the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 7 May 1764. William Hayes, an inhabitant of the island, died on 9 May 1764. William Beckett, a soldier, died the following day. The Council issued bills of exchange drawn on the Company. The first set went to James Williamson for £75 0s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee. **Interpretations** Nicholas Dahleen's unpaid wages were handled in the same way as the unclaimed dividends of Esther Norton and Banks Mitchell on 19 April 1764. He had no heir on the island to receive the money, and his name suggests he came from northern Europe. Crediting the balance to the London account preserved it for any relative who later came forward, while clearing it from the island's books. William Beckett had witnessed John Holloway's will on 2 April 1764. His death, following those of Holloway on 5 April and William Dicks on 6 April, marks a continuing loss of men from the garrison over a few weeks. James Williamson was perhaps the second mate of the *Egmont*, remitting money home before his ship sailed.
284	280	10th May One Set to Mr John Lauder for one hundred and thirty pounds payable to himself or order. One Set to Captain Charles Mears for eight hundred	The Council issued further bills of exchange drawn on the Company, all falling due 90 days after they were presented.

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		and eighty pounds payable to himself or Order. Two sets to Captain John Cotton one for three hundred and sixty eight pounds on Account of John Carpenter Decd and one set for two hundred and two pounds, payable to himself or Order. One Set to Captn Normand Lamont for twenty six pounds five Shillings payable to himself or order. And One Set to Mr George Cooper for fifty five pounds payable to Mr Samuel Mercer, or order, all drawn at Ninety days sight. Bought of Captain Charles Mears on Account of the Honorable Company five hundred and sixty two Pieces of Meat at two Shilling p Piece amounting to fifty six pounds, four Shillings Chas Hutchinson John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th day of May 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 10th May 1764 Yesterday sailed the Honorable Companys Ships Egmont and Hawke for England. Do Do the Dane Ship Queen Louisa for Copenhagen. Charles Hutchinson Esqr Governor leaving the Island Yesterday, We this day Ordered the following Publication	John Lauder, payable to himself or his nominee, £130 0s 0d Captain Charles Mears, payable to himself or his nominee, £880 0s 0d Captain John Cotton, on account of the late John Carpenter, £368 0s 0d Captain John Cotton, payable to himself or his nominee, £202 0s 0d Captain Norman Lamont, payable to himself or his nominee, £26 5s 0d George Cooper, payable to Samuel Mercer or his nominee, £55 0s 0d The Council bought 562 pieces of salted meat from Captain Charles Mears for the Company at 2s 0d a piece, £56 4s 0d in all. Charles Hutchinson John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Monday 14 May 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 10 May 1764. The Company ships *Egmont* and *Hawke* sailed for England on 13 May 1764, and the Danish ship *Queen Louisa* left for Copenhagen the same day. Charles Hutchinson, the former Governor, had left the island on 13 May, and the Council ordered a public notice to be issued. **Interpretations** Charles Hutchinson's departure passed the government to John Skottowe, who as Lieutenant Governor stood next in rank and took the chair at once. The Company's system of succession avoided any gap in authority, which mattered on an island months away from London. Hutchinson probably sailed aboard the *Egmont* or the *Hawke*, both of which left on the day he went. The remaining Council was now reduced to three members until a new appointment arrived. The departing commanders converted large sums into bills before sailing. Captain Mears alone remitted £880 0s 0d and sold the Company 562 pieces of salted meat, surplus provisions from his ship's stores. Commanders profited both from their private trade in the East and from selling unused stores at the island, and bills of exchange let them carry those profits home without risking coin at sea. Captain Cotton's bill on behalf of the late John Carpenter shows a commander also acting as agent for the estate of a man who had died during the voyage.
285	281	14th May Publication to be made vizt Island St Helena Whereas the Honorable the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies have been pleased to constitute and appoint John Skottowe Esqr Lieutenant Governor, to succeed to the Government of this Island upon the Resignation of Charles Hutchinson Esqr late Governor thereof, who Yesterday took passage for England on the Ship Egmont These are therefore Strictly to Charge and Command, all Officers Civil and Military of what Station or degree soever and also all the Inhabitants and Soldiers of the said Island, to give and yield due Obedience unto John Skottowe Esqr as Governor and Commander in Chief of the said Island.	The Council ordered a proclamation confirming Governor Skottowe's authority, dated at the Castle on 14 May 1764. It announced that the Court of Directors had appointed John Skottowe, the Lieutenant Governor, to take over the government of the island once Charles Hutchinson resigned. Hutchinson had sailed for England aboard the *Egmont* on 13 May 1764. The proclamation required every civil and military officer, whatever his rank, and all inhabitants and soldiers, to obey Skottowe as Governor and commander-in-chief of the island. The Council examined and approved the plantation, gunners' and steward's accounts for April 1764. The steward's account recorded the provisions used at the Company's table. Provisions used at the Company's table, April 1764 38 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 17s 0d 45 bottles of Mountain wine, £3 6s 6d 66 bottles of arrack, £3 8s 8d 60 bottles of beer, £0 15s 5d 355 lb of flour, £2 2s 4½d

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		Given under Our Hands at Union Castle in St Helena this 14th Day of May 1764 The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of April last, were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of April 1764 vizt Lisbon 38 Bottles £2 17s 0d Do Mountain 45 Bottles £3 6s 6d Do Arrack 66 Bottles £3 8s 8d Do Beer 60 Bottles £0 15s 5d Flour 355 lb £2 2s 4½d Beef 192 lb £2 8s 0d Fresh Pork 15 lb £0 7s 6d Ps Salt Pork 4 Ps £0 10s 2d Mutton 190¾ lb £3 19s 5¼d Goat 19 lb £0 6s 4d Kids 2 Kids £0 10s 0d Fowls 10 Fowls £1 7s 0d Ducks 6 Ducks £0 9s 0d Turkeys 7 Turkeys £1 15s 0d Fresh Butter 33½ lb £1 18s 6d Candy 96 lb £1 12s 0d £27 12s 11½d	192 lb of beef, £2 8s 0d 15 lb of fresh pork, £0 7s 6d 4 pieces of salt pork, £0 10s 2d 190¾ lb of mutton, £3 19s 5¾d 19 lb of goat meat, £0 6s 4d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 18 fowls, £1 7s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 7 turkeys, £1 15s 0d 33½ lb of fresh butter, £1 13s 6d 96 [...] of sugar candy, £1 12s 0d Total, £27 12s 11¼d **Interpretations** The Directors had anticipated Hutchinson's departure by naming his successor in advance. A commission of this kind lay with the Council until needed, so the government could pass without waiting months for fresh orders from London. Publishing it was the step that made the succession effective. It gave Skottowe undisputed command over the garrison and the inhabitants, whose obedience rested on knowing that his authority came directly from the Company. The table's consumption changed little from March, and the Company's prices for its own produce held steady at 3d a pound for beef, 5d for mutton and 1s for butter. The main change was in drink. Beer rose from 34 bottles in March to 60 in April, and Mountain wine from 23 bottles to 45. April brought the *Britannia*, *Egmont*, *Hector* and *Hawke* from China and Admiral Cornish's squadron from the Cape, and the Castle probably entertained their commanders and officers at the Company's expense.
286	282	14th May Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of April 1764 Guns fired, 4 pounder, 3 pounder, 2 pounder, 1 pounder, Powder Expended 4th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 pounder 2, 3 pounder 2, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived the Osterly returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 9, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz	The gunners' account recorded the powder and other artillery stores used during April 1764, with the guns fired on each occasion broken down under the column headings of 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb. 4 April 1764, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 under 4 lb, 2 under 3 lb, 0 under 2 lb, 2 under 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder Salute returned on the arrival of the *Osterley*: 9 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 9 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 5 April 1764, salute for Colonel Morris on landing: 13 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 13 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 13 lb 0 oz of powder

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		5 Fired to salute Col Morris's Arrival on shore: Guns fired 13, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 13, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 13lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz 11th Departed the Duke of Richmond returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 9, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 12 Fired to Salute Col Morris's going on board: Guns fired 13, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 13, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 13lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz Departed the Osterly returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 9, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 17th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 pounder 2, 3 pounder 2, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived the Britannia returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 9, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 26 Departed the Britannia returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 9, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 28th A Double Alarm: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 3, 3 pounder 3, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 3, Powder Expended 18lb 0oz Arrived the Egmont and Hector returned the Salute: Guns fired 18, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 18, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 18lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4 pounder 2, 3 pounder 2, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived a Dane Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 9, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz Powder for priming at the Alarm House from 7 Jany 1763: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz 30th A Double Alarm for five Ships: Guns fired 15, 4 pounder 6, 3 pounder 6, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 3, Powder Expended 33lb 0oz Arrived Admiral Cornish wt 4 Ships of War and the Hawke Indiaman Saluted the Admirals Ships with: Guns fired 19, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 1, 2 pounder 18, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 19lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 8oz Fired to Salute Admiral Cornish's Arrival on Shore: Guns fired 19, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 1, 2 pounder 18, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 19lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 8oz	Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder 11 April 1764, salute returned as the *Duke of Richmond* left: 9 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 9 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 12 April 1764, salute for Colonel Morris on going aboard: 13 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 13 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 13 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder Salute returned as the *Osterley* left: 9 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 9 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 17 April 1764, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 under 4 lb, 2 under 3 lb, 0 under 2 lb, 2 under 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder Salute returned on the arrival of the *Britannia*: 9 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 9 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 26 April 1764, salute returned as the *Britannia* left: 9 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 9 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 28 April 1764, double alarm: 9 guns fired (3 under 4 lb, 3 under 3 lb, 0 under 2 lb, 3 under 1 lb), 18 lb 0 oz of powder Salutes returned on the arrival of the *Egmont* and the *Hector*: 18 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 18 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 18 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder Alarm: 6 guns fired (2 under 4 lb, 2 under 3 lb, 0 under 2 lb, 2 under 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder Salute returned on the arrival of a Danish ship: 9 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 0 under 3 lb, 9 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for priming at the Alarm House since 7 February 1763: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder 30 April 1764, double alarm for five ships: 15 guns fired (6 under 4 lb, 6 under 3 lb, 0 under 2 lb, 3 under 1 lb), 33 lb 0 oz of powder Salute to the Admiral's ships on the arrival of Admiral Cornish with four warships and the East Indiaman *Hawke*: 19 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 1 under 3 lb, 18 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 19 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 8 oz of powder Salute for Admiral Cornish on landing: 19 guns fired (0 under 4 lb, 1 under 3 lb, 18 under 2 lb, 0 under 1 lb), 19 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for priming the guns: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay since 7 February 1763: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for refilling the cartridges at the main guard: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for the funeral of John Holloway: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 4 oz of powder Powder for the funeral of William Dicks: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 4 oz of powder Powder for signals: 0 guns fired, 4 lb 0 oz of powder Total: 178 guns fired (15 under 4 lb, 17 under 3 lb, 134 under 2 lb, 12 under 1 lb), 265 lb 0 oz of powder 1 sponge staff for the bakers

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		Powder for priming at Prosperous Bay from 7 Jany 1763: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz Do for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 8oz Do for the Funeral of John Holloway: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz Do for the Do of William Dicks: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz Do for Signals: Guns fired 0, 4 pounder 0, 3 pounder 0, 2 pounder 0, 1 pounder 0, Powder Expended 4lb 0oz Total: Guns fired 178, 4 pounder 15, 3 pounder 17, 2 pounder 134, 1 pounder 12, Powder Expended 265lb 0oz Sponge Staves for the use of the Bakers 1 Stave Copper Rivets for the use of the Snow Mercury 180 Rivets Tallow for the use of the Long Boat 4 lb Match Burnt at the Main Fort since October 1763 12 lb	180 copper rivets for the snow Mercury 4 lb of tallow for the longboat 12 [...] of slow match burned at the Main Fort since October 1763 **Interpretations** The island fired 178 guns in April and used 265 lb of powder, against 88 guns and 151 lb in March. The difference came almost entirely from shipping. The China ships, a Danish East Indiaman and Admiral Cornish's squadron all arrived within a fortnight, and each arrival and departure called for alarms, salutes and replies. A busy month in the road could therefore nearly double the garrison's consumption of powder, all of which had to be replaced from England. Colonel Morris was the senior army officer travelling home in the *Osterley*, whose passenger list named him. He received a 13-gun salute on landing and again on returning aboard, while Admiral Cornish was honoured with 19 guns. The number of guns fired rose with the rank of the person saluted, so the ledger records a precise scale of precedence as well as a cost. Powder was also spent on the funerals of John Holloway and William Dicks, the two soldiers who died on 5 and 6 April 1764. Volleys fired over the grave were the customary military honour even for private soldiers. Slow match was a length of cord treated to smoulder steadily, kept burning at the Main Fort day and night so that the guns could be fired without delay. The priming powder at the Alarm House and Prosperous Bay had been in the guns since February 1763, and its renewal shows that charges left in outlying batteries were changed only at long intervals.
287	283	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of April 1764 Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses She Asses, Asses He Asses, Asses Total Remg 31st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 86, Neat Cattle Calves 55, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 28, Neat Cattle Steers 43, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 295, Sheep Ewes 332, Sheep Weathers 190, Sheep Lambs 105, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 635, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 64, Goats Kids 43, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 282, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 17, Poultry Fowls 100, Poultry Ducks 45, Poultry Turkeys 45, Poultry Geese 27, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses She Asses 2, Asses He Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Increased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 10, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 10, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 6, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 6, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 12, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 12, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Recd from the Osterly: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle	The Company's livestock account for April 1764 recorded the animals on hand, the month's gains and losses, and the numbers left at its close. Remaining on 31 March 1764 Neat cattle: 3 bulls, 86 cows, 55 calves, 59 yearlings, 28 heifers, 43 steers, 21 oxen, total 295 Sheep: 332 ewes, 190 wethers, 105 lambs, 8 rams, total 635 Goats: 166 ewes, 64 wethers, 43 kids, 9 rams, total 282 Hogs: 3 sows, 2 shoats, 11 pigs, 1 boar, total 17 Poultry: 100 fowls, 45 ducks, 45 turkeys, 27 geese Horses: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 Asses: 2 [...] asses, 1 [...] ass, total 3 Increase during the month Neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 10 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 10 Sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 6 lambs, 0 rams, total 6 Goats: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 12 kids, 0 rams, total 12 Hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Asses: 0 [...] asses, 0 [...] asses, total 0 Received from the *Osterley*: 10 ewes and 90 wethers, a total of 100 sheep, with 0 in every category of neat cattle, goats, hogs, poultry, horses and asses. Total held during the month Neat cattle: 3 bulls, 86 cows, 65 calves, 59 yearlings, 28 heifers, 43 steers, 21 oxen, total 305 Sheep: 342 ewes, 280 wethers, 111 lambs, 8 rams, total 741 Goats: 166 ewes, 64 wethers, 55 kids, 9 rams, total 294 Hogs: 3 sows, 2 shoats, 11 pigs, 1 boar, total 17 Poultry: 100 fowls, 45 ducks, 45 turkeys, 27 geese Horses: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 Asses: 2 [...] asses, 1 [...] ass, total 3 Killed Neat cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 4 heifers, 5 steers, 0 oxen, total 10

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		Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 10, Sheep Weathers 90, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 100, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 86, Neat Cattle Calves 65, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 28, Neat Cattle Steers 43, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 305, Sheep Ewes 342, Sheep Weathers 280, Sheep Lambs 111, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 741, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 64, Goats Kids 55, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 294, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 2, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 17, Poultry Fowls 100, Poultry Ducks 45, Poultry Turkeys 45, Poultry Geese 27, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses She Asses 2, Asses He Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 4, Neat Cattle Steers 5, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 10, Sheep Ewes 9, Sheep Weathers 28, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 37, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 2, Goats Kids 2, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 4, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 1, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Poultry Fowls 18, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 6, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 1, Sheep Weathers 7, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 8, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 10, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 9, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Sent on board the Fly Cutter: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 3, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 3, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Remg the [...]: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 85, Neat Cattle Calves 64, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 24, Neat Cattle Steers 38, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 294, Sheep Ewes 332, Sheep Weathers 242, Sheep Lambs 111, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 693, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 62, Goats Kids 53, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 290, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shoats 1, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 16, Poultry Fowls 72, Poultry Ducks 39, Poultry Turkeys 30, Poultry Geese 27, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses She Asses 2, Asses He Asses 1, Asses Total 3 Good Yam Expd for the Slaves 24300 lb Do for the Stock 7575 lb Total 31.875 lb **Margin Notes:** 1764	Sheep: 9 ewes, 28 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 37 Goats: 0 ewes, 2 wethers, 2 kids, 0 rams, total 4 Hogs: 0 sows, 1 shoat, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 1 Poultry: 18 fowls, 6 ducks, 6 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Asses: 0 [...] asses, 0 [...] asses, total 0 Died Neat cattle: 0 bulls, 1 cow, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 1 Sheep: 1 ewe, 7 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 8 Goats: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, total 0 Hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 10 fowls, 0 ducks, 9 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Asses: 0 [...] asses, 0 [...] asses, total 0 Sent aboard the cutter *Fly*: 3 wethers, a total of 3 sheep, with 0 in every other category. Remaining on 30 April 1764 Neat cattle: 3 bulls, 85 cows, 64 calves, 59 yearlings, 24 heifers, 38 steers, 21 oxen, total 294 Sheep: 332 ewes, 242 wethers, 111 lambs, 8 rams, total 693 Goats: 166 ewes, 62 wethers, 53 kids, 9 rams, total 290 Hogs: 3 sows, 1 shoat, 11 pigs, 1 boar, total 16 Poultry: 72 fowls, 39 ducks, 30 turkeys, 27 geese Horses: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 Asses: 2 [...] asses, 1 [...] ass, total 3 Good yams used for the slaves, 24,300 Good yams used for the livestock, 7,575 Total good yams used, 31,875 **Interpretations** The 100 sheep received from the *Osterley* were the flock bought at the Cape for 245 Spanish dollars and paid for on 16 April 1764. They arrived mostly as wethers, the castrated males kept for meat, which suited a flock being drawn on heavily for slaughter. Without them the sheep would have fallen well below March's total, since 37 were killed in April against 25 in March. With the Cape sheep added, the flock actually rose from 635 to 693. Slaughter rose across the herd in April. Ten cattle were killed against four in March, and the heifers and steers bore most of the increase. The month's heavy shipping, with the China ships and Admiral Cornish's squadron all in the road, and the busier table at the Castle account for much of the extra demand for fresh meat. The poultry fared badly. Deaths and killings together cut the fowls from 100 to 72 and the turkeys from 45 to 30, while no new birds were raised during the month. Nine turkeys died in April alone, after six in March, which suggests disease or poor feeding in the flock rather than ordinary losses.

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288	284	14th May Mr Richard Bagley was this day sworn into the Office of Sheriff, and Roderick Merchant in that of Constable We agreed the following Articles should be put on board the Ship Egmont for the use of Governor Hutchinson vizt Cattle 6 Cattle Sheep 6 Sheep Ducks 18 Ducks Wine 12 Doz Cask Beer 1 Cask John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 21st day of May 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 14th May 1764 May the 14th Arrived in His Majesty's Ship Balleine from Bombay Tuesday the 15th Do the Neptunes Boat at Bankss half an hour past 11 in the morning Do Do the Honorable Company's Ship Neptune from China and brought Us the following Supplies vizt Invoice of Ship Neptune Bohea Tea 5 Chests vizt No 6 Tare 37 Gross 195 No 7 Tare 35 Gross 192 No 8 Tare 35 Gross 193 No 9 Tare 37 Gross 195 No 10 Tare 35 Gross 202 Tare 179 Gross 975 Gross 179 796 Nett Picl 5.97.6 @ 17 T p P T 101 4m 9c 0ca Carried over T 101 4m 9c 0ca	Richard Bagley was sworn in as sheriff and Roderick Marchant as constable. The Council agreed to put the following provisions aboard the *Egmont* for Charles Hutchinson, the former Governor, to use on his voyage. 6 cattle 6 sheep 18 ducks 12 dozen bottles of wine 1 cask of beer John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Monday 21 May 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 14 May 1764. The King's ship *Baleine* arrived from Bombay on 14 May 1764. On Tuesday 15 May the *Neptune*'s boat landed at Banks's at half past eleven in the morning, and the Company ship *Neptune* herself arrived from China the same day. She delivered the following supplies. As before, the weight columns carry no headings and are identified from the totals as tare and gross in pounds. Bohea tea, 5 chests Chest 6, tare 37 lb, gross 195 lb Chest 7, tare 35 lb, gross 192 lb Chest 8, tare 35 lb, gross 193 lb Chest 9, tare 37 lb, gross 195 lb Chest 10, tare 35 lb, gross 202 lb Total tare, 179 lb Total gross, 977 lb Net weight, 796 lb, or 5.97 piculs, at 17 taels per picul, 101 taels 4 mace 9 candareens 0 cash Carried forward, 101 taels 4 mace 9 candareens 0 cash **Interpretations** The live cattle, sheep and ducks, the wine and the beer made up a sea stock for the former Governor's passage home, supplied by the Council at the Company's expense. Fresh provisions carried alive gave a passenger meat for weeks after salt rations became the only fare aboard. Providing them was a customary courtesy to a departing governor and a mark of the rank he had held. Its recording in the consultations shows that even such gifts were treated as Company expenditure requiring the Council's formal approval. The Bohea in the *Neptune*'s invoice cost 17 taels a picul, against 26 taels 5 mace for Congou from the same season at Canton. That difference of more than a third matches the gap in the island's selling prices, where Bohea went for about 11d a pound and Congou for about 1s 5d.
289	285	1764 Brought over T 101 4m 9c 0ca Sugar 25 Chests No 43 to 67 No 43 Tare 42 Gross 349 No 44 Tare 38 Gross 339 No 45 Tare 38 Gross 338 No 46 Tare 38 Gross 351 No 47 Tare 40 Gross 346 No 48 Tare 40 Gross 359 No 49 Tare 42 Gross 343 No 50 Tare 35 Gross 366 No 51 Tare 40 Gross 357 No 52 Tare 41 Gross 345 No 53 Tare 39 Gross 350 No 54 Tare 38 Gross 355 No 55 Tare 38 Gross 345	The *Neptune*'s invoice continued from the 101 taels 4 mace 9 candareens brought forward. The weight columns again carry no headings and are identified from the totals as tare and gross in pounds. Brought forward, 101 taels 4 mace 9 candareens 0 cash Sugar, 25 chests numbered 43 to 67 Chest 43, tare 42 lb, gross 349 lb Chest 44, tare 38 lb, gross 339 lb Chest 45, tare 38 lb, gross 338 lb Chest 46, tare 38 lb, gross 351 lb Chest 47, tare 40 lb, gross 346 lb Chest 48, tare 40 lb, gross 359 lb Chest 49, tare 42 lb, gross 348 lb Chest 50, tare 38 lb, gross 366 lb Chest 51, tare 40 lb, gross 357 lb Chest 52, tare 41 lb, gross 345 lb

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		No 56 Tare 39 Gross 349 No 57 Tare 39 Gross 349 No 58 Tare 39 Gross 354 No 59 Tare 35 Gross 355 No 60 Tare 35 Gross 354 No 61 Tare 40 Gross 397 No 62 Tare 41 Gross 386 No 63 Tare 38 Gross 402 No 64 Tare 40 Gross 387 No 65 Tare 39 Gross 394 No 66 Tare 35 Gross 404 No 67 Tare 41 Gross 405 Tare 472 Gross 4198 Tare 499 Gross 4881 Tare 499 Gross 4881 Tare 971 Gross 9079 Gross 971 8108 lb Nett Picl 60.82 @ 4.5 T m p P T 273 6m 9c 0ca To 25 Chests for the Sugar at 500 m p Chest for Lead T 12 5m 0c 0ca T 387 6m 8c 0ca Canton Feby 2d 1764 Errors Excepted (signed) Thos Fitzhugh Samuel Blunt Hillary Torriano Nath Garland Alx Hume Mann Horner Thos Smith Robt Jno Harrison William Rous	Chest 53, tare 39 lb, gross 350 lb Chest 54, tare 38 lb, gross 355 lb Tare for chests 43 to 54, 472 lb Gross for chests 43 to 54, 4,198 lb Chest 55, tare 38 lb, gross 345 lb Chest 56, tare 39 lb, gross 349 lb Chest 57, tare 39 lb, gross 349 lb Chest 58, tare 39 lb, gross 354 lb Chest 59, tare 35 lb, gross 355 lb Chest 60, tare 35 lb, gross 354 lb Chest 61, tare 40 lb, gross 397 lb Chest 62, tare 41 lb, gross 386 lb Chest 63, tare 38 lb, gross 402 lb Chest 64, tare 40 lb, gross 387 lb Chest 65, tare 39 lb, gross 394 lb Chest 66, tare 35 lb, gross 404 lb Chest 67, tare 41 lb, gross 405 lb Tare for chests 55 to 67, 499 lb Gross for chests 55 to 67, 4,881 lb Total tare, 971 lb Total gross, 9,079 lb Net weight, 8,108 lb, or 60.82 piculs, at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 273 taels 6 mace 9 candareens 0 cash Lead for lining 25 sugar chests at 5 mace per chest, 12 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total, 387 taels 6 mace 8 candareens 0 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 2 February 1764 and signed, subject to correction of any errors, by the following. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Hillary Torriano Nathaniel Garland Alexander Hume Mann Horner Thomas Smith Robert John Harrison William Rouse
290	286	21st May Mr Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ship Neptune to Muster her Company and inquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follow vizt Muster Roll of Ship Neptune Gabriel Steward Commander John Jeales 1 Mate Stephen Williams 2d Do David Graves 3d Do John Wade 4th Do James Brayne 5th Do Thos Crush 6th Do Thomas Carns Surgeon William Saunders Carpenter Charles Read Boatswain Hugh Ferguson Gunner William Parker Captains Stewd Alexr Gair Ships Do Edmond Brown Caulker Adam Murdock Cooper James Ashman Sailmaker James Turner Capt Cook Joseph Thompson Ships Do John Oliphant Surgeons Mate George Smith Coopers Do Joseph Paddington Caulk Do William Anstead Carpent Do Robt Graham Boatsws 1 Mate Luke Lidiard 2d Do Henry Moore Gunners Do John Badesch Armorer Thomas Master Midshipman Richd Govey Do Joseph Kinlock Do Thomas Keing Quartermn	Matthew Purling reported that he had gone aboard the *Neptune* to muster her crew and search for deserters, but had found none. Her muster roll read as follows. Gabriel Steward, commander John Jecks, first mate Stephen Williams, second mate David Graves, third mate John Wade, fourth mate James Brayne, fifth mate Thomas Crush, sixth mate Thomas Carns, surgeon William Saunders, carpenter Charles Reid, boatswain Hugh Ferguson, gunner William Parker, captain's steward Alexander Gair, ship's steward Edmond Orsen, caulker Adam Murdoch, cooper James Ashman, sailmaker James Turner, captain's cook Joseph Thompson, ship's cook John Oliphant, surgeon's mate George Smith, cooper's mate Joseph Paddington, caulker's mate William Antecal, carpenter's mate Robert Graham, boatswain's first mate Luke Liddard, boatswain's second mate Henry Moore, gunner's mate John Badesch, armourer Thomas Master, midshipman Richard Govey, midshipman Joseph Kinlock, midshipman Thomas Tering, quartermaster John Robinson, quartermaster George Watson, quartermaster William Ballard, quartermaster

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		John Robinson Do George Watson Do William Ballard Do John Curtis Butcher Chas Johnson Poulterer Thos Mills Sailmakers Mate Alexr Atkins Joiner Abr Ashtrum Seaman Thos Withers Soloman Crook Fred Everberg Nichs Granborn Corn Winsfield Willm Steward Evan Allison Peter Stundberg Nichs Newstrum Andw McAuley Robert Smith Thomas Colson David Torriel Anthony White Sarth Bloom Henry Sealy Jonas Walding Andw Benkstone John Nelms Thomas Rodgers Michl Matthews Thos Marlow John Brown Daniel Patrick James Pool Manl Deroge Joseph Alexander Robert Wardrobe Edwin Alcock Francis Reeves Samuel Roberts Richd James 1st Mates Servt John Johnson 2d Do John Leary Surgeons Do William Robinson Capt Do Thoms Whitehead Boatswain Do Thoms Pearson Gunrs Do John Neptune William Balless Seaman James Loyd a Lad Joseph Jackson Do Nichs Marcally Capt Mate Peter Lock Seaman Chas Vandoller Do Hendr Ferdinand Thos Cisilar Joseph Coleman Robert Hutchingson Richd Whittle Ebear Dominicus Marcus Ludwick John Butlarf John Emmerson Chrisr Godfrey Elias Hanson Magnus Swanson Cyrus Argo Anthony Bowizer Hans Pryot Derrick Berry Fransway Collier John Browne John Nelson John Tinket John Gova	John Curtis, butcher Claes Johnson, poulterer Thomas Mills, sailmaker's mate Alexander Atkins, joiner Abraham Sistrum, seaman Thomas Withers, seaman Soloman Crook, seaman Frederick Everberg, seaman Nicholas Granborn, seaman Coen Winsfield, seaman William Steward, seaman Swan Allisen, seaman Peter Skandberg, seaman Nicholas Newstrom, seaman Andrew McAuley, seaman Robert Smith, seaman Thomas Tulson, seaman David Jervis, seaman Anthony White, seaman Sarth Bloom, seaman Henry Tealy, seaman Jonas Walding, seaman Andrew Benkstone, seaman John Nelms, seaman Thomas Rodgers, seaman Michael Matthews, seaman Thomas Marlow, seaman John Brown, seaman Daniel Patrick, seaman James Pool, seaman Manuel Deigo, seaman Joseph Alexander, seaman Robert Wardrobe, seaman Edwin Alcock, seaman Francis Reeves, seaman Samuel Roberts, seaman Richard James, first mate's servant John Johnson, second mate's servant John Leary, surgeon's servant William Robinson, captain's servant Samuel Whitehead, boatswain's servant Thomas Pearson, gunner's servant John Neptune William Ballew, seaman James Loyd, boy Joseph Jackson, boy Nicholas Marcelly, [...] mate Peter Lock, seaman Charles Vandeller, seaman Hendrick Ferdinand, seaman Thomas Cisilar, seaman Joseph Coleman, seaman Robert Hutchingson, seaman Richard Whittle, seaman Eban Dominicus, seaman Marcus Ludwick, seaman John Butlarf, seaman John Emmerson, seaman Christian Godfrey, seaman Elias Hanson, seaman Magnus Jenson, seaman Cyrus Argo, seaman Anthony Buwizer, seaman Hans Pryor, seaman Derrick Berry, seaman Francois Collier, seaman John Browne, seaman John Nolan, seaman John Sinket, seaman John Gova, seaman **Interpretations** The man entered as John Neptune bore the ship's own name as his surname. Names of this kind were often given to boys or men taken aboard with no recorded family name, such as Asian or African recruits, slaves or runaways, whom the clerk simply

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			identified with the vessel. He was perhaps one of these, listed among the officers' servants without any stated rank.
291	287	1764 Passengers Hillary Torriano Esqr Chief Supracargo Robt John Harrison Esqr 2d Do John Ballie 2d Supracargos Servant (signed) G Steward Captain Sea having represented to Us that the Fly Cutter was in so bad a Condition that she was unfit to proceed to Sea on any Material Service a Survey was ordered to be made on her by the Carpenters of the Britannia and her own Carpenter, which they accordingly did and delivered the following Report vizt Sir Persuant to your Command I have inspected into the present Condition of the Fly Cutter, Capt. Peter Sea Vizt the Sheathing of her Bottom is quite sound and but barely penetrated by the Worms, and that only on the Sheathing next the lower Edge of the False Keel and with my Mate & the Carpenter of the said Vessel we have Jointly examined her Wales & upper works &c and by bearing the same we find the Timbers to be very little defective we have likewise examined her Pumps & find one of them to be quite decayed and unfit for service the Wales on the Larboard Bow requires Shifting with proper Materials can be got by reason that the Butts of those pieces which have been put in, are to near each other, & lay directly in the Loof of the Bow (signed) Britannias Carpenter Singleton Winker Mate Stephen Pickenham St Helena 24th April 1764 The Carpenter of the said Cutter is of equal Opinion with us in every respect relative to this present Survey, but assures us that he has Shifted those pieces on the Loof of the Bow that the Timbers appeared much defective as likewise all those other parts which were opened Fly Cutters Carpenter (signed) Guilio Fabiano	The *Neptune*'s roll ended with her passengers, and her commander, Gabriel Steward, signed it. Passengers Hillary Torriano, chief supercargo Robert John Harrison, second supercargo John Ballie, the second supercargo's servant Captain Peter Fea told the Council that the cutter *Fly* was in such poor condition that she could not go to sea on any serious service. The Council ordered the *Britannia*'s carpenters to survey her together with the cutter's own carpenter, and they delivered the following report. The *Britannia*'s carpenters found the sheathing on the *Fly*'s bottom sound, with only slight worm damage along the lower edge of the false keel. Working with the cutter's mate and carpenter, they examined her wales and upper works and bored into the timbers, which proved to have very little decay. One of her pumps, however, was completely rotten and useless. The wales on the port bow needed replacing once suitable timber could be found. The joints between the pieces fitted there earlier lay too close together and fell right at the curve of the bow. Singleton Weaver, the *Britannia*'s carpenter, and Stephen Bickenham, his mate, signed the report at St Helena on 24 April 1764. The *Fly*'s carpenter, Giulio Fabiano, agreed with every point in the survey. He added that when he had replaced the pieces on the port bow, the timbers beneath looked badly decayed, as did the other parts he had opened up. **Interpretations** The Council did not accept the captain's word that the cutter was unfit for sea. It ordered an independent survey by carpenters from a Company ship with no stake in the outcome, alongside the vessel's own carpenter. A commander might exaggerate defects to avoid an unwelcome voyage, while repairs or a replacement vessel would cost the Company heavily. A formal survey by outside craftsmen gave the Council a reliable basis for deciding how much work to pay for. The two reports differed in emphasis. The *Britannia*'s carpenters found the hull largely sound, while Fabiano, who had worked on her himself, said the timbers he had seen were badly decayed. Wales were the thick planks running along a ship's side that strengthened the hull, and where their joints fell together at the sharp curve of the bow they left a weak point that could open in heavy seas. Giulio Fabiano was the same carpenter paid earlier in the quarter for repairing the *Mercury*'s yawl.
292	288	21st May We do further Certify that the said Fly Cutter with proper the Works of the Larboard Bow as aforementioned is properly Shifted & the defective Pump Supplyd with a New one that the Vessel to all outward appearance is almost as fit for service as she has been ever since Launched from of the Beach. (signed) Singleton Winter Gillo Fabiano The Defects which the aforesaid Carpenters represented have been repaired and a Pump supplied. We therefore resolved to send her to Madagascar for Slaves in company with the Snow Mercury Captain Sea likewise this day representing to Us that it was	The carpenters added a further certificate. Once the timbers on the *Fly*'s port bow had been properly replaced and the rotten pump exchanged for a new one, they judged the cutter to be, by every outward sign, almost as fit for service as when she was first launched from the beach. Singleton Weaver and Giulio Fabiano signed it. The defects the carpenters had reported were repaired and a new pump fitted. The Council then decided to send the *Fly* to Madagascar to buy slaves, sailing in company with the snow *Mercury*. Captain Fea also told the Council that he must have one more man in his crew, since the voyage would take him round the Cape during the southern winter. The Council agreed. Jans Buckman, who had been left on the island by the *Britannia*, was enlisted that day as a soldier for five years. The Council judged him a good man and paid him a bounty of £5 0s 0d.

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		absolutely necessary for him to have a Man added to his Complement on account of his going round the Cape in the Winter Season. We accordingly agreed to his Request We this day Inlisted Jans Buchmans who was left here out of the Ship Britannia to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years, he appearing to be a good Man. We gave him five pounds Bounty Money Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of April last, which is as follow vizt	The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for April 1764. **Interpretations** The decision explains the heavy stores charged to the *Mercury* and the *Fly* in the storekeeper's account for the first quarter of 1764. The *Mercury* alone took four casks of salt meat, a new anchor cable, canvas and pitch worth more than £131, and the *Fly* was given salt meat, rice and arrack. These were the preparations for a slaving voyage to Madagascar, the island's usual source of new slaves for the Company's plantation and works. Sending two vessels together gave each some protection on a long and dangerous passage, and more space to carry the slaves back. Rounding the Cape in May or June meant crossing some of the stormiest waters in the world at the worst season, when gales from the west could last for days. A small cutter carried a minimal crew, and the loss or illness of a single man could leave her short-handed in heavy weather. Captain Fea's request reflected that risk. Jans Buckman received a bounty of £5 0s 0d for his first enlistment, half the £10 0s 0d paid to soldiers who re-enlisted. The higher sum rewarded men who already knew the island's service, while a sailor left behind by a passing ship could be taken on more cheaply.
293	289	Cash Dr 1764 April the 1st To Balance remaining £5525 10s 0½d 9th To Ship Duke of Richmond received the Balance of Her Account £7 5s 0d To Exchange for 3 sets of Bills drawn on the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follows vizt One Set to Lieut John Hartland for £70 1s 9d One do to Mrs Mary Adamson for £47 7s 4d One do to Mr John White for £70 0s 0d £187 9s 1d To Ship Osterly recd the Balance of her Account £103 18s 1d 19th To Sundry Accounts received from the Effects of Lieut Saml Price deceased on Account of the following persons in England as p Consultation of this day Esther Norton £7 16s 8d Banks Mitchel £0 1s 5d £7 18s 1d 24 To Ship Britannia received the Balance of her Account £36 1s 6d £5868 1s 9½d Per Contra Cr 1764 April 30th By Balance remaining in the following Species vizt Pagodas 6416 Pagodas @ 8s £2566 8s 0d Rupees 525 Rupees @ 2s 3d £59 1s 3d French Crowns 441 French Crs @ 2s £3 13s 6d Pisterines 1643 Pisterines @ 1s £82 3s 0d Dollars 10468 Dollars @ 5s £2617 0s 0d Odd Money £0 1s 0½d £5328 6s 9½d Cash Notes of no use amounting to	The Council's count of the Company's cash for April 1764 produced the following account. Cash, debit 1 April 1764, balance in hand, £5,525 10s 0½d 9 April 1764, received from the *Duke of Richmond* in settlement of her account, £7 5s 0d. Received for 3 sets of bills of exchange on the Court of Directors Lieutenant John Hartland, £70 1s 9d Mary Adamson, £47 7s 4d John White, £70 0s 0d Total for bills of exchange, £187 9s 1d Received from the *Osterley* in settlement of her account, £103 18s 1d. 19 April 1764, received from the estate of the late Lieutenant Samuel Price on behalf of creditors in England, as recorded in that day's minutes Esther Norton, £7 16s 8d Banks Mitchell, £0 1s 5d Total from the estate, £7 18s 1d 24 April 1764, received from the *Britannia* in settlement of her account, £36 1s 6d. Total, £5,868 1s 9½d Cash, credit 30 April 1764, balance in hand, held in the following coin 6,416 pagodas at 8s 0d each, £2,566 8s 0d 525 rupees at 2s 3d each, £59 1s 3d 441 French pieces at 2d each, £3 13s 6d 1,643 pistareens at 1s 0d each, £82 3s 0d 10,468 Spanish dollars at 5s 0d each, £2,617 0s 0d Odd money, £0 1s 0½d Total in coin, £5,328 6s 9½d Promissory notes, £539 15s 0d Total, £5,868 1s 9½d **Interpretations** The entry for Lieutenant Price's estate confirms that the two unnamed sums in the creditors' distribution on 19 April 1764 were the shares of Esther Norton and Banks Mitchell. The £7 16s 8d and £0 1s 5d match those two payments exactly. The account shows the money entering the treasury as a liability held for them in England, rather than being absorbed into the Company's general funds. No money left the treasury in April. The paymaster drew his advance for salaries and wages only once a quarter, at the end of March, so the

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		£539 15s 0d £5868 1s 9½d £5868 1s 9½d **Margin Notes:** 1764	monthly cash account in between recorded receipts alone. The balance therefore rose by more than £340, almost all of it in pagodas, which increased from 5,560 to 6,416. The ships settling their accounts paid largely in Madras gold, the coin they had carried from India. The promissory notes stood unchanged at £539 15s 0d, showing that none of those debts had been paid off during the month.
294	290	21st May Mr Matthew Bazett Overseer this day presented the following Petition vizt Island St Helena 21st May 1764 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor and Council &c The humble Petition of Matthw Bazett Junior Sheweth That your Petitioner having served the Honorable Company the term of Ten Years in the Station of an Overseer and hopes without Blemish to his Trust, Do beg leave to represent to your Worship and Council, that the Salary which I now enjoy is far short of what was granted to the late Mr Richard Gurling Deceased whom I was appointed to succeed. And most humbly Beg that your Worship and Council will take it into Consideration And Augment my pay the better to Enable me to act in the Capacity, which you were Graciously pleased to make me Worthy of And your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray (signed) Matthw Bazett Upon taking the Petitioners request into consideration, We find that all his Predecessors received a salary of sixty pounds a Year, but as ten pounds thereof has been allowed to an Overseer for looking after the Honorable Companys Stock in the Long Wood. We judge it reasonable that the said ten pounds a Year should be deducted and that the remaining fifty pounds a Year be allowed to the Petitioner for his service as chief Overseer, he being a person Sober, diligent, and Qualified to Discharge that Duty John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	Matthew Bazett, an overseer, presented a petition to the Council, dated at St Helena on 21 May 1764 and addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Bazett, the younger man of that name, stated that he had served the Company as an overseer for ten years and believed he had carried out his duties without fault. He pointed out that his present salary was far below what had been paid to the late Richard Gurling, whose post he had been appointed to fill. He asked the Council to consider his case and raise his pay, so that he could properly discharge the position it had entrusted to him. The Council considered the request and found that all his predecessors had been paid £60 0s 0d a year. Of that sum, however, £10 0s 0d a year was now being paid to another overseer for looking after the Company's livestock at Longwood. The Council therefore judged it fair to deduct that £10 0s 0d and to grant Bazett the remaining £50 0s 0d a year as chief overseer. It described him as sober, diligent and well suited to the work. John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council tied the salary to the office rather than to the man. It measured Bazett's claim against what the post had always paid, then removed the part of the duties, and the pay attached to them, that had since been given to someone else. The £10 0s 0d a year for the Longwood stock matches the £2 10s 0d a quarter paid to Robert Tushurst in the paymaster's account for the first quarter of 1764 for looking after the Company's livestock there. The Council thus split one office into two paid parts without increasing the total cost to the Company. Bazett's overseer's pay on the list for that quarter was £7 10s 0d, or £30 0s 0d a year, so the award raised his income by two-thirds. The petition identifies him as Matthew Bazett junior, distinct from the Council's secretary of the same name. As chief overseer he directed the Company's plantation and its slaves, a post of real responsibility for the island's food supply.
295	291	22d May At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 22d Day of May 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 21st May 1764 This Day arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Princess Augusta from England, by which opportunity we received a Packet from the Honorable the Court of Directors, which we opened and read their Orders to Us. John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th Day of May 1764 at the	The Council met at the Castle on Tuesday 22 May 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 21 May 1764. The Company ship *Princess Augusta* arrived from England that day. She brought a packet of letters from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened and read. John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council met again at the Castle on Monday 28 May 1764, with the Governor, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 22 May 1764. A Swedish ship passed the island on Wednesday 23 May 1764 without stopping. The Council bought 781 pieces of salted meat from Captain Gabriel Steward of the *Neptune* for the Company, paying him 2s 0d a piece, £78 2s 0d in all.

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		Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 22 May 1764 Wednesday the 23d passed by a Swede Ship Bought of Captain Gabriel Steward on Account of the Honorable Company, seven hundred and eighty one pieces of Meat, for which we paid him two Shillings each, amounting to seventy eight pounds, two Shillings	**Interpretations** Surplus salt meat from homeward ships was a steady source of supply for the island's stores. Together with the 562 pieces bought from Captain Mears on 10 May 1764, this purchase brought more than 1,300 pieces into the warehouses within three weeks. The Company paid 2s 0d a piece and sold the same meat to its servants at a 10 per cent advance, as the storekeeper's account for the first quarter showed. Commanders reaching St Helena on the last leg of the voyage no longer needed their full reserve and were glad to sell it, while the island gained meat without waiting for dedicated shipments from England.
296	292	28th May Captain Gabriel Steward applied to Us to pay three hundred and thirty pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash which sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order. Ninety days after sight dated this day. John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th Day of June 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed, dated the 28th May 1764 Friday the 1st sailed His Majestys Ship Baleine and the Honorable Company's Ship Neptune for England Do Do Arrived the Houghtons Boat at Bankss half an Hour past seven at Night Do the 2d Do the Falmouths Boat at Bankss three Quarters of an Hour past nine in the Morning Do the 2d Do the Cruttendens Boat at Bankss two o'Clock in the Afternoon Do the 2d Arrived the Honorable Company's Ships Houghton, Falmouth, & Cruttenden from China The Houghton brought Us the following Supplies vizt	Captain Gabriel Steward paid £330 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. In return the Council gave him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to himself or his nominee 90 days after they were presented, and dated that day. John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Monday 4 June 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 28 May 1764. The King's ship *Baleine* and the Company ship *Neptune* sailed for England on Friday 1 June 1764. That evening, at half past seven, the *Houghton*'s boat landed at Banks's. On 2 June the *Falmouth*'s boat came ashore there at a quarter to ten in the morning, followed by the *Cruttenden*'s boat at two in the afternoon. The Company ships *Houghton*, *Falmouth* and *Cruttenden* all arrived from China the same day. The *Houghton* delivered a consignment of supplies for the island.
297	293	4th June Invoice of Ship Houghton Tea Bohea 5 Chests Gross 990 Tare 178 812 Nt Picl 6.09 @ 17 T p P T 103 5m 3c 0ca Sugar 25 Chests Gross 9503 Tare 954 8549 Nt Picl 64.11 @ 4.5 T m p P T 288 4m 9c 5ca T 392 0m 2c 5ca To 25 Chests at 500 m p Chest for Lead T 12 5m 0c 0ca T 404 5m 2c 5ca Canton Decemr 21st 1763 Errors Excepted (signed) Pr Thos Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Nathl Garland Alexr Hume Benjn Tonn Thos Smith Willm Rouse The Ten working days allowed by Charterparty for unloading the Ship Princess	The *Houghton*'s invoice was entered in the Council's records. The invoice gave only total weights, in pounds. Bohea tea, 5 chests Gross weight, 990 lb Tare, 178 lb Net weight, 812 lb, or 6.09 piculs, at 17 taels per picul, 103 taels 5 mace 3 candareens 0 cash Sugar, 25 chests Gross weight, 9,503 lb Tare, 954 lb Net weight, 8,549 lb, or 64.11 piculs, at 4 taels 5 mace per picul, 288 taels 4 mace 9 candareens 5 cash Subtotal, 392 taels 0 mace 2 candareens 5 cash Lead for lining 25 chests at 5 mace per chest, 12 taels 5 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Total, 404 taels 5 mace 2 candareens 5 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 21 December 1763 and signed, subject to correction of any errors, by the following. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Nathaniel Garland Alexander Hume Benjamin Torin Thomas Smith William Rouse

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		Augusta expiring on Saturday last. We this day gave Captain Thomas Baddeson sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough on the West Coast of the Island of Sumatra according to the Orders he had received from the Honorable the Court of Directors, to whom we also gave the following Letters as likewise Duplicates of those we wrote by the Ship Duke of Richmond vizt To the President and other Supra Cargoes of Council at Canton Gentlemen We have consigned to you by this Ship on	The ten working days allowed by the charter agreement for unloading the *Princess Augusta* ran out on Saturday 2 June 1764. On 4 June the Council gave Captain Thomas Baddison written orders to sail as quickly as possible to Fort Marlborough on the west coast of Sumatra, as the Court of Directors had instructed. It also handed him letters for delivery, together with copies of those it had earlier sent by the *Duke of Richmond*. The first letter was addressed to the President and the other supercargoes of the council at Canton. It began by informing them of a consignment sent to them in the same ship. **Interpretations** The Council sent copies of its earlier letters by a second ship as a routine safeguard. Any single vessel might be wrecked, captured or long delayed, so important correspondence was duplicated in the next available ship bound the same way. Whichever copy arrived first would be acted upon. The practice doubled the clerical work but greatly reduced the risk that orders or requests would simply vanish at sea. The *Houghton*'s invoice was dated at Canton on 21 December 1763, earlier than any of the other China ships that season, yet she reached St Helena only on 2 June 1764. Her passage took more than five months, against about 15 weeks for the *Britannia*, which left Canton ten days after her. The record gives no reason for the difference, but passages from China varied widely with the winds met in the Indian Ocean and the calls a ship made on the way.
298	294	4th June on Account of the Honorable Company, one Chest of Treasure as p Invoice and Bill of Lading Enclosed; We have likewise sent you a List of Ships Arrival and Departure to and from this Place since our last As we have great Quantity of Sugar Candy remaining in the Honorable Companys Stores, we have not Indented for any for the Year 1765. We wish Success to the Company's Affairs at Canton and are Gentlemen Your most humble Servants (signed) St Helena John Skottowe 4th June 1764. C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick To the Honorable Roger Carter Esqr President and Governor &c Council of Fort Marlborough Honorable Sir and Sirs We addressed you last under date of the 8th of April by the Ship Duke of Richmond Duplicate of which you will receive Enclosed together with our Letters to the several Presidencys in India which we desire you will please to send by the first opportunity. Your favours by the Ships Houghton and Cruttenden, we duly received the 2d Instant. the Falmouth arrived here the same day. John Williams a Recruit Intended for your Settlement deserting from the Duke of Richmond, we have given Captain Baddeson an order to receive him on board his Ship. but have not paid him for his passage Enclosed we have sent you the Ship Princess Augustas Charter Party, Victualling Bill and Manifest of Goods, We are sorry	The Council's letter to the supercargoes at Canton reported that it had consigned one chest of treasure to them in the ship on the Company's account. The invoice and bill of lading were enclosed. A list of ships arriving at and leaving the island since the last letter went with it. The Council explained that the Company's stores held a large quantity of sugar candy, so it had placed no order for candy for 1765. It closed by wishing the Company's business at Canton every success. John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 4 June 1764. The next letter went to Roger Carter, President and Governor, and the Council at Fort Marlborough. The Council's last letter to Sumatra had been sent by the *Duke of Richmond* on 8 April 1764, and a copy of it was enclosed. The Council also enclosed its letters to the presidencies in India and asked Fort Marlborough to forward them by the first available ship. It acknowledged the letters from Fort Marlborough brought by the *Houghton* and the *Cruttenden*, which had arrived on 2 June 1764 together with the *Falmouth*. John Williams, a recruit bound for Fort Marlborough, had deserted from the *Duke of Richmond* at St Helena. The Council had ordered Captain Baddison to take him aboard, but had not paid for his passage. The ship's charter party, victualling bill and cargo manifest for the *Princess Augusta* were enclosed. The Council went on to express its regret about a further matter. **Interpretations** The chest of treasure shows St Helena acting as a relay point in the Company's silver trade with China. Chinese merchants would accept little from Europe except silver in payment for tea, so the Company had to ship large quantities of coin eastward every year. Forwarding a chest from the island's treasury to Canton let the Company move silver to where it was needed without a separate shipment from London. The Council ordered supplies from the East well over a year ahead through an annual list of requirements known as an indent. Its decision not to order sugar candy for 1765 reflects stock already on

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		to	hand. The recent China ships had landed large amounts, and the storekeeper's first-quarter sales showed candy moving only slowly, so the Council cut its future order to match. John Williams had evidently slipped ashore from the *Duke of Richmond* before she sailed on 11 April 1764 and remained hidden on the island until he was caught. Sending him on in the *Princess Augusta* returned him to the settlement he had enlisted for. Leaving the passage unpaid meant Fort Marlborough would settle the cost in its own accounts, where the recruit's pay was charged.
299	295	1764 to hear you have not received the Number of Chinese you expected, as we imagine they would have been of great use to you, We heartily wish success to the Honorable Company's Affairs under your Direction, and are with great regard Honorable Sir & Sirs Your most humble Servants (signed) St Helena John Skottowe 4th June 1764 C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick Bought of Captain Thomas Baddison for the use of the Honorable Company's Table the following Articles vizt Raisons 15 lb @ 10d £0 12s 6d Currents 15 lb @ 1s £0 15s 0d Case of Pickles 1 Case £2 10s 0d Bottles Mustard 6 Bottles @ 2s 6d £0 15s 0d Hams 40½ lb 4 Hams @ 1s £2 0s 6d £6 13s 0d Mr Robert Sinclair Surgeon of the Ship Princess Augusta applied to Us for payment for his care of nineteen Recruits in their passage from England, We accordingly ordered him to be paid five Shillings each, amounting to four pounds fifteen Shillings Benjamin Pledger applied to Us to have a Deed of Gift Registered, which we granted John Skottowe C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council told Fort Marlborough that it regretted to hear the settlement had not received the number of Chinese it had expected, since it believed they would have been of great value there. It closed by wishing the Company's affairs under Carter's direction every success. John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 4 June 1764. The Council bought the following provisions for the Company's table from Captain Thomas Baddison. 15 lb of raisins at 10d per lb, £0 12s 6d 15 lb of currants at 1s 0d per lb, £0 15s 0d 1 case of pickles, £2 10s 0d 6 bottles of mustard at 2s 6d each, £0 15s 0d 4 hams weighing 40½ lb at 1s 0d per lb, £2 0s 6d Total, £6 13s 0d Robert Sinclair, surgeon of the *Princess Augusta*, asked to be paid for looking after 19 recruits on the voyage from England. The Council ordered him paid 5s 0d for each man, £4 15s 0d in all. Benjamin Pledger asked the Council to register a deed of gift, and it agreed. John Skottowe Matthew Purling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Chinese that Fort Marlborough had hoped to receive were perhaps labourers or craftsmen. The Company valued Chinese settlers at Bencoolen as skilled artisans, traders and cultivators, since the local population was small and the European garrison suffered heavily from disease. The Council's remark shows that St Helena kept track of the manpower needs of other settlements, even those it could do nothing to supply. Registering a deed of gift with the Council gave it a public, official record. A gift of land, slaves or goods made privately could later be disputed by heirs or creditors, especially if the giver died in debt. Entering the deed in the Council's register fixed its date and terms beyond challenge. The Council thus served as the island's registry of property as well as its government and court.
300	296	5th June At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 5th Day of June 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 4th June 1764 The Snow Mercury and Fly Cutter being ready to put to Sea, We this day gave Captains Harrold and Sea the Subsequent Orders, and Instructions vizt Orders and Instructions given by John Skottowe Esqr Governor &c Council of the Island St Helena to Captain	The Council met at the Castle on Tuesday 5 June 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with the councillors Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of 4 June 1764. The snow *Mercury* and the cutter *Fly* were ready to sail. That day the Council handed Captain Harrold and Captain Fea the following orders and instructions. The Governor and Council addressed their orders to Captain William Harrold, commander of the *Mercury*, and John Meryweather, her chief mate, or to whoever held those posts at the time. They appointed the two men as the Company's agents to buy slaves, rice and paddy for the island. The Council had loaded the snow with a suitable cargo for trading

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		William Harrold Commander of the Snow Mercury and Mr John Meryweather Chief Mate, or to the Commander and Chief Mate of the said Snow for the Time being We the Governor and Council, having constituted and appointed you Captain William Harrold and Mr John Meryweather or the Commander and Chief Mate of the Snow Mercury for the Time being Agents for the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, for purchasing Slaves, Rice and Paddy as hereafter mentioned, for the use of this their Island, and for that purpose having laden on the said Snow a proper Cargo, and consigned the same to you as p Invoice and Bill of Lading enclosed. You are hereby Ordered to proceed to the Island of Madagascar, and you are to endeavour to purchase at any of the Ports in the said Island, such a Number of Men, and Boy Slaves, as you can bring with safety, in the said Snow, the Men are to be able Bodied under twenty five Years of Age, and well grown Boys You are to provide a sufficient quantity of Rice and provisions for the use of the Ships Company, and the Slaves you get, to serve them until you arrival here, if you have convenient Room afterwards you are to bring as much Rice and Paddy especially Rice as you can take in, without loading the Snow so deep, as to hinder her sailing	and consigned it to them, as shown in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. Harrold was to sail to Madagascar and try to buy, at any of the island's ports, as many male slaves, men and boys, as the snow could carry in safety. The men were to be fit and strong and under 25 years of age, and the boys well grown. He was to lay in enough rice and other provisions to feed both his crew and the slaves until they reached St Helena. If space remained after that, he was to take on as much rice and paddy as he could, rice above all, provided the snow was not loaded so deep that her sailing suffered. **Interpretations** The Council's instructions specified exactly the labour it wanted: young men under 25 and well-grown boys, with no women. The Company bought slaves for work on its plantation, its roads and fortifications and in its boats, and chose those it expected to give the longest years of heavy labour. Restricting purchases to males shaped the island's slave population, which could not sustain itself through births and had to be renewed by further voyages. Making the commander and chief mate the Company's agents gave them authority to trade on its behalf and made them answerable for the cargo consigned to them. The goods loaded aboard were to be bartered for slaves and rice, and the invoice and bill of lading fixed what they had received, so that every purchase could later be checked against the goods spent. Naming the two officers or their successors ensured the voyage could continue if either died, a real risk on the Madagascar coast, where fever was common. This voyage explains the heavy stores charged to the *Mercury* in the storekeeper's account for the first quarter of 1764, including salted meat, canvas and a new anchor cable. The Council's stress on rice reflects its dual purpose. Rice fed the slaves on the passage and, carried in bulk, eased the island's dependence on Bengal for its grain.
301	297	1764 sailing, and you are to execute these Orders with all possible expedition Inclosed are some extracts from the Books of the last Ships sent to Madagascar, of the Terms of Trade then agreed upon between the Honorable Companys Agents, and the Natives, which will be some guide to you in your purchases Treat the Natives Civilly but be constantly on your Guard whenever you have any Slaves on board to prevent their rising upon you but at the same time you are to use them with great humanity You are to keep a regular and exact Diary of all your transactions and proceedings in the Execution of this Commission and to enter therein all such Informations, and observations as may occur to you and which may tend to the better carrying on the Slaving trade in future You are also to keep exact Accounts of the disposal of the Cargo consigned to you for the Purchase of Slaves, Rice and other provisions and necessary's, together with all Charges attending the same Copies of which Diary's and accounts signed by you both or the Commander and Chief	The instructions required Harrold to carry out his orders as quickly as possible. Extracts from the records of the last ships sent to Madagascar were enclosed, showing the terms of trade agreed between the Company's agents and the local people, to guide him in his purchases. He was to treat the people of Madagascar courteously. Whenever slaves were aboard, he was to stay constantly alert to prevent them rising against the crew, while at the same time treating them with great humanity. Harrold was to keep a careful daily journal of every transaction and event during the voyage. In it he was to record any information or observation that might help the Company conduct the slave trade more effectively in future. He was also to keep exact accounts of how he used the cargo consigned to him in buying slaves, rice, other provisions and necessary supplies, together with all related costs. Copies of the journal and the accounts, signed by both the commander and the chief mate, were to be delivered to the Council. The originals were to go to the Court of Directors when the ship returned to England. He was to inspect the small arms often and take particular care that none rusted or suffered any damage. To encourage the two officers to carry out the commission faithfully and carefully, the Council offered them a reward for every slave delivered alive to the Governor and Council at St Helena, to be paid on their return. Captain William Harrold, per slave delivered alive, £1 0s 0d

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		Mate for the Time being, are to be delivered to Us and the Originals to the Honorable the Court of Directors on your return to England You must frequently examine the Condition of the Small Arms, and take particular care to prevent their rusting or receiving any Damage whatsoever. To Encourage you to discharge this Commission faithfully and diligently, you will be allowed the following Commission or Reward vizt To Captain William Harrold Twenty Shillings To Mr John Meryweather Six Shillings and eight pence a head, for so many Slaves as shall be delivered alive here, to Us the Governor and Council for the Time being which said allowance will be paid by us, on your arrival here But if either of you shall die before this Commission is fully executed at Madagascar the above mentioned Commission or reward of twenty six Shillings and eight pence a Head, is to be reserved, and divided in such manner, and among such persons, as the Honorable the Court of Directors shall judge equitable upon the return of the Snow Mercury to England To encourage the Surgeon to be careful of the Slaves Healths you are to acquaint him at Madagascar, We shall pay him five Shillings a Head, for every one that shall be delivered alive You and Captain Sea for the Interest of the Company are to act jointly in your purchases, You are also to agree on the proper measures for that purpose, and such a Number of Slaves are to be put on board the Fly Cutter, as She can with safety take in	John Meryweather, per slave delivered alive, £0 6s 8d If either man died before the commission was completed at Madagascar, the combined reward of £1 6s 8d a head would be divided among those concerned in whatever way the Court of Directors thought fair when the *Mercury* returned to England. To encourage the surgeon to take care of the slaves' health, Harrold was to tell him at Madagascar that the Council would pay him 5s 0d for every slave delivered alive. Harrold and Captain Fea were to act together in their purchases on the Company's behalf and agree on the best means of carrying them out. The *Fly* was to take aboard as many slaves as she could carry in safety. **Interpretations** Every reward in the instructions depended on slaves reaching St Helena alive. The commander, the chief mate and the surgeon earned nothing for slaves bought who died on the passage, which gave each of them a direct financial stake in the captives' survival. The same principle governed the 5s 0d a head paid to ships' surgeons for recruits delivered from England, as with the *Duke of Richmond*'s surgeon on 9 April 1764. Mortality on slaving voyages was high, and paying only for live delivery shifted part of that risk from the Company onto its officers. The journal and duplicate accounts served two purposes. They let the Council check every item of the trade goods against the slaves and rice obtained, and they gave the Directors in London an independent record signed by two officers, making false returns harder. The requirement to note anything useful for future voyages shows the Company treating each expedition as a source of knowledge about prices, ports and local rulers for the next. The warnings to guard against a rising and to keep the small arms in good order reflect the constant danger of revolt aboard slave ships, especially in small vessels like the *Mercury* and the *Fly* with few crew. The instruction to treat the slaves humanely sat alongside these precautions, since sickness, despair and mistreatment all raised the death rate on which the officers' rewards depended.
302	298	[...] June In case you should meet, with any other of the Honorable Company's Agents trading for Slaves at Madagascar, and you find it for the Interest of the Company to Act jointly with them in your purchases. You are to consult and agree on the best Methods for the good of this Service and divide between you such Slaves as shall be bought in consequence of such agreement, in such manner, as is most Consistent with the Orders, that are hereby given you (signed) St Helena John Skottowe 5th June 1764 C Purling Thos Kirkpatrick Invoice p Snow Mercury Cutlery &c 2 Boxes vizt No 21 1 Box Pr Scissars 233 Pr £1 9s 6d Rasors 178 Rasors £3 6s 4d Needles	The final instruction dealt with meeting other Company agents. If Harrold found any other agents buying slaves for the Company at Madagascar, and it served the Company's interest to join with them, he was to consult them and agree on the best way of proceeding. Any slaves bought under such an arrangement were to be divided between the parties in the way that best fitted the Council's orders. John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the instructions at St Helena on 5 June 1764. The invoice of trade goods loaded aboard the snow *Mercury* followed. Knives, scissors and other small wares, 2 boxes Box 21 233 pairs of scissors, £1 9s 6d 178 razors, £3 6s 4d 2,300 needles, £0 8s 10d 71 horn combs, £0 8s 1d 83 knives with pressed horn handles and sloping points, £0 19s 4d 72 knives with gilt wooden handles and sloping points, £0 16s 6d 11 stag-horn knives and forks, £0 9s 2d 12 coconut-handled knives and forks, £0 7s 0d 34 small butchers' knives, £0 6s 9d 11 stag-horn knives with sloping points, £0 3s 1d 5 lb of coloured thread, £0 10s 10d 3 dozen pewter spoons, £0 5s 0d Box 30

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		2300 Needles £0 8s 10d Horn Combs 71 Combs £0 8s 1d Knives Prest Horn Slope Points 83 Knives £0 19s 4d Do Gilt Wood Slope Do 72 Knives £0 16s 6d Stag Horn Knives & Forks 11 Knives & Forks £0 9s 2d Coco Knives and Forks 12 Knives and Forks £0 7s 0d Small Butchers Knives 34 Knives £0 6s 9d Stag Horn Knives Slope Points 11 Knives £0 3s 1d Coloured Thread 5 lb £0 10s 10d Doz Powder Spoons 3 Doz £0 5s 0d No 30 No 1 3 Doz ½ Box Butchers @ 2s 9d 3 Doz £0 9s 7d No 2 4 Do Prest Horn Slope Points 4 Doz £0 2s 9d No 3 1 Do ½ Spotted Horn @ 4s 5d 1½ Doz £0 6s 7d No 4 2 Do 3 Pr Scissars @ 5s 6d 2 Doz £0 12s 4d No 5 2 Do Inlaid Rasors @ 5s 6d 2 Doz £0 11s 0d No 6 400 Needles 400 Needles £0 2s 2d No 7 9 Looking Glasses 9 Glasses £0 10s 0d No 8 23 Long Yellow Pipe 23 Pipes £1 12s 7d No 9 5½ Green Glass 5½ lb £0 11s 11d £17 10s 6d Carried over£17 10s 6d	1: 3½ dozen butchers' knives at 2s 9d per dozen, £0 9s 7d 2: 1 dozen knives with pressed horn handles and sloping points, £0 2s 9d 3: 1½ dozen spotted horn knives at 4s 5d per dozen, £0 6s 7d 4: 2 dozen pairs of scissors at 5s 6d per dozen, £0 12s 4d 5: 2 dozen inlaid razors at 5s 6d per dozen, £0 11s 0d 6: 400 needles, £0 2s 2d 7: 9 looking glasses, £0 10s 0d 8: 23 [...] of long yellow pipe, £1 12s 7d 9: 5½ [...] of green glass, £0 11s 11d Carried forward, £17 10s 6d **Interpretations** The instruction to join forces with other Company agents was meant to stop them bidding against each other. Where two buyers from the same employer competed at the same port, local traders could play one against the other and drive up prices. By pooling their trade goods and dividing the slaves afterwards, the agents kept prices down and saved the Company money. The goods were typical of the barter trade on the Madagascar coast. Knives, scissors, razors, needles, combs and small mirrors were cheap European manufactures that local traders valued for everyday use and for their own trade into the interior. Long yellow pipe and green glass were almost certainly glass beads, the pipe being the long tubular kind, which served widely around the Indian Ocean as currency and ornament. Their very low cost in England, set against the value of what they bought in Madagascar, made them central to the trade.
303	299	1764 Brought over£17 10s 6d No 16 Tobacco 1 Cask containing 221 lb £8 14s 2d No 187 Small Arms 7 Chests vizt Whole Buccaneers 74 Buccaneers £55 5s 4d half Do 49 Buccaneers £30 14s 2d Blacks Trading Guns 25 Guns £10 18s 4d fine Guns for Presents 2 Guns	The invoice of goods loaded aboard the *Mercury* continued from the £17 10s 6d brought forward. Brought forward, £17 10s 6d Cask 16, tobacco, 221 lb, £8 14s 2d Firearms, 7 chests numbered 1 to 7 74 full-length buccaneer guns, £55 5s 4d 49 half-length buccaneer guns, £30 14s 2d 25 trade guns, £10 18s 4d 2 fine guns for presents, £6 18s 0d 10 spare ramrods, £0 1s 1d 1,000 musket flints, £0 14s 4d Total for firearms, £104 11s 3d Salt and saltpetre, 3 casks and 2 boxes numbered 10 to 12 18 bushels of salt, £2 17s 0d 6 lb of saltpetre, £0 10s 5d

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		£6 18s 0d Spare Rammers 10 Rammers £0 1s 1d Musquet Flints 1000 Flints £0 14s 4d £104 11s 3d No 10 & 12 Salt &c 3 Casks and 2 Boxes vizt Bushels Salt 18 Bushels £2 17s 0d 15 Salt Petre 6 lb £0 10s 3d 63 Do Refind 6 lb £0 9s 7d £3 17s 0d Bays 2½ Pieces 2½ Pieces £7 8s 6d Pipes 2 Firkins and 1 Box vizt Gross long Pipes 2 Gross £0 13s 2d Gross Hunters 6 Gross £0 9s 7d £1 2s 9d Iron Ware vizt Negro Collars 24 Collars £1 13s 0d Chain 1 Chain £0 8s 3d Pr Handcuffs 24 Pr £0 13s 2d Shackles 44 Shackles £3 4s 6d £5 18s 11d No 31 Bullets 1 Cask wt 0cwt 2qr 21lb £0 12s 10d Lead Shot 2 Casks vizt 0cwt 2qr 21lb 24 to a pound 1cwt 0qr 21lb 22 to do £1 2s 4d 1cwt 0qr 14lb Shot £0 3s 4d 2 Cask &c Lead Shot amount to£1 5s 8d No 14 Beads 1 Box wt 178 lb £7 15s 4d 20 Glass Ware Wine Glasses 31 Glasses £0 13s 8d Mugs 7 Mugs £0 5s 2d Tumblers 3 Tumblers £0 2s 2d £1 1s 0d Carried over£159 17s 11d	6 lb of refined saltpetre, £0 9s 7d Total for salt and saltpetre, £3 17s 0d 2½ pieces of baize, £7 8s 6d Tobacco pipes, 2 firkins and 1 box 2 gross of long pipes, £0 13s 2d 6 gross of hunters' pipes, £0 9s 7d Total for pipes, £1 2s 9d Ironwork 24 slave collars, £1 13s 0d 1 chain, £0 8s 3d 24 pairs of handcuffs, £0 13s 2d 44 pairs of shackles, £3 4s 6d Total for ironwork, £5 18s 11d Cask 31, musket balls, 1 cask, £0 12s 10d Lead shot, 2 casks 0 cwt 2 qr 21 lb of shot at 24 to the pound 1 cwt 0 qr 21 lb of shot at 22 to the pound 1 cwt 0 qr 14 lb of shot in all, £1 2s 4d 2 casks and packing, £0 3s 4d Total for lead shot, £1 5s 8d Box 14, beads, 173 lb, £7 15s 4d Box 20, glassware 31 wine glasses, £0 13s 8d 7 mugs, £0 5s 2d 3 tumblers, £0 2s 2d Total for glassware, £1 1s 0d Carried forward, £159 17s 11d **Interpretations** Firearms made up by far the largest part of the cargo, at more than £104 of the £160 so far invoiced. Guns were the goods most in demand on the Madagascar coast, where local rulers used them in the wars that also produced captives for sale. Buccaneer guns were long-barrelled muskets, first made for hunters in the Caribbean and popular in African and Indian Ocean trade for their range. Trade guns were cheaper muskets made specifically for barter. The two fine guns for presents were gifts for local rulers, whose goodwill was needed before any trading could begin. The collars, chain, handcuffs and shackles were for holding the slaves once bought. They were the practical means behind the instruction to guard constantly against a rising while slaves were aboard. The 44 pairs of shackles and 24 collars give some idea of the number of captives the Council expected the two vessels to carry. Baize was a coarse, napped woollen cloth, and tobacco, pipes, beads and glassware were standard items in the same barter trade. Hunters' pipes were a short, sturdy style of clay tobacco pipe. Saltpetre was the chief ingredient of gunpowder and was also used to preserve meat. The lead shot was graded by the number of balls to the pound, the smaller the ball the more to the pound, for use in fowling pieces and small guns.
304	300	5th June Brought over£159 17s 11d Gun Powder Half Barrels 25 Half Barrels £74 4s 2d Quarter Barrels	The invoice of goods loaded aboard the *Mercury* continued from the £159 17s 11d brought forward. Brought forward, £159 17s 11d Gunpowder 25 half-barrels, £74 4s 2d 50 quarter-barrels, £64 15s 3d Total for gunpowder, £138 19s 5d

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		50 Quarter Barrels £64 15s 3d £138 19s 5d No 50 Pewter 2 Casks vizt Basons 65 Basons £6 1s 9d Doz Spoons @ 17s 7d 3 Doz £2 12s 9d Pint Tankards @ 1s 8d 15 Tankards £1 5s 0d Quart Do @ 2s 7d 10 Tankards £1 5s 10d Porringers @ 1s 1d 15 Porringers £0 16s 3d Do Screw Jugs @ 4s 8d 5 Jugs £1 3s 4d two Quart Do @ 6s 4d 5 Jugs £1 11s 8d 60 25 No 1 25 No 2 15 No 3 Basons Wt 1cwt 0qr 5lb @ 11¼ £6 0s 2d Doz Spoons @ 17s 7d 3 Doz £2 12s 9d Pint Tankards @ 1s 8d 15 Tankards £1 5s 0d Quart Do @ 2s 7d 10 Tankards £1 5s 10d Do Porringers @ 1s 1d 15 Porringers £0 16s 3d Do Screw Jugs @ 4s 8d 5 Jugs £1 3s 4d two Quart Do @ 6s 4d 5 Jugs £1 11s 8d £29 11s 7d No 182 Brandy 2 Hhds containing 134 Gallons £40 2s 10d Flints Casks vizt Flints 4000 Flints £1 6s 4d Do 10000 Flints £6 13s 4d £7 19s 8d £376 11s 5d Island St Helena Sir You having informed Us by your Letter dated the 2d Instant, that the Snow Mercury would be ready for the Sea this Day You are hereby Ordered to make the best of your Way to the Island of Madagascar, On your arrival there you and Mr John Meryweather your Chief Mate, are punctually to observe the Instructions given you herewith for the purchasing Slaves, Rice, and Paddy, and likewise in every other Respect You are hereby Ordered to keep Company with the Fly	Cask 50, pewter, 2 casks 65 basins, £6 1s 9d 3 dozen spoons at 17s 7d per dozen, £2 12s 9d 15 pint tankards at 1s 8d each, £1 5s 0d 10 quart tankards at 2s 7d each, £1 5s 10d 15 porringers at 1s 1d each, £0 16s 3d 5 quart screw-top jugs at 4s 8d each, £1 3s 4d 5 two-quart screw-top jugs at 6s 4d each, £1 11s 8d 65 basins, 25 of size 1, 25 of size 2 and 15 of size 3, weighing [...] at 11¼d per lb, £6 0s 2d 3 dozen spoons at 17s 7d per dozen, £2 12s 9d 15 pint tankards at 1s 8d each, £1 5s 0d 10 quart tankards at 2s 7d each, £1 5s 10d 15 porringers at 1s 1d each, £0 16s 3d 5 quart screw-top jugs at 4s 8d each, £1 3s 4d 5 two-quart screw-top jugs at 6s 4d each, £1 11s 8d Total for pewter, £29 11s 7d Casks 1 and 2, brandy, 2 hogsheads holding 134 gallons, £40 2s 10d Flints, 2 casks 4,000 flints, £1 6s 4d 10,000 flints, £6 13s 4d Total for flints, £7 19s 8d Total, £376 11s 5d The Council then wrote to Captain Harrold at St Helena. He had reported in his letter of 2 June 1764 that the snow *Mercury* would be ready for sea on 5 June. The Council ordered him to sail as quickly as possible to Madagascar. On arrival, he and John Meryweather, his chief mate, were to follow exactly the instructions sent with the letter for buying slaves, rice and paddy, and in every other respect. He was also ordered to keep company with the *Fly*. **Interpretations** Weapons and the means to use them dominated the cargo. Guns, gunpowder, flints, shot and musket balls together came to about £255, roughly two-thirds of the £376 11s 5d invoiced. The rest was made up of cloth, brandy, tobacco, beads, pewter and small wares. The composition shows how closely the slave trade at Madagascar was bound up with the arms trade. Local rulers exchanged captives for the guns and powder that strengthened them against their rivals, and those conflicts in turn produced more captives for sale. The 14,000 flints far exceeded the number needed for the guns being sold, which suggests they were themselves a trade good. Flints wore out quickly and could not be made from local stone, so owners of firearms needed a steady supply. The pewter basins, tankards, porringers and jugs were household wares valued by the traders and chiefs who dealt with European ships.

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305	301	1764 Fly Cutter, until your return to this Place, and you as Senior Captain are to make the Proper Signals for that purpose, and it is recommended to you to agree with Capt. Sea on all such Measures, as will forward the Utility of the service you are sent upon. You are hereby permitted in your homeward bound Passage to touch at the Cape of Good Hope for Intelligence and to stay there no longer than is absolutely necessary for your taking in Water, and what provisions may be requisite for your Ships Company, and Slaves to this Island, We wish you a safe and good Voyage and are St Helena Sir 5th June 1764 Your humble Servants To (signed) John Skottowe Captain William Harrold C Purling Commander of the Thos Kirkpatrick Snow Mercury. Island St Helena To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting, Whereas the Snow Mercury belonging to the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, commanded by Captain William Harrold, Burthen 140 Tons, carrying Thirty two Men, eight Carriage and eight Swivels Guns, is now employed for the Service of this their Island And whereas the said Snow may possibly by bad weather, or by some unforeseen and unexpected Accident, be so distressed as to stand in Need of Assistance, This is therefore to request of the Governor, Principal Officer, or Chief Magistrate, and likewise of the Commanders of the Ships, of every Nation which is in Amity, and at Peace with that of Great Britain to supply in such an Exigency the Captain of the said Vessel for the Time being in with the Provisions and Necessaries, that he is in absolute want of, for the Support of himself and People, or for the repairing any Damage she may in any Respect have sustained. And if it should so happen that the said Captain hath not Money sufficient, to pay for such Provision and Necessaries the Person or Persons of whom he had them are hereby desired to take his Bill or Bills for the same on the Court of Directors of the abovementioned Honorable Company, specifying therein the Particulars he or they furnished him with, and the Price of them, which Bill or Bills will be duly and punctually paid by them in London or elsewhere if required. Given under our Hands and	The Council's letter to Captain Harrold went on to order him to stay in company with the *Fly* until both vessels returned to St Helena. As the senior captain he was to make the necessary signals for keeping together, and he was urged to agree with Captain Fea on whatever measures would best advance the voyage. On the return passage he was allowed to call at the Cape of Good Hope to gather news. He was to stay there no longer than strictly needed to take on water and whatever provisions his crew and the slaves required for the voyage to the island. The Council closed by wishing him a good voyage. John Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 5 June 1764, addressed to Captain William Harrold, commander of the snow *Mercury*. The Council also issued a general certificate for the voyage, addressed to anyone who might read it. It described the *Mercury* as a Company snow of 140 tons, commanded by Captain William Harrold, with a crew of 32 men and armed with eight carriage guns and eight swivel guns, then employed in the service of St Helena. Since bad weather or some unforeseen accident might leave her in need of help, the certificate appealed to any governor, senior officer or chief magistrate, and to the commanders of ships of any nation at peace with Great Britain. It asked them, in such an emergency, to supply her captain with whatever provisions and necessary items he urgently needed to sustain his crew or to repair any damage to the vessel. If the captain lacked the money to pay, the suppliers were asked to accept his bills drawn on the Court of Directors. Each bill was to state the items supplied and their price, and the Directors would pay it promptly in London or wherever else had been agreed. **Interpretations** The certificate extended the Company's credit to any port the *Mercury* might be forced to enter. A small vessel on a long voyage could not carry enough coin to meet every emergency, and a foreign governor or ship's master had no reason to trust an unknown English captain. The document solved both problems. It identified the vessel and her armament officially, making clear she was a legitimate Company ship rather than a pirate or privateer, and it guaranteed that her captain's bills would be honoured by the Directors in London. The appeal was limited to nations at peace with Great Britain, a phrase that carried real weight in 1764, only months after the war with France and Spain had ended. The Cape of Good Hope, where Harrold was permitted to call for news, was the best place on the route to learn of any renewed conflict or of events in India. Carriage guns were cannon mounted on wheeled carriages. Swivel guns were small pieces fixed on the rail on a pivot, used chiefly against boarders, which mattered on a vessel that might have to defend itself against a rising among the slaves as well as against attack from outside.
306	302	and the Seal of the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, this fifth Day of June 1764 (signed) John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The earlier document was sealed with the seal of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies on 5 June 1764. John Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed it. Governor Skottowe and the Council then issued orders to Captain Peter Teal, commander of the cutter *Fly*, and to Adam Sheriff, her chief mate. The

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		Orders and Instructions given by John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c Council of the Island St Helena to Captain Peter Tea Commander of the Fly Cutter, and Mr. Adam Sheriff Chief Mate, or to the Commander and Chief Mate of the said Cutter for the Time being We the said Governor and Council having constituted and appointed you Captain Peter Tea and Mr. Adam Sheriff as the Commander and Chief Mate of the Fly Cutter for the time being, Agents for the Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, for purchasing Slaves as hereafter mentioned, for the use of this their Island, and for that purpose having laden on the said Cutter a proper Cargo and consigned the same to you as p Invoice and Bill of Lading enclosed You are hereby Ordered to proceed to the Island of Madagascar, and you are to endeavour to purchase at any of the Northern Island, such a Number of Men and Boy Slaves, as you can bring with safety in the said Cutter, the Men are to be able Bodied under twenty five years of Age, and well grown Boys You are to provide a sufficient quantity of Rice and Provisions for the use of the Cutters Company and the Slaves you get, to serve them until your arrival here, you are to execute these Orders with all possible expedition Inclosed are some extracts from the Books of the last Ships sent to Madagascar, of the Terms of Trade then agreed upon between the Honorable Company's Agents and the Natives, which will be some guide to you in your purchases Treat the Natives Civilly but be constantly on your Guard whenever you have any Slaves on board to prevent their rising upon you but at the same time you are to use them with great humanity You are to keep a regular and exact Diary of all your transactions and proceedings in the Execution of this Commission **Margin Notes:** 5th June	orders also covered anyone who later held those two posts aboard the vessel. The Governor and Council appointed Teal and Sheriff as the Company's agents to buy slaves for the island. For this purpose they loaded the *Fly* with a suitable cargo of trade goods. That cargo was placed in the two men's charge, as the enclosed invoice and bill of lading showed. The agents were to sail to Madagascar. At any of its ports they were to buy as many men and boys as the cutter could carry safely. The men had to be strong and under 25 years old, and the boys had to be well grown. Teal and Sheriff were also to lay in enough rice and other food for the crew and the slaves on the voyage back to St Helena. The Council wanted the whole mission carried out as fast as possible. Extracts from the books of the last ships sent to Madagascar went with the orders. These recorded the trading terms settled earlier between the Company's agents and the local people, and they were meant to guide the new purchases. The agents were told to deal politely with the people of Madagascar. Whenever slaves were aboard, the crew had to stay alert to stop any uprising. At the same time the Council insisted that the slaves be treated with great humanity. Teal and Sheriff were further required to keep a full and accurate daily journal of everything they did in carrying out these orders. **Interpretations** The orders show the Company turning a small island vessel into a trading ship on its own account. Rather than buying slaves from passing traders, the Council sent its own cutter with goods to barter, making the commander and mate personally answerable for the cargo through the invoice and bill of lading. Those two documents fixed exactly what goods had been handed over, so the agents could later be made to account for every item against the slaves and provisions brought home. The phrase covering whoever later held the posts of commander and chief mate kept the commission alive if either man died or was replaced during the voyage. On a long passage to Madagascar, with fever a real danger on that coast, this prevented the mission collapsing for want of anyone with authority to trade. The age limit of 25 and the demand for well-grown boys reveal what the Council wanted: years of heavy labour from each slave. Boys cost less, took up less space in a small cutter and could serve for decades, which suggests the purchase was planned as a long-term investment in the island's workforce. Rice was the obvious provision because it was the staple crop of Madagascar and could be bought cheaply there. Stocking it on the spot saved carrying food out from St Helena, leaving more room for trade goods on the outward voyage. The extracts from earlier ships' books acted as a price guide. By copying the terms agreed on previous voyages, the Council gave the agents a benchmark for how much cloth, arms or other goods a slave should cost, limiting the chance of overpaying. The paired instructions to guard against a rising and yet to treat the slaves humanely reflected both danger and self-interest. A small cutter with a handful of crew was highly exposed to revolt, while any slave who died or fell ill on the passage was a direct loss to the Company. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploaded files, so no cross-checks against earlier entries could be made; please upload it if those checks are needed.

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307	303	and, to enter therein, all such informations, and observations, as may occur to you and which may tend to the better carrying on the Slaving trade in future You are also to keep such accounts of the disposal of the Cargo Consigned to you, for the purchase of Slaves, Rice and other Provisions, and necessarys together with all Charges attending the same. Copies of which Diary & Accounts signed by you both, or the Commander and Chief Mate for the Time being are to be delivered to Us and the Originals to the Honorable the Court of Directors on your return to England You must frequently examine the Condition of the small Arms and take particular care to prevent their rusting, or receiving any Damage whatsoever To Encourage you to discharge this Commission faithfully and diligently you will be allowed the following Commission or Reward vizt. To Captain Peter Tea Twenty Shillings To Mr. Adam Sheriff Six Shillings and eight pence a head, for so many Slaves as shall be delivered alive here to Us, the Governor and Council for the Time being, which said allowance will be paid by Us on your arrival here But if either of you shall die before this Commission is fully executed at Madagascar, the abovementioned Commission or reward of Twenty six Shillings and eight pence a Head is to be reserved, and divided in such manner, and among such Persons, as the Honorable the Court of Directors shall judge equitable upon the return of the Fly Cutter to England You, and Captain Harrold for the Interest of the Company are to act jointly in your purchases, You are also to agree on the proper Measures for that purpose In case you should meet with any other of the Honorable Company's Agents, trading for Slaves at Madagascar, and you find it for the Interest of the Company, to act jointly with them in your purchases, You are to consult and agree on the best methods, for the good of this Service, and divide between you such Slaves as shall be bought in consequence of such agreement, in such manner, as is most consistent with the Orders that are hereby given you (signed) John Skottowe St Helena Purling 5th June 1764 Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 1764	The journal was also to record any information or observations that might help the Company run its slave trade more effectively in future. Teal and Sheriff had to keep exact accounts showing how they used the cargo entrusted to them. These accounts were to cover the purchase of slaves, rice, other food and supplies, along with every expense involved. Both men, or whoever held the posts of commander and chief mate at the time, were to sign copies of the journal and accounts. The copies were to go to the Governor and Council, while the originals were to be handed to the Court of Directors when the *Fly* reached England. The two officers were told to inspect the small arms often. They had to take special care that the weapons did not rust or suffer damage of any kind. To reward faithful and careful service, Governor Skottowe and the Council set a payment for each slave delivered alive to St Helena: Captain Peter Teal, £1 0s 0d per slave Adam Sheriff, £0 6s 8d per slave The Governor and Council would pay these sums when the cutter arrived back at the island. If either officer died before the mission at Madagascar was complete, the combined reward of £1 6s 8d per slave would be held back. The Court of Directors would then share it out among whichever people it thought fair once the *Fly* returned to England. Teal and Sheriff were to work together with Captain Harrold in their purchases for the Company's benefit. The three men also had to settle between them the proper arrangements for doing so. The orders then dealt with any other Company agents buying slaves at Madagascar. If Teal and Sheriff met such agents and judged a joint approach to be in the Company's interest, they were to confer with them and agree the best way forward. Any slaves bought under such an arrangement were to be divided between the parties in the way that best matched these orders. John Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the orders at St Helena on 5 June 1764. **Interpretations** The reward tied the officers' pay to slaves landed alive at St Helena, not to slaves bought at Madagascar. This shifted the risk of death on the passage onto the commander and mate, giving them a direct financial reason to feed, water and guard their cargo properly. The arrangement mirrored the head money paid by private English slaving merchants to their captains, showing the Company borrowing the incentives of the commercial trade for its own small venture. The rates were not arbitrary. Together they came to £1 6s 8d, or two marks, a traditional unit of account, and the captain took three-quarters of it. The clause diverting the reward to the Court if either man died stopped the survivor, or a dead man's estate, from claiming money for work left unfinished. Duplicate records served two masters. The signed copies let the Council check the agents' dealings on the island, while the originals went over its head to the Court of Directors in London. This gave the Company in England an independent account of how its goods were spent, with no chance for the island administration to adjust the figures in between. The instruction to buy jointly with Captain Harrold and any other Company agents was a way of preventing the Company from bidding against itself. Separate agents competing at the same Madagascar ports would have driven up the price in cloth, arms and other trade goods demanded for each slave. Care of the small arms tied back to the earlier warning about a rising on board. A cutter with a small crew depended on working muskets to control a hold full of captives, and the damp sea air quickly ruined neglected weapons.

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308	304	Invoice p Fly Cutter Tobacco 1 Cask 91lb Tobacco Damaged £3 10s 5d Bays 1 Piece £2 19s 5d Spice 1 Box vizt. 1lb Cinnamon £1 0s 11d 1lb Cloves £0 14s 4d 10lb Black Pepper £0 16s 0d 6lb Pymento £0 6s 7d £2 18s 4d Salt 6 Bushels £0 19s 0d Pipes 1 Box vizt. 6 doz: Long Pipes £0 3s 0d 1 Gross [...] £0 2s 4d £0 5s 4d Small Arms 1 Chest vizt. 25 Whole Buccaneers £19 19s 1d 10 Spare Rammers £0 1s 1d 1000 Musquet Flints £0 14s 4d 1 Fine Gun for a Present £3 9s 0d £24 8s 6d Cuttlery &c 1 Case vizt. No. 1. 3½ doz: Box Butchers Knives 2/9 £0 9s 7d 2. 1 doz. Buckhorn Clasp [...] £0 2s 9d 3. 1½ doz: Spiked Horn 4½ £0 6s 7d 4. 2½ doz: Pairs Scissars 3/6 £0 12s 4d 5. 2 doz: inlaid Rasors 3/6 £0 11s 0d 6. 4oz: Needles £0 2s 2d 7. 9 Looking Glasses £0 10s 0d 8. 17lb White and Yellow Glass Beads £1 5s 1d £3 19s 6d Brandy 1 Hhd. contg. 66½ Gallons £19 18s 6d Bullets 1 Cask Wt. 21lb £0 8s 2d Flints 1 Cask Containg. 5000 Flints £3 16s 8d Iron Ware vizt. 16 Shackles & Bolts £1 3s 6d 16 Handcuffs £0 8s 10d 1 Chain £0 8s 3d 6 Negro Collars £0 8s 3d £2 8s 10d £65 7s 5d **Margin Notes:** 5th June No. 2 No. 1 2 25 No. 3	The invoice drawn up on 5 June 1764 listed the goods loaded aboard the cutter *Fly* for the Madagascar voyage, with the cost of each item. Tobacco, 1 cask containing 91 lb of damaged tobacco, £3 10s 5d Baize, 1 piece, £2 19s 5d Spice, 1 box marked No 2, containing: 1 lb of cinnamon, £1 0s 11d 1 lb of cloves, £0 14s 4d 10 lb of black pepper, £0 16s 6d 6 lb of allspice, £0 6s 7d Spice, total, £2 18s 4d Salt, 6 bushels, £0 19s 0d Pipes, 1 box marked No 1, containing: 6 dozen long tobacco pipes, £0 3s 0d 1 gross of short hunters' pipes, £0 2s 4d Pipes, total, £0 5s 4d Small arms, 1 chest marked 2, containing: 25 full-length buccaneer muskets, £19 19s 1d 10 spare ramrods, £0 1s 1d 1,000 musket flints, £0 14s 4d 1 fine gun for use as a gift, £3 9s 0d Small arms, total, £24 3s 6d Knives and other small wares, 1 case marked 25, containing: 1: 3½ dozen boxed butchers' knives at 2s 9d per dozen, £0 9s 7d 2: 1 dozen sheepsfoot knives with pressed horn handles, £0 2s 9d 3: 1½ dozen knives with spotted horn handles at 4s 5d per dozen, £0 6s 7d 4: 2¼ dozen pairs of scissors at 5s 6d per dozen, £0 12s 4d 5: 2 dozen inlaid razors at 5s 6d per dozen, £0 11s 0d 6: 4,000 needles, £0 2s 2d 7: 9 mirrors, £0 10s 0d 8: 17 lb of white and yellow glass beads, £1 5s 1d Knives and other small wares, total, £3 19s 6d Brandy, 1 hogshead marked No 3, containing 66½ gallons, £19 18s 6d Bullets, 1 cask containing 21 lb, £0 8s 2d Flints, 1 cask containing 5,000 flints, £3 16s 8d Ironwork, containing: 16 shackles with bolts, £1 3s 6d 16 handcuffs, £0 8s 10d 1 chain, £0 8s 3d 6 slave collars, £0 8s 3d Ironwork, total, £2 8s 10d Total value of the cargo, £65 7s 8d **Interpretations** Several goods on the list would be unfamiliar today. Baize was a coarse woollen cloth with a raised nap, made mainly in Essex and East Anglia and widely exported as a cheap trade textile. Buccaneer muskets were long-barrelled, heavy-calibre flintlocks first favoured by Caribbean hunters and privateers; their range and robustness made them a standard currency of the slave trade in Africa and the Indian Ocean. Ramrods were the rods used to drive the ball and wadding down a musket barrel, and flints were the shaped stones clamped in the lock to strike the spark. Allspice, then commonly called pimento, was the dried berry of a Jamaican tree, valued as a seasoning. Hunters' pipes were probably a short clay pipe, cheaper and sturdier than the long churchwarden pipes listed above them. Sheepsfoot knives had a straight edge and a rounded back curving down to the point, a pattern suited to rough cutting work. The cargo was not a general mix of goods but one heavily weighted towards firearms and spirits. Muskets, flints, bullets and the gift gun together cost just over £28, and the hogshead of brandy nearly £20. Between them they made up about three-

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			quarters of the £65 7s 8d total, showing that guns and alcohol were what Madagascar sellers expected in exchange for slaves. The knives, scissors, razors, mirrors, needles and beads were cheaper sweeteners to round out individual bargains. The single fine gun set aside as a gift reflected the custom of presenting the local ruler or trading chief with a costly object before business began. Such a present bought access to the market and the goodwill of the man who controlled it, and the Company treated it as a normal trading cost. The ironwork for restraining slaves tied the cargo directly to the earlier orders to guard against a rising on board. Sixteen sets of shackles and sixteen handcuffs give a rough idea of how many adult men the Council expected the small cutter to bring back, with the collars and chain for securing groups together. The cask of damaged tobacco suggests the Company used the voyage to dispose of spoiled stock from the island stores. Priced at £3 10s 5d, it still counted at full value against the agents' accounts, even though it would probably fetch less in trade.
309	305	Island St Helena Sir You having informed Us by your Letter dated the 2d Instant that the Fly Cutter would be ready for the Sea this Day. You are hereby ordered to make the best of your Way to the Island of Madagascar. On your arrival there, you and Mr. Adam Sheriff your Chief Mate are punctually to observe the Instructions you receive herewith for purchasing Slaves, and likewise in every other Respect You are hereby Ordered to keep Company with the Snow Mercury until your return to this Place, and to observe and obey all such Signals that Captain Harrold shall give you for that purpose, and it is recommended to you to agree with him on all such measures as will forward the Utility of the Service you are sent upon You are permitted in your homeward bound Passage to touch at the Cape of Good Hope for Intelligence and to stay there no longer, than is absolutely necessary for your taking in Water, and what provisions may be requisite for the Cutters Company, and Slaves to this Island, We wish you success and a good Voyage, and are Sir Your humble Servants St Helena (signed) John Skottowe 5th June 1764 Purling To Thos. Kirkpatrick Captain Peter Tea Commander of the Fly Cutter We likewise delivered to Captain Tea a Letter of Credit The Storekeeper this day brought in the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Princess Augusta vizt. Account of Stores Short received from Ship Princess Augusta Sole Leather Short weight [...] 2 qrs Salt Short Measure 3 Bushels **Margin Notes:** 1765	Captain Peter Teal wrote to the Council on 2 June 1764 to report that the *Fly* would be ready for sea by 5 June. On that day Governor Skottowe and the Council ordered him to sail for Madagascar with all possible speed. On arrival, Teal and his chief mate, Adam Sheriff, were to follow exactly the instructions for buying slaves that accompanied the letter. They were to obey those instructions in every other respect as well. The *Fly* was to sail in company with the snow *Mercury* for the whole voyage until both vessels returned to St Helena. Teal had to follow every signal that Captain Harrold made for this purpose. The Council also urged him to agree with Harrold on any measures that would advance the mission. On the homeward passage Teal was allowed to call at the Cape of Good Hope to gather news. He was to remain there only as long as he needed to take on water and whatever food the crew and slaves required for the run to St Helena. The Council closed by wishing him success and a good voyage. The Governor, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 5 June 1764. It was addressed to Captain Peter Teal, commander of the cutter *Fly*. The Council also handed Captain Teal a letter of credit. On the same day the storekeeper presented an account of stores that had arrived short from the ship *Princess Augusta*. The shortfall was as follows: Sole leather, 2 lb short in weight Salt, 3 bushels short in measure **Interpretations** Placing the *Fly* under Captain Harrold's signals made the voyage a small convoy with Harrold in command. A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel, larger than a cutter, so the *Mercury* was probably the senior ship. Sailing together offered protection against attack or mutiny and allowed the two commanders to pool their bargaining at Madagascar, as the earlier orders of 5 June 1764 required. The call at the Cape of Good Hope was valued chiefly for news. As the main port on the route between Europe and the East, the Dutch settlement there was where word of war, pirates or enemy shipping could be gathered. The strict limit on the stay reflected the cost of lingering in a foreign port with slaves aboard, where each extra day meant more food consumed and more deaths among the captives.

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			The letter of credit allowed Teal to obtain supplies or money on the Company's account without carrying cash. A merchant at the Cape or elsewhere could advance funds against it and recover the sum from the Company later. The storekeeper's account of goods delivered short served as a formal record of loss. Once logged in council, the missing leather and salt could be charged against the *Princess Augusta*'s commander or deducted from the freight due to the ship's owners. Sole leather, the thick hide used for shoe soles, was an important store on an island with little tanning of its own.
310	306	2 Fir Oars 36 Sing Seals short Measure 2 Wine and Water Glasses 3 Tumblers 4 Sqr. Glass 11 by 19 9 do. do. 8 by 10 2 do. do. 6 by 8 found broke upon opening the Packages Wine vizt. 1 Hhd. Port No. 1 gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1½ Galls. 1 do. do. 2 gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1½ Galls. 1 do. do. 3 gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1½ Galls. 180 Galls. 4½ Galls. 4½ Galls. Gallons 175½ Received 1 Hhd. Lisbon No. 4 gages 60¼ Galls. wants to fill 2¼ Galls. 1 do. do. 5 gages 59 Galls. wants to fill 3 Galls. 119¼ Galls. 5¼ Galls. 5¼ Galls. Gallons 114 Received 1 Hd. Mountain No. 6 gages 58 Galls. wants to fill 1 Gall. 1 Gall. Gallons 57 Received Beer vizt. 1 Hhd. No. 1 gages 52 Galls. wants to fill 1½ Galls. 1 do. 2 gages 55 Galls. wants to fill 3 Galls. 1 do. 3 gages 55 Galls. wants to fill 4½ Galls. 1 do. 4 gages 59 Galls. wants to fill 4½ Galls. 1 do. 5 gages 50 Galls. wants to fill 3 Galls. 1 do. 6 gages 50 Galls. wants to fill 3½ Galls. 321 Galls. 20 Galls. 20 Galls. Gallons 301 Received St Helena (signed) 5th June 1764 J. Cowell Storekeeper **Margin Notes:** 5th June	The storekeeper's list of stores received short or damaged from the *Princess Augusta* continued with further items. Some had arrived under their proper measure, while others were found broken when the packages were opened. Fir oars, 2, short in length Long deals, 36, short in length Wine and water glasses, 2, broken on unpacking Tumblers, 3, broken on unpacking Window panes measuring 11 by 19 inches, 4, broken on unpacking Window panes measuring 8 by 10 inches, 9, broken on unpacking Window panes measuring 6 by 8 inches, 2, broken on unpacking Wine: Port, 1 hogshead, No 1, gauged at 60 gallons, 1½ gallons short of full Port, 1 hogshead, No 2, gauged at 60 gallons, 1½ gallons short of full Port, 1 hogshead, No 3, gauged at 60 gallons, 1½ gallons short of full Port, total gauged, 180 gallons Port, total shortfall, 4½ gallons Port, total received, 175½ gallons Lisbon wine, 1 hogshead, No 4, gauged at 60¼ gallons, 2¼ gallons short of full Lisbon wine, 1 hogshead, No 5, gauged at 59 gallons, 3 gallons short of full Lisbon wine, total gauged, 119¼ gallons Lisbon wine, total shortfall, 5¼ gallons Lisbon wine, total received, 114 gallons Mountain wine, 1 hogshead, No 6, gauged at 58 gallons, 1 gallon short of full Mountain wine, total received, 57 gallons Beer: Beer, 1 hogshead, No 1, gauged at 52 gallons, 1½ gallons short of full Beer, 1 hogshead, No 2, gauged at 55 gallons, 3 gallons short of full Beer, 1 hogshead, No 3, gauged at 55 gallons, 4½ gallons short of full Beer, 1 hogshead, No 4, gauged at 59 gallons, 4½ gallons short of full Beer, 1 hogshead, No 5, gauged at 50 gallons, 3 gallons short of full Beer, 1 hogshead, No 6, gauged at 50 gallons, 3½ gallons short of full Beer, total gauged, 321 gallons Beer, total shortfall, 20 gallons Beer, total received, 301 gallons J. Cowell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 5 June 1764. **Interpretations** Several items need explanation. Deals were sawn planks of softwood, usually Baltic pine or fir, shipped in standard lengths for building and repair work on an island with almost no timber of its own. The panes of glass were sized in inches for fitting into window frames, and their breakage in transit was a common hazard of shipping glass packed in straw. Lisbon wine was a white wine shipped from the Portuguese

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			capital, while mountain wine was a sweet, fortified wine from the hills around Malaga in Spain. Both were popular in Britain and with Company servants abroad, and port was already the most widely drunk wine among the English. Each cask was gauged on arrival, meaning its full capacity was measured with a gauging rod, and the empty space inside was then recorded as the amount needed to fill it. This procedure turned a casual complaint of short delivery into a precise figure that could be charged against the ship. Together with the leather and salt noted earlier on 5 June 1764, the account gave the Council grounds to recover the losses from the commander or owners of the *Princess Augusta*. The beer lost proportionally far more than the wine. About 6 gallons in every 100 of beer were missing, against roughly 2 to 4 gallons in every 100 of the wines. Beer was weaker and less stable than fortified wine, so casks worked, leaked and spoiled more readily on a long passage through warm latitudes. Some of the loss may also have come from the crew drawing on the casks during the voyage, a well-known risk with any drinkable cargo.
311	307	Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ships Houghton, Falmouth and Cruttenden to Muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters but found none, their Muster Rolls are as follow vizt. Muster Roll of Ship Houghton Wm. Smith Commander Edward Dampier Chief Mate Willm. Hall 2d do Hen: Truscot 3d do John Broom 4th do John Hoil 5th do Jn. Cerrick Surgeon Jas. Bevan Gunner Mat. Jefferies Carpenter Robert Logan Boatswain Glass Frazer 2d Master Davd. Mears do Jas. Phillips do Jas. Butler do James Simson Sailmaker Wm. Massenburg Midshipm. John Barton do Jn. Gordan do Gerrard Napper do Richd. Tibbell Ships Steward Jn. Miller Capt. do Saml. Jones Capt. Cook Wm. May Ships do Peter Bell Armorer Ben: Eaton Caulker Thos. Sheridan Cooper John Clifford Poulterer James Galloway Butcher Edwd. Evans Carpenters Mate Hen: Phillips Botsn. do John Limberg do James Brandon [...] do Walter Ker Seaman Christian Irons Arthur Steward Wm. Peterkin Jas. Johnstone Jn. Crump Christn. Winkleman Christ Kitchen Thos. Brown Edward Sharples John Barnes Jas. Davidson	Matthew Purling reported that he boarded the *Houghton*, the *Falmouth* and the *Cruttenden* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none aboard any of the three ships, and their muster rolls were entered as follows. The muster roll of the *Houghton* listed these men: William Smith, commander Edward Dampier, chief mate William Hall, second mate Henry Fawset, third mate John Broom, fourth mate John Hoil, fifth mate James Corrick, surgeon James Bevan, gunner Matthew Gefferies, carpenter Robert Logan, boatswain Glass Frazier, quartermaster David Mears, quartermaster James Phillips, quartermaster James Butler, quartermaster James Simson, sailmaker William Massenburg, midshipman John Barton, midshipman Joshua Gordan, midshipman Gerrard Napper, midshipman Richard Tibbett, ship's steward John Miller, captain's steward Samuel Jones, captain's cook William May, ship's cook Peter Bell, armourer Benjamin Eaton, caulker Thomas Sheridan, cooper John Clifford, poulterer James Galloway, butcher Edward Evans, carpenter's mate Henry Phillips, boatswain's mate John Limberg, boatswain's mate James Brandson, cooper's mate Walter Ther, seaman Christian Jons, seaman Arthur Steward, seaman William Peterkin, seaman James Johnstone, seaman John Crump, seaman Christian Winkleman, seaman Christ Kitchen, seaman Thomas Brown, seaman Edward Sharples, seaman John Barnes, seaman James Davidson, seaman John Holden, seaman

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		John Holden John Harrison Thos. Grey Richd. Gradwell Jn. Hill John Carroll James Thomas John Cook Jochin Gonsales Emanl. Da. Roach John Sulivan Michl. Sulivan Charles Nuvanhausen Albert Barnes Ed. Williams Geo: Larsen Maurice Nelson Helier Oldson Andrew Godley 38 French prisoners Peter Golickson Seaman Fredk. Burgess Cornl. Moss Abram Crecker John Williamson John Simers Jacob Baker Chas. Griffis Jose Spinora Joachim Nicklaus Brass Grant James Alsop Jos. Fontage Jos. Rich Morell Jos. Janeese Freita Dijong Beddinge Goldong Ja. Francoise Sourdong Sheliew Brunoes Jack. Yong Caulfield Brown John Wilson Capt. Servt. Richd. Greenwood Chief Mates do John Stringer Carpenters do Peter Sauquere Gunrs. do Robert Smith Botsn. do (signed) Wm. Smith **Margin Notes:** 1764	John Harrison, seaman Thomas Grey, seaman Richard Gradwell, seaman John Hill, seaman John Carrol, seaman James Thomas, seaman John Cook, seaman Jochin Gonsales, seaman Emanuel De Roach, seaman John Sulivan, seaman Michael Sulivan, seaman Charles Nuwanhauson, seaman Albert Barnes, seaman Edward Williams, seaman George Larson, seaman Maurice Nelson, seaman Holier Oldson, seaman Andres Godley, seaman Peter Golichion, seaman Frederick Bungas, seaman Cornelius Moss, seaman Abram Creker, seaman John Williamson, seaman John Stimers, seaman Cerk Baker, seaman Charles Cuffus, seaman Juan Spinosa, seaman Joachim Nicklaus, seaman Brass Grant, seaman James Alsop, seaman La Fontaze, seaman La Rich, seaman Morell, seaman La Juneese, seaman Fruika, seaman Dijong, seaman Bexuluge, seaman Goldong, seaman La Francoise, seaman Jourdong, seaman Shelieu, seaman Brunne, seaman Dirk Yong, seaman Caulfield Brown, captain's servant John Willson, captain's servant Richard Greenwood, chief mate's servant John Stringer, carpenter's servant Peter Jauguere, gunner's servant Robert Smith, boatswain's servant French prisoners, 38 William Smith signed the roll. **Interpretations** The search for deserters was aimed mainly at people trying to leave the island rather than seamen trying to stay. Soldiers of the garrison, servants and slaves could escape St Helena only by hiding aboard a departing ship. Checking every man aboard against the ship's official roll exposed anyone who did not belong there, so the muster acted as a security check at the island's only exit. The roll shows the layered structure of an East Indiaman's crew. Five mates, a surgeon and a range of specialist petty officers stood above the seamen, and each senior officer had a servant attached to him. These servants were usually boys learning the sea, and their wages were commonly paid to the officer they served, giving officers a small extra income. The poulterer and butcher reflected the live animals carried aboard. Sheep, pigs and poultry were kept on deck to supply fresh meat, chiefly for the commander's table and the passengers, and these two men tended and slaughtered them during the voyage. A striking number of the seamen bore Scandinavian, Dutch, German, Portuguese and French names, and several French-sounding names were entered without first names. East India

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			Company ships routinely lost men to disease and desertion in Asian ports and filled the gaps with foreign sailors recruited there. The 38 French prisoners were perhaps men taken during the recent war with France and being carried home, although the roll gives no reason for their presence.
312	308	Muster Roll of Ship Falmouth Geffrie O Hara Commr. Ambrose Cook Chief Mate Wm. Applegath 2d do Phineas Hunt 3d do Edwd. Robertson 4th do Richd. Pennyfeath Robt. Reid Purser Wm. Baker Boatswain Wm. Clark Gunner Abrm. Cagar Carpenter Ed. Cunningham Steward James Hickey Midship. David Lewis do John Tobson do Saml. Shenton do Saml. Lawrence Capt. Stew. Allen Beakwell Caulker Normand Brander Cooper John Comer Sailmakr. Ed. Nichols Boats. Mate Thomas Battle Carpentr. Mate George Moore Gunners do John Scott Ships Cook Thoms. White Captains do Geo. Allen Caulkrs. Mate John Boston Coopr. do Robt. Redmond Armorer Thoms. Bowes Butcher James Gordan Ed. Werdon Carpenters 2d Mate Richd. Fowle Boats. 2d do Martin Bellow 2d Master William Anderson do Fred: North do Joseph Clarke do John Lawrence do Charles Walker Seaman Sebastian Hide Ed. Wallace John Owens James Gulligan Geffrie Scott Thos. Brooks Thos. Sabor Jn. Codman John Bolingham Richd. Morton James Caves John Howard Jos. Farringdon Richd. Sargood Jasper Bremer Saml. Curtis Andw. Shaughnessey Willm. Plaffed Jaspar Ford Passengers Mr. William Miller 6 French Prisoners John Collam Seaman Adwd. Askew George Hall Saml. Miller John Thompson Capt. Servt. Caswell Hunt 1st Mates do Charles Butler 2d do do Jos. Bosgrove Gunrs. do	Purling's report continued with the muster roll of the *Falmouth*, which listed the following crew and passengers: Geffrie O'Hara, commander Ambrose Cook, chief mate William Applegath, second mate Phineas Hunt, third mate Edward Robertson, fourth mate Richard Penneyfeth Robert Reid, purser William Baker, boatswain William Clark, gunner Abraham Eagar, carpenter Edward Cunningham, steward James Hickey, midshipman David Lewis, midshipman John Jobson, midshipman Samuel Shenton, midshipman Samuel Lawrence, captain's steward Allen Bodwell, caulker Normand Brander, cooper John Comer, sailmaker Edward Nichols, boatswain's mate Thomas Battle, carpenter's mate George Moore, gunner's mate John Scott, ship's cook Thomas White, captain's cook Leonard Allen, caulker's mate John Boston, cooper's mate Robert Bedmond, armourer Thomas Bower, butcher James Gordan Edward Werdon, carpenter's second mate Richard Fowle, boatswain's second mate Martin Bellew, quartermaster William Anderson, quartermaster Frederick North, quartermaster Joseph Clarke, quartermaster John Lawrence, quartermaster Charles Walker, seaman Sebastian Hide, seaman Edward Wallace, seaman John Owens, seaman James Gulligan, seaman Geffrie Scott, seaman Thomas Brooks, seaman Thomas Tabor, seaman John Codman, seaman John Bodingham, seaman Richard Morton, seaman James Caves, seaman John Howard, seaman Joshua Farringdon, seaman Richard Sargood, seaman Jasper Bremer, seaman Samuel Curtis, seaman Andrew Shaughnessy, seaman William Plaffed, seaman Jasper Ford, seaman John Collam, seaman Edward Askew, seaman George Hall, seaman Samuel Weller, captain's servant John Thompson, captain's servant Creswell Hunt, first mate's servant Charles Butler, second mate's servant Joshua Bosgrove, gunner's servant John Ellecock, carpenter's servant Thomas Falmouth

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		John Ellecock Carpentr. do Thos. Falmouth Richard Hotham Robt. McWilliam Thomas Ruff John Smith Wm. Smith Wm. Evans Brooper Berry John Frederick John Inquest Hans Tebeck James Steel Surgeon Mark Houg James Macklelland Achilles Shalford Robert Langley Thomas Wilkinson Wm. Hobson (signed) Geff O Hara **Margin Notes:** 5th June [...]	Richard Hothey Robert McWilliam Thomas Ruff John Smith William Smith William Evans Prosper Berry John Frederick John Inquest Hans Fabrick James Steel, surgeon Mark Hoy James Macklland Achilles Stratford Robert Langley Thomas Wilkinson William Hobson Passengers: William Miller French prisoners, 6 Geffrie O'Hara signed the roll. **Interpretations** Unlike the *Houghton*, the *Falmouth* carried a purser. On a Company ship the purser kept the accounts for provisions, slops and other stores issued to the crew, and he was answerable for any shortfall. His presence gave the commander a separate officer to manage the ship's supplies and the deductions made from seamen's wages for clothing and tobacco they drew on credit. The *Falmouth*'s crew was overwhelmingly British by name, in contrast to the many Scandinavian, Dutch, Portuguese and French seamen aboard the *Houghton*. This suggests the *Falmouth* had lost fewer men during her voyage and had less need to recruit foreign sailors in Asian ports to fill gaps. The six French prisoners, alongside the 38 on the *Houghton*, show that Company ships passing St Helena were being used to move French captives. Merchant vessels on the homeward run offered the cheapest way to shift prisoners, although neither roll explains where they had been taken or where they were bound.
313	309	Muster Roll of Ship Cruttenden John Bowland Commander Edwd. Bland Woldfenecraft 1st Mate Josiah Hindman 2d do Willm. Baker 3d do George Peck 4th do Thoms. Bredel 5th do John Hall 6th do Thos. Smith Purser Jas. Kerr Surgeon Jn. Crawford Gunner Jas. Hawkins Boatswain Joseph Hoar Carpenter John Hawkins Midds. & Coxn. Robert Hains Midshipman Charles Mussent do Thos. Tomlin do John Sundin do Thos. Ellis Surgeons Mate Edwd. Wickers Ships Steward John Yates Captain's do Wm. Burns Caulker Jn. Jones Cooper Thos. Draycoat Armourer William Gutteridge Sailmaker Wm. Smith Captains Cook John Canning Ships do Anthony Ayres Butcher Matthew Clarke Gunrs. Mate Saml. Sinclair Gunrs. Mate John Bomenson Caulkers do John Andrews Coopers do	The third muster roll in Purling's report covered the *Cruttenden* and listed the following crew and prisoners: John Bowland, commander Edward Bland Wollstonecraft, first mate Jonah Hindman, second mate William Baker, third mate George Pack, fourth mate Thomas Brettel, fifth mate John Hall, sixth mate Thomas Smith, purser James Kerr, surgeon John Crawford, gunner James Hawkins, boatswain Joseph Hoar, carpenter John Hawkins, midshipman and coxswain Robert Hains, midshipman Charles Mussent, midshipman Thomas Tomlin, midshipman John Lundin, midshipman Thomas Ellis, surgeon's mate Edward Wickers, ship's steward John Yates, captain's steward John Burns, caulker John Jones, cooper Thomas Draycoat, armourer William Cuthove, sailmaker William Smith, captain's cook John Canning, ship's cook Anthony Ayres, butcher Matthew Clarke, gunner's mate Samuel Sinclair, gunner's second mate

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		Alexr. McClean 2d Mast. Peter Peterson do James Millen do John Rothwell do Samuel Watson Seaman Harry Barret Wm. Hewitt Edwd. Lorimer George Atkins Richd. Pingham Wm. Holler Jos. Cutbert Jn. Williamson Richd. Coxon Chas. Norfolk Geo: Keller Erick Tenbourn Engerbert Anderson James Murphy Joseph Barnes Joel Goddard Thos. Cowley Andrew Pinyening John Walback Edwd. Stokes Thos. Jobbins Seaman John Underwood John Wright David Beddison John Houlton Jeremiah Canfield Willm. Young Francis Rochat Geo: Taylor John Scott Alexr. Nisbit Samson Wynn Charles Cooper John Ryson Samuel Lacount John Galley Ordy. Seaman Richd. Ramsay do John Coffel do John Tipping Captains Servt. Geory Crouch do William Kinshaw 1st Mts. do Franc. Scott 2d do do William McDinstry do John Ludlow Gunrs. do John Barker Carpt. do French Prisoners St. Germain Lacaride St. Martail Leguinese Vergie Le Veig Du Bauden Le Norfeu Vitrua Le Gal (signed) John Bowland **Margin Notes:** 1764 [...]	John Romenson, caulker's mate John Andrews, cooper's mate Alexander McClean, quartermaster Peter Peterson, quartermaster James Millen, quartermaster John Bothwell, quartermaster Samuel Watson, seaman Harry Barrot, seaman William Hewitt, seaman Edward Lorimer, seaman George Atkins, seaman Richard Pingham, seaman William Holler, seaman James Cutbert, seaman John Williamson, seaman Richard Coxon, seaman Charles Norfolk, seaman George Saller, seaman Erick Fonbourn, seaman Ingerbert Anderson, seaman James Murphy, seaman Joseph Baines, seaman Joel Goddard, seaman Thomas Lowley, seaman Andrew Punyering, seaman John Walback, seaman Edward Stokes, seaman Thomas Jobbin, seaman John Underwood, seaman John Wright, seaman David Baddison, seaman John Moulton, seaman Jeremiah Cunfield, seaman William Young, seaman Francis Rochat, seaman George Taylor, seaman John Scott, seaman Alexander Nisbit, seaman Samson Wynn, seaman Charles Cooper, seaman John Rigson, seaman Samuel Lacount, seaman John Galley, ordinary seaman Richard Romgay, ordinary seaman John Coxal, ordinary seaman John Tipping, captain's servant Cary Crouch, captain's servant William Minshaw, first mate's servant Francis Scott, second mate's servant William Meddin, surgeon's servant John Ludlow, gunner's servant John Barker, carpenter's servant French prisoners: St Germain St Martail Vergie Des Bauden Vitreu Ladarade Lajeunesse P. Vieg Nozeu Le Gal John Bowland signed the roll. **Interpretations** Several of the French prisoners' names were not ordinary surnames but the service names used by French soldiers. Lajeunesse, St Germain and St Martail are typical of the noms de guerre given to recruits in the French army, which recorded men under these adopted names alongside or instead of their family names. The ten captives aboard the *Cruttenden* were therefore probably soldiers rather than seamen, perhaps taken from a French garrison or troop transport in the East. Similar names on the *Houghton*'s roll, such as La Fontaze and La Juneese,

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			suggest that some Frenchmen of the same kind had been taken on as seamen there. The *Cruttenden* carried six mates, against five on the *Houghton* and four on the *Falmouth*. The number of mates on an Indiaman reflected both the size of the ship and the commander's need for officers to stand watches and manage a large crew, and it also served as a ladder of promotion. Company officers held private trading allowances on a sliding scale by rank, so each additional mate's berth was a valuable piece of patronage in the commander's gift. The roll separated three ordinary seamen from the rest. The distinction marked a lower rating and lower pay for men not yet fully skilled in handling sails and rigging, reflecting the graded wage structure used on Company ships.
314	310	Captain William Smith this Day presented the following Protest which he requested might be Entered upon our Consultations vizt. Know all Men by these presents that we, William Smith Commander, Edwd. Dampier Chief Mate and William Hall Second Mate of the Ship Houghton, Do. in consequence of the Severe Weather, and hard Gales of Wind we met with on our Passage from the Port of Bencoolen to this Island, Protest against the Winds and Seas, for all Damages the said Ship Houghton's Cargo or Goods, Tackle, Furniture, Apparel or any other Damages that may Arise from thence. And we do hereby Solemnly Protest by these presents in behalf of our Selves and Owners of the said Ship Houghton. Dated at St Helena the second day of June, one thousand seven hundred and Sixty four (signed) Wm. Smith Edward Dampier William Hall We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors vizt. One Set to Captain Thomas Baddison for three hundred pounds, payable to Mrs. Susanna Baddison or Order One Set to Mr. Edward Bland Wollstonecraft for one hundred and seventeen pounds payable to Mrs. Lydia Wollstonecraft or Order Two Sets to Captain Geffrie O Hara One for two hundred and Sixty pounds, and one for Ninety pounds both payable to himself or Order And one Set to Captain John Bowland for one hundred pounds, payable to Mrs. Elizabeth Bowland, or Order all Drawn at Ninety Days sight John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 5th June	Captain William Smith of the *Houghton* presented a formal protest to the Council on 5 June 1764 and asked for it to be entered in the record of its proceedings. In the protest Smith, together with his chief mate Edward Dampier and second mate William Hall, set out that the ship met severe weather and strong gales on her passage from Bencoolen to St Helena. On behalf of themselves and the ship's owners, the three officers declared that the winds and seas were responsible for any damage to the *Houghton*'s cargo, rigging, fittings and equipment. The same applied to any other loss that might later arise from the storms. They dated the protest at St Helena on 2 June 1764, and all three signed it. The Council also issued bills of exchange that day, drawn on the Court of Directors and payable at 90 days' sight: Captain Thomas Baddison, 1 set, £300 0s 0d, payable to Susanna Baddison or her nominee Edward Bland Wollstonecraft, 1 set, £117 0s 0d, payable to Lydia Wollstonecraft or her nominee Captain Geffrie O'Hara, 1 set, £260 0s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee Captain Geffrie O'Hara, 1 set, £90 0s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee Captain John Bowland, 1 set, £100 0s 0d, payable to Elizabeth Bowland or her nominee Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** A protest of this kind was a sworn declaration that damage to a ship or cargo had been caused by the sea and weather rather than by the crew's negligence. Merchants whose goods arrived spoiled could otherwise sue the master and owners, and insurers needed evidence that a loss fell within the perils they covered. Lodging the protest at the first port reached after the storm, and so soon after the event, gave it weight as evidence. With no notary on the island, entry in the Council's formal record served as the official registration that such a document required. Bencoolen was the Company's settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, and its chief export was pepper. A pepper cargo was especially vulnerable to seawater, which could cause it to rot or cake in the hold, so a severe passage from there made a protest a sensible safeguard. The bills of exchange let ships' officers send money home without carrying coin. Each officer paid cash into the island treasury, and the Council gave him a bill ordering the Court of Directors to pay the same sum in London 90 days after it was presented. The arrangement suited both sides. The officers gained a safe transfer, while the island obtained ready money locally without the Company having to ship silver out to it. Most of the bills were made payable to women who shared the officers' surnames, almost certainly

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			wives. The captains and mates were remitting the proceeds of their private trade in the East to their households in England ahead of their own arrival. Geffrie O'Hara alone had his two bills made payable to himself.
315	311	At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th Day of June 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed, dated the 5th June 1764 Wednesday the 6th [...] Sailed the Snow Mercury and Fly Cutter for Madagascar Saturday the 9th Do. the Honorable Company's Ship Princess Augusta on her Voyage Yesterday Do. the Honorable Company's Ships Falmouth and Cruttenden for England We this day enlisted Thomas Lyon, left here out of the Ship Princess Augusta, and Thomas Durham left out of the Falmouth, to serve the Honorable Company for five Years as Soldiers they appearing to be good Men. We gave them five pounds Bounty Money each, to buy them Cloaths &c Thomas Ferris Serjeant this day Petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison, having served the Honorable Company his Contracted time Granted The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of May last were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt. Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of May 1764 vizt. 13 Bottles Lisbon Wine £3 3s 0d 30 do. Mountain £2 5s 0d 8 do. Port £0 4s 6d 74 do. Arrack £3 17s 1d 60 do. Beer £0 15s 5d Carried over £10 5s 0d **Margin Notes:** 11th June	Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Monday 11 June 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous meeting, held on 5 June 1764. The snow *Mercury* and the cutter *Fly* left for Madagascar on Wednesday 6 June 1764. On Saturday 9 June 1764 the Company's ship *Princess Augusta* sailed to continue her voyage. The Company's ships *Falmouth* and *Cruttenden* departed for England on 10 June 1764. The Council enlisted two men as soldiers in the Company's service for five years. Thomas Lyon had been left on the island by the *Princess Augusta*, and Thomas Durham by the *Falmouth*. Both seemed sound recruits, so each received a bounty of £5 0s 0d to buy clothing and other necessities. Thomas Ferris, a sergeant, asked to be discharged from the garrison because he had completed the term of service in his contract. The Council agreed to release him. The monthly accounts of the plantation, the garrison and the stewards for May were presented. The Council examined and approved them, and they were recorded as follows. Goods consumed at the Company's table in May 1764: Lisbon wine, 12 bottles, £3 3s 0d Mountain wine, 30 bottles, £2 5s 0d Port, 8 bottles, £0 4s 6d Arrack, 74 bottles, £3 17s 1d Beer, 60 bottles, £0 15s 5d Carried forward, £10 5s 0d **Interpretations** The Company's table was the public table kept by the Governor at the Castle, where councillors, senior officers and visiting ship commanders dined at the Company's expense. Its costs were charged to the Company and audited each month, as here, so that hospitality regarded as part of governing the island could not grow unchecked. Listing each bottle by type and price made the Governor's entertaining answerable to the Council. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in Asia, usually from fermented palm sap or from rice and molasses, with Batavia and Goa among the main sources. Company ships brought it cheaply from the East, and it was the chief ingredient of punch. The 74 bottles consumed in a single month, far more than any wine, show how central punch was to the island's official hospitality. Enlisting men left behind by passing ships was one of the few ways the island could keep its garrison up to strength. The £5 bounty served mainly to clothe men who had come ashore with little more than they stood up in. The five-year term matched the kind of fixed contract that allowed Sergeant Ferris to claim his discharge on the same day, showing that soldiers on the island served for a stated period rather than indefinitely.
316	312	Brought over £10 5s 0d 360lb Flour £2 3s 0d 254lb Beef £3 3s 6d 4lb Salt Pork £0 10s 2d 230lb Mutton	The account of goods consumed at the Company's table in May 1764 continued with provisions. Brought forward, £10 5s 0d Flour, 360 lb, £2 3s 0d Beef, 254 lb, £3 3s 6d Salt pork, 4 [...], £0 10s 2d Mutton, 230 lb, £4 15s 10d Goat meat, 44 lb, £0 14s 8d

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		£4 16s 10d 44lb Goat £0 14s 8d 2 Kids £0 10s 0d 16 Fowls £1 4s 0d 3 Ducks £0 4s 6d 4 Turkeys £1 0s 0d 4 Geese £1 0s 0d 40lb Butter £2 0s 0d 90lb Candy £1 10s 0d £29 0s 8d Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of May 1764 Guns Fired, 4pounder, 3pounder, 2pounder, 1pounder, Powder Expended 5th Fired to Salute Admiral Cornish going on board: Guns Fired 19, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 18, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 19lb 8oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz Departed Admiral Cornish with his Squadron, Saluted him with: Guns Fired 19, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 18, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 19lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz 6th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Answered a Dutch Ship returned the Salute: Guns Fired 11, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 11, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 11lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz 7th Departed a Dutch Ship returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 13th Fired to Salute Governor Hutchinson going on board: Guns Fired 19, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 16, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 21lb 8oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz Departed the Egmont and Hawke returned their Salute: Guns Fired 18, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 18, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 18lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz Departed a Dutch Ship returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 14th Fired, Celebrated Jno. Skottowe Esqr. being declared Governor: Guns Fired 19, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 18, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 19lb 8oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Carried over **Margin Notes:**	Kids, 2, £0 10s 0d Fowls, 16, £1 4s 0d Ducks, 3, £0 4s 6d Turkeys, 4, £1 0s 0d Geese, 4, £1 0s 0d Butter, 40 lb, £2 0s 0d Candy, 90 lb, £1 10s 0d Total, £29 0s 8d The gunner's account of artillery stores used in May 1764 followed. For each firing it gave the number of guns fired, the number in each of four columns headed 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb, and the gunpowder used. 5 May 1764, salute to Admiral Cornish on boarding his ship: 19 guns fired, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 1, 2 lb 18, 1 lb 0, powder 19 lb 8 oz Priming powder, 3 lb 0 oz Salute to Admiral Cornish on sailing with his squadron: 19 guns fired, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 1, 2 lb 18, 1 lb 0, powder 19 lb 0 oz Priming powder, 3 lb 0 oz 6 May 1764, alarm signal: 6 guns fired, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, powder 12 lb 0 oz Salute returned to a Danish ship on arrival: 11 guns fired, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 11, 1 lb 0, powder 11 lb 0 oz Priming powder, 2 lb 0 oz 7 May 1764, salute returned to a Danish ship on sailing: 9 guns fired, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, powder 9 lb 0 oz Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz 13 May 1764, salute to Governor Hutchinson on boarding his ship: 19 guns fired, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 1, 2 lb 16, 1 lb 0, powder 21 lb 8 oz Priming powder, 3 lb 0 oz Salute returned to the *Egmont* and the *Hawke* on sailing: 18 guns fired, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 18, 1 lb 0, powder 18 lb 0 oz. Priming powder, 3 lb 0 oz Salute returned to a Danish ship on sailing: 9 guns fired, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, powder 9 lb 0 oz Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz 14 May 1764, salute celebrating the proclamation of Governor Skottowe: 19 guns fired, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 1, 2 lb 18, 1 lb 0, powder 19 lb 8 oz Priming powder, 3 lb 0 oz Alarm signal: 6 guns fired, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, powder 12 lb 0 oz Carried forward **Interpretations** The gunner's account recorded a change of government in the language of gunpowder. Governor Hutchinson went aboard ship on 13 May 1764 to the same 19-gun salute given to Admiral Cornish, and the next day the same number marked the proclamation of Skottowe as his successor. The Castle guns thus announced the outgoing and incoming authority to the whole island and to every ship in the road on consecutive days. The formal transfer was complete before Hutchinson's ship had even sailed. Salutes were strictly reciprocal and graded by rank. Ships saluted the Castle on arrival and departure, and the Castle answered, so every visiting vessel, including the Danish ships, cost the Company powder. Admirals and governors received 19 guns, while ordinary merchantmen had 9 to 11, and the account shows the Company absorbing this steady drain on its magazine as the price of maintaining diplomatic courtesy at a busy port of call. The alarm guns were part of the island's warning system. When lookouts sighted unknown sails, a set pattern of guns called the garrison and militia to their posts. Two alarms within a single month show how regularly the defences were put on alert, even in peacetime.

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		11th June	The table account shows that the Company's hospitality relied mainly on meat raised on the island. Mutton, beef, goat and poultry far outweighed the small amount of salt pork, which was the preserved ship's food of last resort. Candy was probably sugar candy, crystallised sugar brought from China or Bengal on Company ships and used as a sweetener and confection. The priming powder listed after each firing was the fine powder poured into each gun's touch-hole to carry the flash to the main charge. Its separate entry, never more than 3 lb, shows the gunner accounting for every ounce drawn from the store, since loose powder was one of the easiest stores to divert.
317	313	[...] Guns Fired, 4pounder, 3pounder, 2pounder, 1pounder, Powder Expended Brought over 15th Arrived the Baleine Ship of War, Saluted her with: Guns Fired 13, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 13, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 13lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived the Neptune returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz Fired to Salute Capt. Hyde Parkers Arrival on shore: Guns Fired 13, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 13, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 13lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz 22d An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived the Princess Augusta, Returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz An Alarm for a Swede Ship that went by: Guns Fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Fired to Return the Salute of the Swede Ship: Guns Fired 8, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 8, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 8lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz Do. for the Funeral of Wm. Beckett: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 24lb 0oz Do. for the Funeral of one of the Recruits for Bencoolen: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 24lb 0oz Do. for Exercising the East Flying Partys: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 18lb 0oz Do. for Do. the West Do.: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Do. for Signals: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz Totals: Guns Fired 205, 4pounder 12, 3pounder 14, 2pounder 169, 1pounder 10, Powder Expended 302lb 0oz Sponge Staves for the use of the Castle 2 Staves Do. for the use of Mercury Snow	The gunner's account of artillery stores used in May 1764 continued with the remaining firings of the month. Each entry again gave the guns fired, the number of guns fired with charges of 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb, and the gunpowder used. Brought forward 15 May 1764, salute to the warship *Baleine* on arrival: 13 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 13 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 13 lb 0 oz. Priming powder, 2 lb 0 oz Alarm signal: 6 guns fired, 2 guns with 4 lb charges, 2 guns with 3 lb charges, 0 guns with 2 lb charges, 2 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 12 lb 0 oz Salute returned to the *Neptune* on arrival: 9 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 9 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz Salute to Captain Hyde Parker on coming ashore: 13 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 13 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 13 lb 0 oz Priming powder, 2 lb 0 oz 22 May 1764, alarm signal: 6 guns fired, 2 guns with 4 lb charges, 2 guns with 3 lb charges, 0 guns with 2 lb charges, 2 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 12 lb 0 oz Salute returned to the *Princess Augusta* on arrival: 9 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 9 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz Alarm signal for a Swedish ship passing the island: 6 guns fired, 2 guns with 4 lb charges, 2 guns with 3 lb charges, 0 guns with 2 lb charges, 2 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 12 lb 0 oz Salute returned to the Swedish ship: 8 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 8 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 8 lb 0 oz Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz Powder for the funeral of William Beckett, 24 lb 0 oz Powder for the funeral of a recruit bound for Bencoolen, 24 lb 0 oz Powder for exercising the East Flying Party, 18 lb 0 oz Powder for exercising the West Flying Party, 9 lb 0 oz Powder for signals, 3 lb 0 oz Totals: 205 guns fired, 12 guns with 4 lb charges, 14 guns with 3 lb charges, 169 guns with 2 lb charges, 10 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 302 lb 0 oz The account then listed other artillery stores issued during the month: Sponge staves for the Castle, 2 staves Sponge staves for the snow *Mercury*, 8 staves. Sheepskins for gun sponges for the snow *Mercury*, 6 sheepskins. Tallow for the cutter *Fly*, 60 lb.

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		8 Staves Sheep Skins for Spunges for Do. 6 Skins Tallow for the use of the Fly Cutter 60lb Do. Sold to the Baleine Ship of War 100lb Paper for the use of the Garrison ½ Qr. Do. for the use of the Castle [...] Qr. Do. for making Cannon Cartridges 6 Qrs. Match burnt at the Main Fort 6lb (signed) Thos. Hall **Margin Notes:** 1764	Tallow sold to the warship *Baleine*, 100 lb. Paper for the garrison, 5 quires Paper for the Castle, 1 quire Paper for making cannon cartridges, 6 quires Slow match burnt at the Main Fort, 6 lb Thomas Hall signed the account. **Interpretations** Sponge staves and sheepskins were tools for serving a gun safely. After each shot the bore was swabbed with a sponge, a wooden head covered in sheepskin fixed to a long staff and dipped in water, to put out any smouldering remains before fresh powder went in. Tallow was rendered animal fat, used to grease gun carriages, ship's tackle and the bottoms of vessels. Slow match was cord soaked in saltpetre that burned steadily for hours, kept alight at the batteries so that guns could be fired at once. Cartridge paper formed the cases that held each measured charge of powder, and paper was bought and counted in quires of 24 sheets. The East and West Flying Parties were mobile detachments of the garrison, each assigned to one side of the island. Their role was to hurry to whichever landing place an enemy threatened, since the steep coast offered only a handful of spots where boats could come ashore. Spending powder on exercising them shows the defence of St Helena depended as much on rapid movement between these points as on the fixed batteries. Funeral salutes cost 24 lb of powder each, more than any single salute to an admiral or governor. The recruit bound for Bencoolen shows St Helena acting as a staging post for soldiers on their way to the Company's Sumatran settlement, and he was buried with the same military honours as William Beckett. Supplying the *Mercury* and the *Fly* with sponges and tallow fitted them out for the Madagascar voyage that began on 6 June 1764. The sale of 100 lb of tallow to the *Baleine* shows the Company's stores also served as a chandlery for visiting warships, turning surplus supplies into income. The month's total of 302 lb of powder was large for an island at peace. Salutes, alarms and ceremonies accounted for almost all of it, with only a small share spent on training, which suggests that the courtesies of a busy port of call weighed more heavily on the magazine than the needs of defence.
318	314	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca. for the Month of May 1764 vizt. Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shotes, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses Hee Asses, Asses Shee Asses, Asses Total Remaining 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 85, Neat Cattle Calves 64, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 25, Neat Cattle Steers 38, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 295, Sheep Ewes 332, Sheep Weathers 242, Sheep Lambs 111, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 693, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 62, Goats Kids 53, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 290, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shotes 1, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 16, Poultry Fowls 72, Poultry Ducks 39, Poultry Turkeys 30, Poultry Geese 27, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses Hee Asses 1, Asses Shee Asses 1, Asses Total 2 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 10, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle	The Company's livestock account for May 1764 recorded the numbers of each kind of animal held at the start of the month, the changes during it and the numbers left at its end. Neat cattle on hand on 1 May 1764: 3 bulls, 85 cows, 64 calves, 59 yearlings, 25 heifers, 38 steers, 21 oxen, total 295 cattle Neat cattle added by births: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 10 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 10 cattle Neat cattle, combined total: 3 bulls, 85 cows, 74 calves, 59 yearlings, 25 heifers, 38 steers, 21 oxen, total 305 cattle Neat cattle slaughtered: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 2 heifers, 4 steers, 0 oxen, total 6 cattle Neat cattle died: 0 bulls, 1 cow, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 1 cattle Neat cattle sent aboard two ships: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 0 cattle Neat cattle sent aboard the *Egmont*: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 6 steers, 0 oxen, total 6 cattle. Neat cattle on hand on 31 May 1764: 3 bulls, 84 cows, 74 calves, 59 yearlings, 23 heifers, 28 steers, 21 oxen, total 292 cattle Sheep on hand on 1 May 1764: 332 ewes, 242 wethers, 111 lambs, 8 rams, total 693 sheep

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		Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 10, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 50, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 50, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 20, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 20, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shotes 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 12, Poultry Ducks 6, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 6, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Hee Asses 0, Asses Shee Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 85, Neat Cattle Calves 74, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 25, Neat Cattle Steers 38, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 305, Sheep Ewes 332, Sheep Weathers 242, Sheep Lambs 161, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 743, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 66, Goats Kids 73, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 310, Hogs Sows 3, Hogs Shotes 1, Hogs Pigs 11, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 16, Poultry Fowls 84, Poultry Ducks 45, Poultry Turkeys 30, Poultry Geese 33, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses Hee Asses 1, Asses Shee Asses 1, Asses Total 2 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 2, Neat Cattle Steers 4, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 6, Sheep Ewes 9, Sheep Weathers 28, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 37, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 2, Goats Kids 2, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 4, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shotes 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 16, Poultry Ducks 3, Poultry Turkeys 4, Poultry Geese 4, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Hee Asses 0, Asses Shee Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 2, Sheep Weathers 9, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 11, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shotes 0, Hogs Pigs 1, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 2, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Hee Asses 0, Asses Shee Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Sent on board two Vessels: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 0, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 10, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 10, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shotes 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Hee Asses 0, Asses Shee Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Sent on board the Egmont: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 6, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 6, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 6, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 6, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shotes 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 0, Poultry Ducks 18, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Hee Asses 0, Asses Shee Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Remaining 31st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 74, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 23, Neat Cattle Steers 28, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 321, Sheep Weathers 189, Sheep Lambs 161, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 679, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 60, Goats Kids 71, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 306, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shotes 1, Hogs Pigs 10, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 14, Poultry Fowls 68,	Sheep added by births: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 50 lambs, 0 rams, total 50 sheep Sheep, combined total: 332 ewes, 242 wethers, 161 lambs, 8 rams, total 743 sheep Sheep slaughtered: 9 ewes, 28 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 37 sheep Sheep died: 2 ewes, 9 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 11 sheep Sheep sent aboard two ships: 0 ewes, 10 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 10 sheep Sheep sent aboard the *Egmont*: 0 ewes, 6 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 6 sheep. Sheep on hand on 31 May 1764: 321 ewes, 189 wethers, 161 lambs, 8 rams, total 679 sheep Goats on hand on 1 May 1764: 166 nannies, 62 wethers, 53 kids, 9 billies, total 290 goats Goats added by births: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 20 kids, 0 billies, total 20 goats Goats, combined total: 166 nannies, 66 wethers, 73 kids, 9 billies, total 310 goats Goats slaughtered: 0 nannies, 2 wethers, 2 kids, 0 billies, total 4 goats Goats died: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, total 0 goats Goats sent aboard two ships: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, total 0 goats Goats sent aboard the *Egmont*: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, total 0 goats. Goats on hand on 31 May 1764: 166 nannies, 60 wethers, 71 kids, 9 billies, total 306 goats Hogs on hand on 1 May 1764: 3 sows, 1 shoat, 11 piglets, 1 boar, total 16 hogs Hogs added by births: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Hogs, combined total: 3 sows, 1 shoat, 11 piglets, 1 boar, total 16 hogs Hogs slaughtered: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Hogs died: 1 sow, 0 shoats, 1 piglet, 0 boars, total 2 hogs Hogs sent aboard two ships: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Hogs sent aboard the *Egmont*: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 hogs. Hogs on hand on 31 May 1764: 2 sows, 1 shoat, 10 piglets, 1 boar, total 14 hogs Poultry on hand on 1 May 1764: 72 fowls, 39 ducks, 30 turkeys, 27 geese Poultry added by hatching: 12 fowls, 6 ducks, 0 turkeys, 6 geese Poultry, combined total: 84 fowls, 45 ducks, 30 turkeys, 33 geese Poultry slaughtered: 16 fowls, 3 ducks, 4 turkeys, 4 geese Poultry died: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Poultry sent aboard two ships: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Poultry sent aboard the *Egmont*: 0 fowls, 18 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese. Poultry on hand on 31 May 1764: 68 fowls, 24 ducks, 26 turkeys, 29 geese Horses on hand on 1 May 1764: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 horses Horses added: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Horses, combined total: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 horses Horses slaughtered: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Horses died: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Horses sent aboard two ships: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Horses sent aboard the *Egmont*: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses. Horses on hand on 31 May 1764: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 horses

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		Poultry Ducks 24, Poultry Turkeys 26, Poultry Geese 29, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses Hee Asses 1, Asses Shee Asses 1, Asses Total 2 1 Man Drowned named Woodfort 1 Boy Born Named John Good Yam Expended for the Slaves 26400lb Do. for the Stock 9250lb 35650lb (signed) Matthew Bazett **Margin Notes:** 11th June	Asses on hand on 1 May 1764: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 asses Asses added: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 asses Asses, combined total: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 asses Asses slaughtered: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 asses Asses died: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 asses Asses sent aboard two ships: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 asses Asses sent aboard the *Egmont*: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 asses. Asses on hand on 31 May 1764: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 asses The account also noted that one man named Woodfort drowned during the month and that a boy named John was born. Good yams issued for the slaves, 26,400, unit not stated Good yams issued for the livestock, 9,250, unit not stated Total yams issued, 35,650, unit not stated Matthew Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations** The drowning of Woodfort and the birth of John were entered in the livestock return, directly beneath the tally of animals and beside the yams issued for the slaves. This placement shows the two were Company slaves, counted as additions to and losses from the Company's working stock in the same way as calves and lambs. The plantation overseer reported people and animals in a single return because both were assets of the Company farm whose numbers the Council needed to track month by month. Neat cattle was the standard term for cattle of the ox kind, as distinct from other livestock. Steers and wethers were castrated males, raised for meat and, in the case of steers, for draught work. A shoat was a young pig recently weaned. The yams were the main food crop grown on the island to feed both slaves and animals, and the quantity was far greater than any single ration list would suggest. Yams were probably counted by number or by weight, but the return did not say which. The herd served the Company's shipping as well as its own table. The *Egmont*, which sailed after a salute from the Castle in May 1764, took 6 steers, 6 wethers and 18 ducks as fresh provisions, and a further 10 wethers went to two other vessels. This supply of live meat to passing ships was one of the island's chief purposes, and it helps explain why the Company kept so many more sheep and cattle than the garrison alone required. The 37 sheep slaughtered in May, most of them wethers, match the 230 lb of mutton charged to the Company's table for the same month. Only six cattle were killed, which fits the 254 lb of beef on that account. The sheep flock was the island's main source of fresh meat, while the cattle, and especially the breeding cows, were largely preserved for draught and for increasing the herd.
319	315	We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors vizt. One Set to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick for two hundred and nine ninety pounds, nine Shillings and eight pence half penny payable to Mr. John White or Order And One set to Captain John Howard for one hundred and Fifty pounds payable to Mr. Argent Carr or Order both drawn at ninety days sight. John Skottowe	The Council issued two further bills of exchange on 11 June 1764, both drawn on the Court of Directors and payable at 90 days' sight. Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, 1 set, £299 9s 8½d, payable to John Whiter or his nominee Captain John Howard, 1 set, £150 0s 0d, payable to Argent Carr or his nominee Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. The Governor, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Monday 18 June 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 11 June 1764.

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		Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th Day of June 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 11th June 1764 This day sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Houghton for England Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of May last which is as follows vizt. **Margin Notes:** 1764	The Company's ship *Houghton* left for England that day. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for May, with the following result. **Interpretations** Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick sat on the Council that approved and signed the bill made out to him. As a member of the island's governing body, he used the same remittance facility offered to visiting ship officers to send his own money to England. The bill was payable not to a relative but to John Whiter, who was probably his agent or creditor in London, so the transfer perhaps settled a debt or placed funds with a man who managed his affairs at home. The odd sum of £299 9s 8½d, down to the halfpenny, suggests the bill converted an exact balance rather than a round amount set aside for remittance. It probably represented the whole of what Kirkpatrick held in cash at the time, perhaps the proceeds of salary, trade or sales on the island. The monthly count of the Company's cash by the full Council was a basic safeguard over the island treasury. Physically counting the coin against the books prevented any single officer, including the storekeeper or secretary, from quietly borrowing or misusing Company funds between audits.
320	316	1764 Cash Dr May 1st To Balance remaining £5468 1s 9½d 4 To Exchange for two sets of Bills drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable as follows vizt. One Set to Mr. William Hallam for£270 0s 0d One Set to Lieut. Edward Howarth for£60 0s 0d £330 0s 0d To Ship Hector received the Balance of her Account £16 5s 5d 7 To Nicholas Dahlen late Seaman of the Fly Cutter received the Balance of his Account as p Consultation of this day £12 4s 10d 10th To Ship Egmont received the Balance of her Account £28 15s 1d To Ship Hawke Do. £26 12s 5d To Exchange for 7 Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honoble. the Court of Directors payable as follows vizt. One Set to Mr. James Williamson for £75 0s 0d One Set to Mr. John Lauder £130 0s 0d One Do. to Capt. Norman Lamont £26 5s 0d One Do. to Capt. John Cotton £368 0s 0d One Do. to Do. £202 0s 0d One Do. to Capt. Charles Mears £880 0s 0d One Do. to Mr. Samuel Merat £55 0s 0d £1736 5s 0d 28th One Do. to Captain Gabriel Steward £330 0s 0d 30 To Ship Neptune received the Balance of her Account £24 0s 10d £8372 5s 4½d £8372 5s 4½d **Margin Notes:** 18th June	The debit side of the Company's cash account for May 1764 recorded the money received into the island treasury during the month. 1 May 1764, balance brought forward, £5,768 1s 9½d 4 May 1764, cash received for 2 sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors: William Mallam, 1 set, £270 0s 0d Lieutenant Edward Howarth, 1 set, £60 0s 0d Bills of exchange, subtotal, £330 0s 0d Cash received from the ship *Hector* in settlement of her account, £16 5s 5d. 7 May 1764, cash received from Nicholas Dahleen, formerly a seaman of the cutter *Fly*, in settlement of his account as agreed in council that day, £12 4s 10d. 10 May 1764, cash received from the ship *Egmont* in settlement of her account, £28 15s 1d. Cash received from the ship *Hawke* in settlement of her account, £26 12s 5d. Cash received for 7 sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors: James Williamson, 1 set, £75 0s 0d John Lauder, 1 set, £130 0s 0d Captain Norman Lamont, 1 set, £26 5s 0d Captain John Cotton, 1 set, £368 0s 0d Captain John Cotton, 1 set, £202 0s 0d Captain Charles Mears, 1 set, £880 0s 0d Samuel Merat, 1 set, £55 0s 0d Bills of exchange, subtotal, £1,736 5s 0d 28 May 1764, Captain Gabriel Steward, 1 set of bills of exchange, £330 0s 0d 30 May 1764, cash received from the ship *Neptune* in settlement of her account, £24 0s 10d. Total receipts, £8,372 5s 4½d **Interpretations** Bills of exchange were by far the treasury's largest source of new money in May. Ship officers, army officers and private individuals paid a total of £2,396 5s 0d in cash to the island in return for bills payable by the Court of Directors in London. The Company thus borrowed the savings of people passing through, gaining coin to meet the island's expenses on the spot, while the travellers gained a secure way of sending their money home. Captain Charles Mears alone handed over £880, a sum that probably represented the fruits of several years of private trade in the East.

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			The payments from the *Hector*, *Egmont*, *Hawke* and *Neptune* settled the accounts each ship ran up while at St Helena. Commanders drew water, fresh meat, vegetables and stores from the Company during their stay, and the ship's account was balanced in cash before departure. The livestock return for the same month, which recorded steers, wethers and ducks sent aboard the *Egmont*, shows the kind of supplies these sums paid for. The opening balance of more than £5,768 was a substantial reserve for a small island. Holding so much in coin allowed the Council to meet the garrison's pay and local purchases without waiting for silver from England, and the steady flow of bills from passing ships kept that reserve topped up.
321	317	1764 Per Contra Cr May 1764 31st By Balance remaining in the following Species (vizt.) 10040 Pagodas at 8/ £4016 0s 0d 525 Rupees 2/3 £59 1s 3d 441 French pt. /2 £3 13s 6d 1643 Bistreens 1/ £82 3s 0d 14626 Dollars 5/ £3671 10s 0d Odd Money £0 2s 7½d £7832 10s 4½d Cash Notes of no use amounting to £539 15s 0d £8372 5s 4½d £8372 5s 4½d	The credit side of the cash account showed how the balance of the Company's treasury was held on 31 May 1764. Pagodas, 10,040 at 8s 0d each, £4,016 0s 0d Rupees, 525 at 2s 3d each, £59 1s 3d French pieces, 441 at 0s 2d each, £3 13s 6d Pistareens, 1,643 at 1s 0d each, £82 3s 0d Dollars, 14,626 at 5s 0d each, £3,671 10s 0d Coins of mixed kinds, £0 2s 7½d Coin, subtotal, £7,832 10s 4½d Cash notes no longer in use, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £8,372 5s 4½d **Interpretations** The island's treasury held almost no English money. Its coin consisted of gold pagodas from south India, silver rupees, Spanish dollars and pistareens and a few small French pieces, each given a fixed sterling value for the books. The pagoda was a small, thick gold coin struck in the Madras region and widely used in the Company's trade on the Coromandel Coast. The rupee was the standard silver coin of Mughal India. The dollar was the Spanish silver piece of eight, minted in the Americas and accepted throughout Asia and the Atlantic, while the pistareen was a smaller Spanish silver coin worth about a fifth of a dollar. In England at the same date everyday payment rested on English coin, but St Helena ran on whatever money passing ships brought from the East and the Americas, and the Company simply rated each coin in sterling. Pagodas and dollars together made up more than nine-tenths of the coin. Their dominance reflects the two great streams of shipping that fed the island: homeward Indiamen carrying Indian gold and outward ships bringing the Spanish silver the Company used to buy goods in Asia. The fixed valuations of 8s for a pagoda and 5s for a dollar let the treasurer convert every payment into sterling without recalculating exchange rates for each transaction. The cash notes were paper promises to pay, issued by the island treasury to ease the shortage of small coin. Notes that had come back into the treasury could not be spent again, yet the £539 15s 0d they represented was still counted as part of the balance. This meant that about one-sixteenth of the cash reported in the account existed only as cancelled paper held as a record of earlier payments.
322	318	Repeated Orders for a considerable time past have been given to all the Publicans, not to purchase the Liquor they retail at publick Auctions, as they have a Licence to sell it at an advance price, they by that means can afford to give a high price at an Auction, and thereby make every individual even for their own consumption pay extravagantly for their Liquors, and to prevent the publick [...] paying [...] for their liquors when	For a long time the Council had repeatedly told all the island's publicans not to buy the liquor they sold at public auctions. Because their licences let them resell at a mark-up, publicans could outbid everyone else at auction. As a result, every islander had to pay heavily for liquor, even for use in his own household. To stop the public paying too much when the Company's stores held no liquor to supply them, the Council had decided to fix the price publicans should pay. At its meeting on 24 September 1759 it ruled

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		there is none in the Honorable Company's Stores to supply them, it was judged reasonable that a certain rate should be fixed for the publicans to give and accordingly it was Ordered in Consultation of the 24th September 1759 that no person should sell Arrack at a higher rate than six Shillings and six pence p Gallon even in times of the greatest scarcity which has been strictly complied with, from the above price, there is room sufficient to make a very good profit upon the Liquor they vend, as by their Licence they are allowed to sell it by Retail at twelve Shillings p Gallon, notwithstanding these necessary and wholesome Orders calculated for the Benefit of the Island in general. We were informed that Robert Ballard Publican contrary to the said Orders had bid and purchased Liquors at Auctions, and being also informed that he had declared publickly that he would buy as he pleased, and if he had no Licence he would retail Liquors in the same manner, as he now did with a Licence. We this day directed him to attend Us, and being interrogated, insolently told Us, that he had said so, and never would Deny what he did, or said, Thus setting Us in open defiance. We for his Contempt of Authority, and breach of orders, revoked his Licence, and forbid him selling any more Spirituous Liquors, the said Ballard being a person of a turbulent Disposition John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 18th June [...]	that nobody should sell arrack for more than 6s 6d a gallon, even when supplies were at their scarcest. That rule had been strictly obeyed. Since publicans were licensed to retail at 12s a gallon, buying at the fixed price still left them a very good profit. Despite these orders, which were intended to benefit the whole island, the Council learned that Robert Ballard, a publican, had been bidding for and buying liquor at auctions. It also heard that he had boasted in public that he would buy whatever he liked. If he lost his licence, he said, he would go on selling liquor exactly as he did now. The Council summoned Ballard to appear before it. Under questioning he rudely admitted making the remarks and declared that he would never deny anything he had done or said. The Council regarded this as open defiance of its authority. Because of his contempt and his breach of its orders, and because he was a man of unruly temper, it withdrew his licence and banned him from selling spirits of any kind. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order. **Interpretations** The licensing system gave publicans a guaranteed retail price of 12s a gallon while the Council capped the price of arrack at 6s 6d. This built in a margin of nearly 85 per cent, which the Council saw as fair reward for holding a licence. The ban on publicans buying at auction protected ordinary householders, who bought liquor at the same sales for their own use. Without it, licensed dealers could bid far above the cap, knowing they could pass the cost on, and private buyers would be priced out. Liquor auctions on the island were fed by ships' officers and passengers selling off private stocks. When the Company's own stores ran dry, these sales were the only source of drink, so control over who could bid at them amounted to control over the island's entire liquor supply. The licence itself was the Council's main tool of enforcement. It was granted at the Council's discretion and could be withdrawn at once, without any court hearing, which meant a publican's livelihood depended on obeying every order the Council issued. Ballard's boast that he would trade just the same without a licence struck at the heart of this system, which explains why the Council treated his words, and not only his purchases, as the offence.
323	319	At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th Day of June 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed, dated the 18th June 1764 Soldier Thursday the 21st Died Jonathan Chandler a Discharged The Governor representing to the Gentlemen of the Council that he was informed the new Plantation House was in a very ruinous condition as well as attended with a constant Expence and proposed to them going to view it and likewise directed the Masons and Carpenters to attend there at the same time to survey the said House and give their opinions in writing of the same which they accordingly did and delivered the following Reports vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of St Helena Worshipful Sir	Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Monday 25 June 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 18 June 1764. Jonathan Chandler, a soldier who had been discharged from the garrison, died on Thursday 21 June 1764. The Governor told the Council he had heard that the new Plantation House was falling into serious disrepair and was a constant drain on money. He proposed that the councillors go and inspect it. He also ordered the masons and carpenters to meet them there, survey the building and set down their views in writing. The tradesmen did so and submitted the following reports. John Bland wrote to the Governor on 20 June 1764 to report on his inspection of Plantation House, which he had examined as thoroughly as he could. He found the walls sound, together with the most recently built section of the roof. The roof was made in three spans, which required two gutters between them. Because the house had parapet walls and the roof sloped down at each end, lead gutters also had to run right round the building. Bland stated that experience had shown lead to be unsuitable on the island. To his great surprise, the

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		According to your order I have been at Plantation House and have made an exact an Examination into the Condition of the House as possible I find the Walls and the last part of the Roof as was done in good Condition, and as it is a Hopper Roof of three spans, of Course there must be two middle Gutters, and as the House is built with parpet Walls, and the Roof Hipt at each end there must be Lead Gutters all round, I find by Experience that Lead will not do here, for to my great surprize, That of ten pounds to the foot which these Gutters were laid with, are all over Blisters, and raised the Ridges in such a manner, that all our Endeavours to stop the Leaks have proved ineffectual 20 June 1764 (signed) John Bland **Margin Notes:** 25th June Plantation house	gutters, laid with sheet lead weighing 10 lb to the square foot, had blistered all over. The lead had also lifted into ridges so badly that every attempt to stop the leaks had failed. **Interpretations** Plantation House was the Governor's country residence, set in the cooler interior of the island away from the Castle in Jamestown. Its failure so soon after completion shows the risk of building to English designs without allowing for local conditions. Parapet walls hid the roof behind a solid upright wall, a fashionable style in Georgian England, but they trapped rainwater on the roof and made the whole building depend on its lead gutters staying watertight. Sheet lead at 10 lb to the square foot was a heavy, good-quality grade, so the fault did not lie in skimping on material. Lead expands and contracts sharply as it warms and cools, and without enough room to move it buckles, splits and rises in ridges. Strong sun on the upland roof followed by cool nights would have worked the metal constantly, and gutters laid in long lengths under a parapet had nowhere to move. The Governor's insistence on written reports from the craftsmen served a practical purpose. Before committing the Company to further spending on a building already described as a constant expense, the Council needed an expert account on paper. Such a record could be sent to the Court of Directors to justify whatever repair or rebuilding was chosen.
324	320	St Helena 20th June To the Worshipful Governor and Council Gentleman By your Order I have this day inspected into the Defects of Plantation House. As for the Walls I find good and fit to carry on an other Story, (if it is thought Convenient) but the covering in a very bad Condition, and will not stand in my Judgment no other remedy will answer then to take down the three Back Rooms, and make the Roof all in one Span, and cover it with Thatch which I believe to be the saftest method that can be persued with that House (signed) John Robinson To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor and Council of the Island St Helena Gentlemen By your order I have been at Plantation House to inspect into the defects thereof of which you desire I will give my Opinion to the best of my Judgement which is as follows vizt. The first part inspected into was the Walls, in which I can find little or no defect, but as to the Roof upon the Plan it now is I can form no Remedy so that it can be kept dry, for if it is Tiled or Thatched and the Lead Continues decaying in the manner it has done, it is impossible ever to make that a Dry or Secure House My Opinion is this which is to take down the three Back Rooms, and to raise the House Another Story, to make the Roof one Pitch, and cover it with Thatch 20th June (signed) Thos. Townsend Upon viewing the Plantation House the Roof thereof appeared to Us to be in a ruinous Condition leaking in to such a degree that many of the Ceiling Boards Girders and Joists are already	John Robinson reported to Governor Skottowe and the Council on 20 June 1764, having inspected the faults at Plantation House as ordered. He judged the walls sound and strong enough to carry an extra storey if the Council wished to add one. The roof covering, however, was in very poor condition and in his view would not last. His only remedy was to demolish the three rear rooms, rebuild the roof as a single span and cover it with thatch. He considered this the safest course for the house. Thomas Townsend sent his own opinion to the Governor and Council on the same day, after visiting Plantation House to examine its defects. He found little or nothing wrong with the walls. The roof was another matter. On its existing design he could see no way to keep it dry, whether it were tiled or thatched. With the lead still decaying as it had done, he believed the house could never be made watertight or secure. Townsend recommended demolishing the three rear rooms and adding another storey to the house. He proposed a roof of a single pitch, covered with thatch. The Council then inspected the house for itself and found the roof in a ruinous state. Rain had come through so badly that many of the ceiling boards, main beams and joists were already rotten. The leaks had also begun to rot the floors below. The Council further noted that the beams originally laid across the hall had been made far too light. **Interpretations** Both tradesmen reached the same answer independently. The three separate roof spans and the internal gutters between them were the root of the problem, so both proposed a single roof that shed water straight off the building with no lead channels to fail. Removing the three rear rooms made that simpler roof possible, and Townsend's extra storey would restore the lost space by building upward rather than outward. The choice of thatch marked a retreat from an imported English style to a local material. Thatch needed no lead, which had to come by sea and had already failed, and it could be renewed with grasses and reeds grown on the island. For a Company always anxious about the cost of shipping stores, a

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		rotten and also the Floors from the above leaks are begining to decay. The Girders which were first laid over the Hall were of so slight **Margin Notes:** 25th June [...]	roof that island labour could maintain was a real advantage. The rot in the beams and joists turned a roofing fault into a far costlier structural one. Timber was scarce on St Helena and much of it had to be shipped in, so every rotten girder meant imported wood and skilled carpentry. The Council's own finding that the hall beams had been too light from the start suggests the original builders had economised on timber, a saving that now threatened the whole building.
325	321	slight a Scantling, that they gave way and broke in a very little time after the House was roofed, the Rafters likewise were insufficient to bear the weight of Tiles, and the leaks which came continually in entirely rotted the Girders and principal Timbers insomuch that it became absolutely necessary to put a new Roof on two parts of this House and replace new Girders over the Hall which was effected in the Year 1759 and [...] notwithstanding those parts have been twice Roofed under Mr. Blands directions. we find the Rains have penetrated therein in several Places and consequently not in that good Condition, as he sets forth in his Report. From the above circumstances it is evident to Us that it would have been very unadviseable to have finished this House under the disadvantages it lies in respect to the Roof, and which induces Us to be fully of opinion that all the defects that appears in this Building have proceeded from the superficial knowledge of Mr. Bland whose want of Judgment in these Affairs have appeared in many instances, And we are further of Opinion that the best expedient that can be taken to render the House Habitable is to cut off the Back Rooms, and to raise it a Story higher so that the Roof may be pitched upon one Span We this day Executed a Lease to Mr. Richard Bagley for a small piece of the Honorable Companys Waste Land lying in James's Valley at six Shillings p Annum John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 1764	When the Council inspected Plantation House, it found that the beams first laid over the hall had been cut far too thin. They gave way and broke soon after the house was roofed. The rafters were equally too weak to carry the weight of the tiles. Constant leaking then rotted the beams and main timbers completely. As a result, a new roof had to be put on two parts of the house in 1759, and new beams were fitted across the hall. Those two sections had since been roofed twice under John Bland's supervision. Even so, the Council found rain coming through in several places, so the roof was not in the good condition Bland had described in his report. In the Council's view, these facts showed it would have been very unwise to finish the house with its roof as it stood. The Council was convinced that every defect in the building stemmed from Bland's shallow grasp of his trade. His poor judgement in such matters had shown itself on many occasions. The Council concluded that the best way to make the house fit to live in was to remove the rear rooms and raise the building by one storey. This would allow the whole roof to be built as a single span. The Council also granted Richard Bagley a lease of a small plot of the Company's uncultivated land in James's Valley. The rent was 6s 0d a year. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** The Council's finding flatly contradicted Bland's own report of 20 June 1764. Bland had blamed the lead, claiming that the island's conditions ruined it and that the walls and newest roof were sound. The Council instead traced every fault back to his own work, from undersized timbers to a roof that still leaked after two rebuildings. By putting the failure on record as the fault of one man's incompetence, the Council shifted responsibility away from the island administration and gave the Court of Directors a clear explanation for years of wasted spending. Scantling, the term the Council used for the beams, meant the cross-sectional size of a piece of timber. Undersized scantling was the root of the structural failure. Beams too slender for their span sagged and cracked under the load of a tiled roof, opening joints through which water entered and rotted the wood further. The lease to Richard Bagley shows how the Company managed the island's land. All land belonged to the Company, and uncultivated or unused ground was let to settlers at small rents. A nominal charge of 6s 0d a year gave the Company a steady income, confirmed its ownership and encouraged tenants to bring neglected plots into use.
326	322	At a Consultation held on Monday the 2d day of July 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 25th June 1764	Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Monday 2 July 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 25 June 1764. Susanna, the daughter of John Teal, a publican, and his wife Elizabeth, died on Thursday 28 June 1764.

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		Thursday the 28th June Died Susanna Daughter of John and Elizabeth Teal Publican The Havannahs Boat arrived at Banks's forty Minutes past eight at Night This day Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Havannah last from Fort Marlborough. Mr. James Powell this day presented the following Representation vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St Helena Gentlemen At the time the Ship Princess Augusta was here I went to Capt. Baddisons Ship with intent to buy a little Mustard for the use of my Table but was told it was all sold: upon which I came out and was immediately followed by John Mitchland, who told me I might have what I wanted for my own use, I was surprized at his offer, finding by it that he was the Person who had engrossd the whole, Notwithstanding he had at several times been forbid by the Governor and Council Buying or selling, or carrying on any manner of Trade, however, I refused taking any of him or laying myself under any kind of Obligation, and was much surprised to find him still proceeding in his former way, in engrossing useful and Necessary Commoditys before Housekeepers were Supplied for their Family use. I am St Helena Gentlemen 2d July 1764 Your most obedient and Humble Servants (signed) Js. Powell **Margin Notes:** 2d July [...]	A boat from the *Havannah* landed at Banks's at 8.40 in the evening. The Company's ship *Havannah* herself arrived on 2 July 1764, having last called at Fort Marlborough. James Powell submitted a written complaint to the Governor and Council that day. While the *Princess Augusta* was at the island, he had gone aboard Captain Baddison's ship to buy a small quantity of mustard for his own table. He was told that it had all been sold. As Powell left, John Mitchland followed him at once and offered to let him have as much mustard as he needed for his own use. The offer took Powell by surprise, since it showed that Mitchland was the man who had bought up the entire stock. The Governor and Council had repeatedly banned Mitchland from buying, selling or trading in any way. Powell declined to take any mustard from Mitchland, not wishing to place himself under any obligation to him. He told the Council he was dismayed that Mitchland was still at his old practice. In Powell's account, Mitchland was cornering useful and essential goods before ordinary householders could buy what their families needed. Powell signed the complaint at St Helena on 2 July 1764. **Interpretations** Powell's charge was one of engrossing, the practice of buying up the whole supply of a commodity so as to control its resale price. In England at this date engrossing, together with forestalling and regrating, was still a criminal offence under long-standing statutes, although these laws were falling out of use and would be repealed in 1772. On St Helena the offence was far more damaging. Almost every imported article arrived in small quantities on passing ships, so one buyer who reached a ship first could take its entire stock and leave the rest of the island to pay his price. The Council's repeated ban on Mitchland trading shows that the right to buy and sell was not open to all islanders but depended on the Council's permission. Like the licensing of publicans set out on 18 June 1764, this gave the Council a means of control over the island's supply of goods. A man barred from trade who still bought whole cargoes was defying that system directly, which explains why Powell expected the Council to act on his complaint. Powell's refusal to accept mustard from Mitchland had a practical purpose. Taking goods from him would have made Powell a customer of the very trade he was reporting and could have been used to cast doubt on his complaint. By declining, he kept his position as an independent witness. Fort Marlborough was the Company's fortified settlement at Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra. The *Havannah* was therefore on the homeward pepper run, the same route the *Houghton* had sailed before her protest of 2 June 1764. Banks's was one of the batteries guarding the approach to Jamestown, where boats sent ahead of an arriving ship were first received and reported.
327	323	Mr. Purling declares that he sent to Capt. Baddisons Ship for a few Packs of Cards but could not get any being told that John Mitchland had bought the whole for tenpence p pack, to sell for one Shilling and six pence the price that every one are now obliged to give for what Cards they have occasion [...] John Baptist Mitchland a Foreigner who came here a Soldier in the Earl of Holdernesse in the Year 1759 when he first came	Matthew Purling told the Council that he had gone aboard Captain Baddison's ship to buy a few packs of playing cards. None were left, and he learned that John Mitchland had bought the entire stock at 9d a pack. Mitchland meant to resell them at 1s 6d, the price everyone now had to pay for any cards they needed. The Council then set out Mitchland's history. John Baptist Mitchland was a foreigner who had reached St Helena as a soldier aboard the *Earl of Holdernesse* in 1759. At first he worked on the island as a silversmith. During that time he was often

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		upon the Island, worked at his Trade of Silver Smith in which it was often suspected that he bought Silver Spoons &ca. that were Stolen and melted them down, some time after he relinquished that business and kept a Shop and Sold various sorts of Goods therein amongst others he bought a Gold Ring from a Seaman belonging to his Majestys Ship Assistance which was stolen from another Seaman on board the said Ship, and Captain Norton having information thereof made a Complaint against the said Mitchland to Governor Hutchinson but as it could not be proved upon him, that he new the Thing was stolen, he was not proceeded against in any other way than only Ordered to Shut up his Shop and to discontinue buying and selling for the future which he complied with for that time, but in a short space afterwards, he began to buy and sell as Usual, and in a daring impudent manner contrary to repeated Orders has continued to do so ever since, and now Boasts that in the five Years he has been upon the Island he has acquired two thousand five hundred pounds which if true, we are assured cannot be honestly got, but must have been Obtained by fraudulent and bad practices. In March last his time of Service as a Soldier expired, and soon after he applied for and had his discharge, and was then in Council told to prepare himself to leave the Island, for that he should not upon any pretence whatsoever continue here and if he had any goods upon his Hands immediately to get rid of them, but notwithstanding all this it has been proved that the said Mitchland had bought several sorts of Goods from Capt. Baddisons Ship for retailing again, and engrossed many necessary Articles which were wanted by the Inhabitants, and was heard to say, he would do so purposely to disappoint the Gentlemen of the Island, and make them pay him for what they had occasion for, which has been frequently his practice, and besides knowing him to be a most consummate impudent fellow of a Turbulent disposition for which he has been several times whipped in the Garrison, and that the same Spirit still continues in him is demonstrable **Margin Notes:** 1764	suspected of buying stolen silver spoons and other items and melting them down. He later gave up silversmithing and opened a shop selling a range of goods. Among other things he bought a gold ring from a seaman of the Royal Navy ship *Assistance*, although the ring had been stolen from another man aboard. Captain Norton learned of this and complained to Governor Hutchinson. Because nobody could prove that Mitchland knew the ring was stolen, no further action was taken against him. He was simply ordered to close his shop and stop buying and selling altogether. Mitchland obeyed for a while but soon went back to trading as before. Despite repeated orders, he carried on in a bold and brazen way. He was now boasting that in his five years on the island he had made £2,500. The Council held that, if this were true, the money could not have been earned honestly and must have come from fraud and sharp dealing. His term of service as a soldier ended in March 1764. Soon afterwards he applied for and received his discharge. The Council then told him to prepare to leave the island, since he would not be allowed to remain on any grounds. He was also to sell off any goods still in his hands without delay. In spite of this, the evidence showed that Mitchland had bought several kinds of goods from Captain Baddison's ship to resell. He had also cornered many essential articles that the islanders needed. He had been heard to say that he did it deliberately to thwart the island's gentlemen and make them pay him for whatever they required, and he had often acted in this way. The Council further described him as a thoroughly insolent man of unruly temper who had been flogged several times in the garrison for his behaviour. In its judgement, the same defiant spirit plainly remained in him. **Interpretations** The right to live on St Helena depended on the Company's permission. As a soldier, Mitchland was on the island because of his contract, and his discharge in March 1764 ended the basis on which he stayed. The Council could therefore order him to leave simply by refusing him leave to remain, without any trial. Expulsion was a powerful sanction on an island where every departure required a passage on a ship the Company controlled. The case of the gold ring shows the limits of the Council's legal powers and how it worked around them. A charge of receiving stolen goods required proof that Mitchland knew the ring was stolen, and that proof was lacking. Instead the Council used its control over trade to close his shop and ban him from dealing, a penalty that needed no such proof. The same approach lay behind its treatment of the publican Robert Ballard on 18 June 1764, where loss of a licence served as punishment without a court case. Melting down silver was the classic method of disposing of stolen plate, since it destroyed the marks and shapes by which owners could identify their property. A silversmith was ideally placed to do this, which explains why suspicion attached to Mitchland from his earliest days on the island. The £2,500 Mitchland claimed to have made was an enormous sum for a common soldier. It was nearly three times the £880 that Captain Charles Mears, an Indiaman commander, remitted by bill of exchange in May 1764. A private soldier's pay could never have produced such savings, so the Council's inference that the money came from illicit dealing rested on a stark comparison any islander would have grasped. The mark-up on playing cards, bought at 9d and resold at 1s 6d, doubled their price. Cards were a

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			popular pastime among the garrison and settlers, and Mitchland's purchase of the whole stock turned a small luxury into an example of the engrossing that James Powell had complained of earlier the same day.
328	324	Demonstrable from his breeding a Riot in conjunction with several Blacks the first Night he was Discharged from the Garrison and was confined for the same and bound over to the Peace for his good behaviour in which circumstance he now Stands, Therefore in Order to free the Island of so great a Nusance as he is to it, we came to a Resolution to send him off by the first convenient opportunity The Governor observed in Consultation that the present Rains penetrated into almost every Room of the Castle, and as his predecessor had often told him the whole Roof was in great danger of falling in We agreed to send Mr. Bland, Townsend and Robinson to inspect and survey its Defects, and afterwards deliver their Opinions in writing to Us of its Condition which is follows vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &ca. Council of St Helena Worshipful Sir & Sirs According to your Orders We have surveyed the Roof on the Castle in James's Valley. Our Opinions are that the Roof over the great Room is in danger of falling every Day the Rafters being bent to a Bow and only supported by Shoars they giving way by Reason of the South Wall settling. Which Settlement We find to be six Inches as We have found by Experience the South Wall settles more and more every day We unanimously are of Opinion it cannot stand and the sooner the South Wall is rebuilt and a New Roof put on the better The Reason of such Settlement of the South Wall is it was not built at the same Time the other Walls were and being tyed into the old building is the Occasion of its being in the Condition it is in. All the other part of the Roof is very bad the Timber Decayed and the Tiles entirely rotten some part of which is covered with Canvas, Tarred in many Places were the Tiles are decayed. We have been obliged to have recourse to a Composition of Lime, Sugar, Pitch &c. which answers for a while and are also agreed in Opinion the only Remedy is a New Roof (signed) 25th June 1764 John Bland John Robinson Thos. Townsend **Margin Notes:** 2d July	The Council held that Mitchland's defiant spirit was plain from his conduct on the very first night after his discharge from the garrison. On that night he stirred up a riot together with several black men. He was locked up for it and bound over to keep the peace and behave well, and he remained under that bond. To rid the island of so serious a nuisance, the Council resolved to ship him away at the first suitable opportunity. Governor Skottowe then told the Council that the current rains were coming through into almost every room of the Castle. His predecessor had often warned him that the whole roof was in danger of collapse. The Council agreed to send John Bland, Thomas Townsend and John Robinson to inspect the damage and report their findings in writing. The three men reported to the Governor and Council on 25 June 1764, after surveying the roof of the Castle in James's Valley. In their view the roof over the great room might fall in any day. Its rafters had sagged and were held up only by props. They were giving way because the south wall was sinking, and the surveyors measured the settlement at 6 inches. Experience had shown them that the wall was sinking further every day. The surveyors were unanimous that the wall could not stand. They urged that the south wall be rebuilt and a new roof put on as soon as possible. According to the report, the south wall was sinking because it had been built at a different time from the other walls. Joining it onto the older building had caused the damage. The rest of the roof was also in very poor condition, with the timber decayed and the tiles completely rotten. Part of it had been covered with canvas, and in many places the tiles had perished. The workmen had been forced to patch it with a mixture of lime, sugar, pitch and other ingredients, which held for a short time only. All three agreed that the only real cure was a new roof. Bland, Robinson and Townsend signed the report. **Interpretations** Being bound over to keep the peace meant that Mitchland had entered into a formal bond, usually backed by a sum of money, promising good behaviour for a set period. Any further disturbance would forfeit the money and expose him to imprisonment. His continued trading while under this bond strengthened the Council's case that he was beyond correction, and removal from the island by the next ship was the one sanction that ended the problem for good. The mixture of lime, sugar and pitch was a type of mortar long used in India, where builders added jaggery or other forms of sugar to lime plaster to make it harder and more water-resistant. Its use on St Helena shows how Company ships carried Asian building methods as well as goods to the island. Pitch added a waterproof seal, but as the surveyors noted, such patches could only delay the need for a new roof. The failure of the south wall stemmed from a common building fault. A new wall joined onto an old one settles at a different rate, because the older foundations have already compacted while the new ones are still sinking. The join then opens and the new wall pulls away, carrying the roof with it, which explains why the rafters over the great room had sagged and needed props.

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329	325	Upon which we immediately came to a Resolution to have it new Roofed, and to give the House a thorough repair, and to prevent any further mistakes or blunders. We agreed to put the management thereof under the care of John Robinson Carpenter with directions to see that it is properly Executed The Publicans this day presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of the Island St Helena &ca. in Council The Humble Petition of the Publicans of the said Island Sheweth That your Petitioners are Deprived of the Benefits of their Licences, by the Practices of some Persons in this Valley and likewise in the Country, Who Clandestinely and against the standing Orders sell great Quantitys of Arrack without Licence in the retailing Way. And at the same price that your Petitioners buy their Arrack at the first Hand, such practices is of great Detriment to your Petitioners and without puting a stop to, will render it impossible for your Petitioners to pay the Honorable Company their Licence, and likewise render the Sanction which your Petitioners have from your Worship and Council for keeping a Publick House Quite Ineffectual and of no use to them We humbly beg your Assistance in puting a Stop to such fraudulent Practices And your Petitioners will ever pray (signed) Robt. Merchant John Price Josiah Walker St Helena William Hayes 2d July 1764 James Torbet John Seale Wm. Moore Mary Burnham Stephen Young Henl. Harper **Margin Notes:** 1764	The surveyors' report left the Council in no doubt, and it resolved at once to have the Castle reroofed and thoroughly repaired. To avoid any further errors or blunders, it placed the work under the charge of John Robinson, a carpenter. He was instructed to make sure the job was done properly. The island's publicans presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council on 2 July 1764. They complained that they were losing the benefit of their licences because of certain people in the valley and in the countryside. These people were secretly selling large quantities of arrack by retail without a licence, in breach of the Council's standing orders. They were also charging the same price that the publicans themselves paid when buying arrack wholesale. The publicans warned that this trade was doing them serious harm. Unless it was stopped, they would be unable to pay the Company for their licences. The permission the Governor and Council had granted them to keep public houses would also become worthless. They asked the Council to help put an end to these dishonest dealings. The petition bore the following signatures: Robert Merchant John Price Josiah Walker William Hayes James Torbet John Seale William Moore Mary Burnham Stephen Young Henry Harper **Interpretations** The petition shows the other side of the licensing bargain enforced against Robert Ballard on 18 June 1764. Publicans accepted a fixed buying price for arrack, set at 6s 6d a gallon on 24 September 1759, and a ban on bidding at auctions. In return they gained the exclusive right to sell by retail at up to 12s a gallon. Unlicensed sellers offering arrack at 6s 6d destroyed that margin, so the publicans argued that the Council must enforce the monopoly it had granted if it expected them to keep paying for it. Licence fees were a source of revenue for the Company as well as a means of control. By warning that they could no longer afford their licences, the publicans tied their own losses to the Company's income, giving the Council a financial as well as a moral reason to act. The complaint covered both the valley, meaning Jamestown, and the country, the scattered farms and settlements of the interior. Unlicensed selling in the country was harder to police, since it took place far from the Castle and the eyes of its officers, and drink sold there perhaps went largely to soldiers, slaves and farm labourers. Mary Burnham's name among the signatories shows that women held public-house licences on the island in their own right. She stood alongside the male publicans as a licensee with the same stake in the trade.
330	326	Upon taking the above Petition into consideration We directed the Honorable Company's Orders again to be published relative to the purchasing and retailing of Spirituous Liquors, and notwithstanding these Orders have been frequently made publickly known and enforced by repeated Orders Issued from time to time by the Governor and Council forbidding all Persons to retail spirituous Liquors without a Licence We	Governor Skottowe and the Council considered the publicans' petition and ordered the Company's rules on buying and retailing spirits to be published once more. Those rules had often been announced in public and backed by repeated orders from the Governor and Council over the years. Each of them banned anyone from selling spirits by retail without a licence. The petition nonetheless showed that many ill-intentioned people in the valley and in several parts of the country were still selling liquor without licences. The Council held that this trade did great

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		find by the above petition that the injurious practice of retailing Liquors by many ill disposed Persons in this Valley and in several parts of the Country still continues to be followed much to the prejudice of the lower sort of People, as well as in contempt of all Orders to the Contrary, We therefore came to a firm and fixed Resolution to put the Laws of England strictly into Execution against all Persons who shall presume in future to retail Liquors without a Licence, and that none may plead ignorant of the Laws and the Penalties and punishments appointed by Acts of Parliament for delinquents herein, We agreed to affix at the publick Market place in this Valley and at the door of the Church in the Country Extracts out of Burns Justice folio 267 & 269 relative to retailing Liquors without a Licence We this day Enlisted James Moyce Native to serve the Honorable Company for five Years as a Soldier and gave him fifty Shillings Bounty Money to buy him Cloaths &ca. John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 2d July	harm to the poorer islanders and openly defied every order against it. The Council therefore resolved firmly to enforce the laws of England strictly against anyone who sold liquor by retail without a licence in future. So that nobody could claim ignorance of the penalties that Acts of Parliament imposed for this offence, it agreed to post extracts from Burn's Justice, pages 267 and 269, covering unlicensed liquor selling. The notices were to be fixed up in the public market place in the valley and at the church door in the country. On the same day the Council enlisted James Moyce, who had been born on the island, to serve the Company as a soldier for five years. He received a bounty of £2 10s 0d to buy clothing and other necessities. The Governor, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** Burn's Justice was Richard Burn's handbook The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer, first published in 1755 and quickly adopted as the standard legal guide for magistrates across England. Its presence at the Castle shows that the Council relied on a practical English manual to apply statute law on a remote island with no trained lawyers. By posting the relevant pages, the Council turned a reference book into a public proclamation of the penalties laid down by Parliament for selling drink without a licence. Posting notices at the market place and the church door followed the English principle that a law must be published before ignorance of it could be denied as a defence. These were the two places where the whole population gathered, the market for the townspeople of the valley and the church for the farming families of the interior, so the choice ensured the warning reached every part of the island. James Moyce received a bounty of £2 10s 0d, only half the £5 0s 0d given to Thomas Lyon and Thomas Durham on 11 June 1764. Those two men had been left behind by passing ships and arrived with almost nothing, whereas a man born on the island was probably already clothed and settled. The lower bounty suggests the Company paid only what was needed to secure each recruit.
331	327	At a Consultation held on Friday the 6th day of July 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captn. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 2d July 1764 Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the the Ship Havannah to muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows (vizt.) Muster Roll of Ship Havannah Thomas Madge Comr. James Jubb Chf. Mte. Matthew Storey 2d do William Frazier 3d do Saml. Rogers 4th do William Brown 5th do Richard Langton 6th do John Shaw Surgeon Thomas Sutton Do. Mte. Stephen Willson Boats. Thomas Woollaston Gunr. Richard Gibbs Carpenter John Light Miles Robinson	Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Friday 6 July 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 2 July 1764. Purling reported that he had boarded the *Havannah* to muster her crew and search for deserters, but he found none. The ship's muster roll listed the following men: Thomas Madge, commander James Jubb, chief mate Matthew Hore, second mate William Frazier, third mate Samuel Rogers, fourth mate William Brown, fifth mate Richard Langton, sixth mate John Shaw, surgeon Thomas Hutton, surgeon's mate Stephen Willson, boatswain Thomas Woollaston, gunner Richard Gibbs, carpenter John Leigh, midshipman Miles Robinson, midshipman John Lee, midshipman Richard Bonsell, midshipman Paul Kane, quartermaster Thomas Hicks, quartermaster Richard Fitzgerald, quartermaster John Adams, quartermaster

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		John Lee Richard Bonstell Mids Paul Kane Thomas Hicks Richard Fitzgerald Qr. Mrs. John Adams John Laney Caulker James Smith Cooper Peter Johns Sailmaker Thomas Cook Armorer James Robinson Sh. Stew. William Usher Capt. do Richd. Laskey Ships Cook Robert Gray Captn. do William Gates William Smith John Hubbert John Brown John Power George Nicholson Henry May Joseph Nettleship Jonathan Atkinson Edward Murphy Robert Jewell Charles Gray James Steward Peter Govey William Seley Jonathan Meads William Spearman Isaac Eaton John Ferguson Francis Harrison John Pratt Thomas Troider James Urnston John Steward Richd. Madge John Bennett Henry Ranson Robert Smith Alexander Tulloch Jos. Hebert William Purnell Seward Samson William Regny Andrew Rushley William Robinson Henry Emmitt **Margin Notes:** 6th July	John Laney, caulker James Smith, cooper Peter Johns, sailmaker Thomas Cock, armourer James Robinson, ship's steward William Usher, captain's steward Richard Castles, ship's cook Robert Gray, captain's cook William Gates William Smith John Hubbert John Brown John Power George Nicholson Henry May Joseph Nettleship Jonathan Atkinson Edward Murphy Robert Jewell Charles Gray James Steward Peter Govey William Sely Jonathan Meads William Spearman Isaac Eaton John Ferguson Francis Harrison John Pratt Thomas Trinder James Umston John Steward Richard Madge John Bennett Henry Ranson Robert Smith Alexander Tulloch Joshua Hebert William Purnell Seward Samson William Renny Andrew Rickley William Clarkson Henry Emmitt
332	328	George Hartfield Seward Lawson Andrew Momberg John Sabatan William Faltner Daniel McDonald Thomas Turey Michael Welsh George Hairs William Hutchinson John Moody Richard Butler Charles Frazier John Ireland Thomas Hill Andrew Birmingham William Jamison Walter Ramsay William Holmes William Hannah John Greaves	The muster roll of the *Havannah* continued with the rest of her crew, followed by her passengers and French prisoners: George Hartfield Seward Lawson Andrew Momberg John Sabatan William Faltner Daniel McDonald Thomas Furey Michael Welsh George Hairs William Hutchinson John Moody Richard Butler Charles Frazier John Ireland Thomas Hill Andrew Birmingham William Jamison Walter Ramsay

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		Alexander Nicholson Isaac Williams John Dicker Michael Doyle Peter Regan Robert Driddel Thomas West Nichl. Highborough Joy Castle Richard Morgan William Lithgo Thomas Gamble William Stevenson George Bell Benj. Hayward Passengers Capt. Dickenson Mrs. Baldwin Miss Hunt French Prisoners John Derecamp William Mully Toulouse Kessairo Jem Bonair Vessly Santgairman Lagreil Willbocey Joseph Bessy [...] (signed) Thos. Madge Mr. John Thackeray applied to us to pay twenty six pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr. Elias Thackeray or order ninety days after sight dated this day John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 6th July	William Holmes William Hannah John Greave Alexander Nicholson Isaac Williams John Dicker Michael Doyle Peter Rogan Robert Criddel Thomas West Nicholas Highborough Joy Castle Richard Morgan William Lithgo Thomas Gamble William Steinson George Bell Benjamin Hayward Passengers: Captain Dickenson Mrs Baldwin Miss Hunt French prisoners: John Derecamp William Mully Toulouse Rossairo Jem Bonair Vesly Santgairman Lagreil Willbocey Joseph Besoy Thomas Madge signed the roll. John Thackeray asked to pay £26 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, dated the same day. They were payable to Eliab Thackeray or his nominee 90 days after being presented. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** Several of the French prisoners again bore the adopted service names typical of French soldiers, as on the *Cruttenden*'s roll entered on 5 June 1764. Santgairman was the same St Germain found there, and the addition of Toulouse to William Mully's name followed the common army practice of identifying a recruit by his home town. These men were therefore probably soldiers rather than seamen, perhaps taken in the East during the recent war and now being carried to Europe on the homeward Indiamen. Unlike the three ships mustered in June, the *Havannah* carried women passengers. Mrs Baldwin and Miss Hunt were perhaps returning to England from the Company's settlement at Fort Marlborough, where the ship had last called.
333	329	At a Consultation held on Monday the 9th day of July 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 6th July 1764 Yesterday sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Havannah for England The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of June last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt. Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Company's Table	Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Monday 9 July 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 6 July 1764. The Company's ship *Havannah* had left for England on 8 July 1764. The monthly accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the stewards for June were presented that day. The Council examined and approved them, and they were recorded as follows. Goods consumed at the Company's table in June 1764: Port wine, 15 bottles, £1 2s 6d Lisbon wine, 22 bottles, £1 13s 10d Mountain wine, 14 bottles, £1 1s 0d Beer, 15 bottles, £0 3s 11d

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		in the Month of June 1764 vizt. 15 Bottles Port Wine £1 2s 6d 22 Lisbon £1 13s 10d 14 Mountain £1 1s 0d 15 Beer £0 3s 11d 61 Arrack £3 7s 7½d 254lb Flour £1 10s 10½d 182½lb Beef £3 16s 0½d 100lb Mutton £2 1s 8d 71lb Goat £1 3s 8d 4 ps. Salt Pork £0 10s 2d 1 Kidd £0 5s 0d 4 Geese £1 0s 0d 1 Turkey £0 5s 0d 12 Fowls £0 18s 0d 1 p. Salt Beef £0 2s 9¾d 4 Ducks £0 6s 0d 33¼lb Fresh Butter £1 13s 9d 43lb Candy £0 14s 4d £21 15s 4¾d **Margin Notes:** 9th July	Arrack, 61 bottles, £3 7s 7½d Flour, 254 lb, £1 10s 10½d Beef, 182½ lb, £3 16s 0½d Mutton, 100 lb, £2 1s 8d Goat meat, 71 lb, £1 3s 8d Salt pork, 4 pieces, £0 10s 2d Kid, 1, £0 5s 0d Geese, 4, £1 0s 0d Turkey, 1, £0 5s 0d Fowls, 12, £0 18s 0d Salt beef, 1 piece, £0 2s 9¾d Ducks, 4, £0 6s 0d Fresh butter, 33¾ lb, £1 13s 9d Candy, 43 lb, £0 14s 4d Total, £21 15s 4¼d **Interpretations** The cost of the Governor's table fell from £29 0s 8d in May to £21 15s 4¼d in June, a drop of about a quarter. The sharpest falls came in fresh meat and flour: mutton dropped from 230 lb to 100 lb, flour from 360 lb to 254 lb and beef from 254 lb to 182½ lb. May had been an exceptional month of official entertaining, with Admiral Cornish and his squadron in the road, the departure of Governor Hutchinson on 13 May 1764 and the proclamation of Governor Skottowe the following day. June brought fewer distinguished visitors, and the table returned to a more ordinary level of hospitality. The mix of wines shifted with the arrival of fresh supplies. The *Princess Augusta* had delivered 175½ gallons of port and 114 gallons of Lisbon wine to the stores on 5 June 1764, and in June the table used 15 bottles of port and 22 of Lisbon, against 8 and 12 in May. Mountain wine, of which only 57 gallons had arrived, fell from 30 bottles to 14. The table drew most heavily on whatever the latest ship had brought. Arrack remained by far the largest drink item, at 61 bottles against 74 in May. Its steady dominance confirms that punch, rather than wine, was the staple of official entertaining at the Castle, whatever the month. The first appearance of a piece of salt beef alongside the salt pork suggests the island's fresh beef was being husbanded more carefully. The livestock return for May had shown the cattle herd shrinking from 305 to 292 head, with steers sent to the *Egmont* and several animals slaughtered, so the table began to draw on preserved ship's beef to spare the breeding stock.
334	330	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca. for the Month of June 1764 vizt. Neat Cattle Bulls, Neat Cattle Cows, Neat Cattle Calves, Neat Cattle Yearlings, Neat Cattle Heifers, Neat Cattle Steers, Neat Cattle Oxen, Neat Cattle Total, Sheep Ewes, Sheep Weathers, Sheep Lambs, Sheep Rams, Sheep Total, Goats Ewes, Goats Weathers, Goats Kids, Goats Rams, Goats Total, Hogs Sows, Hogs Shoats, Hogs Pigs, Hogs Boars, Hogs Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses He Asses, Asses She Asses, Asses Total Remaining 1st: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 74, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 23, Neat Cattle Steers 28, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 292, Sheep Ewes 321, Sheep Weathers 189, Sheep Lambs 161, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 679, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 60, Goats Kids 71, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 306, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 1, Hogs Pigs 10, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 14, Poultry Fowls 68, Poultry Ducks 24, Poultry Turkeys 26, Poultry Geese 29, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses He Asses 1, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 2	The Company's livestock account for June 1764 recorded the animals held at the start of the month, the changes during it and the numbers left at its end. Neat cattle on hand on 1 June 1764: 3 bulls, 84 cows, 74 calves, 59 yearlings, 23 heifers, 28 steers, 21 oxen, total 292 cattle Neat cattle added by births: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 6 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 6 cattle Neat cattle, combined total: 3 bulls, 84 cows, 80 calves, 59 yearlings, 23 heifers, 28 steers, 21 oxen, total 298 cattle Neat cattle slaughtered: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 3 heifers, 5 steers, 0 oxen, total 8 cattle Neat cattle died: 0 bulls, 1 cow, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 1 cattle Neat cattle on hand on 30 June 1764: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 80 calves, 59 yearlings, 20 heifers, 23 steers, 21 oxen, total 289 cattle Sheep on hand on 1 June 1764: 321 ewes, 189 wethers, 161 lambs, 8 rams, total 679 sheep Sheep added by births: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 50 lambs, 0 rams, total 50 sheep Sheep, combined total: 321 ewes, 189 wethers, 211 lambs, 8 rams, total 729 sheep

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		Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 6, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 6, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 50, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 50, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 4, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 4, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 10, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 84, Neat Cattle Calves 80, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 23, Neat Cattle Steers 28, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 298, Sheep Ewes 321, Sheep Weathers 189, Sheep Lambs 211, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 729, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 60, Goats Kids 75, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 310, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 1, Hogs Pigs 10, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 14, Poultry Fowls 78, Poultry Ducks 24, Poultry Turkeys 26, Poultry Geese 29, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses He Asses 1, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 2 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 3, Neat Cattle Steers 5, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 8, Sheep Ewes 3, Sheep Weathers 20, Sheep Lambs 0, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 23, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 4, Goats Kids 1, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 5, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Poultry Fowls 12, Poultry Ducks 4, Poultry Turkeys 1, Poultry Geese 3, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 1, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 1, Sheep Ewes 3, Sheep Weathers 8, Sheep Lambs 4, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 15, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 0, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 0, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 1, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Poultry Fowls 3, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 9, Poultry Geese 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses He Asses 0, Asses She Asses 0, Asses Total 0 Remaining 30th: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 83, Neat Cattle Calves 80, Neat Cattle Yearlings 59, Neat Cattle Heifers 20, Neat Cattle Steers 23, Neat Cattle Oxen 21, Neat Cattle Total 289, Sheep Ewes 315, Sheep Weathers 161, Sheep Lambs 207, Sheep Rams 8, Sheep Total 691, Goats Ewes 166, Goats Weathers 56, Goats Kids 74, Goats Rams 9, Goats Total 305, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 1, Hogs Pigs 9, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 13, Poultry Fowls 63, Poultry Ducks 20, Poultry Turkeys 16, Poultry Geese 26, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 5, Horses Total 13, Asses He Asses 1, Asses She Asses 1, Asses Total 2 Yam Expended for the Slaves 17560lb Do. for Stock 9000lb Total 26560lb Errors Excepted (signed) Matthew Bazett **Margin Notes:** 9th July	Sheep slaughtered: 3 ewes, 20 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 23 sheep Sheep died: 3 ewes, 8 wethers, 4 lambs, 0 rams, total 15 sheep Sheep on hand on 30 June 1764: 315 ewes, 161 wethers, 207 lambs, 8 rams, total 691 sheep Goats on hand on 1 June 1764: 166 nannies, 60 wethers, 71 kids, 9 billies, total 306 goats Goats added by births: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 4 kids, 0 billies, total 4 goats Goats, combined total: 166 nannies, 60 wethers, 75 kids, 9 billies, total 310 goats Goats slaughtered: 0 nannies, 4 wethers, 1 kid, 0 billies, total 5 goats Goats died: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, total 0 goats Goats on hand on 30 June 1764: 166 nannies, 56 wethers, 74 kids, 9 billies, total 305 goats Hogs on hand on 1 June 1764: 2 sows, 1 shoat, 10 piglets, 1 boar, total 14 hogs Hogs added by births: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Hogs, combined total: 2 sows, 1 shoat, 10 piglets, 1 boar, total 14 hogs Hogs slaughtered: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Hogs died: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 1 piglet, 0 boars, total 1 hog Hogs on hand on 30 June 1764: 2 sows, 1 shoat, 9 piglets, 1 boar, total 13 hogs Poultry on hand on 1 June 1764: 68 fowls, 24 ducks, 26 turkeys, 29 geese Poultry added by hatching: 10 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Poultry, combined total: 78 fowls, 24 ducks, 26 turkeys, 29 geese Poultry slaughtered: 12 fowls, 4 ducks, 1 turkey, 3 geese Poultry died: 3 fowls, 0 ducks, 9 turkeys, 0 geese Poultry on hand on 30 June 1764: 63 fowls, 20 ducks, 16 turkeys, 26 geese Horses on hand on 1 June 1764: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 horses Horses added: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Horses, combined total: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 horses Horses slaughtered: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Horses died: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Horses on hand on 30 June 1764: 8 horses, 5 mares, total 13 horses Asses on hand on 1 June 1764: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 asses Asses added: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 asses Asses, combined total: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 asses Asses slaughtered: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 asses Asses died: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 asses Asses on hand on 30 June 1764: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 asses Yams issued for the slaves, 17,560, unit not stated Yams issued for the livestock, 9,000, unit not stated Total yams issued, 26,560, unit not stated Matthew Bazett signed the account, noting that it was subject to correction of any errors. **Interpretations** The yams issued to the slaves fell from 26,400 in May to 17,560 in June, a drop of about a third, while the allowance for the livestock barely changed, moving from 9,250 to 9,000. The account gives no reason. The fall perhaps reflects a smaller yam harvest as the southern winter set in, with the slaves' ration made up from other foods, but it may also mark a cut

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			in rations. Because the animals' share held steady, the reduction fell almost entirely on the slaves. Nine of the 26 turkeys died in June, more than a third of the flock, against none in May. Sheep deaths also rose, with 15 lost against 11 the month before. June was the depth of the island's winter, and on 2 July 1764 the Governor reported rain coming into almost every room of the Castle. Young turkeys in particular were notoriously vulnerable to cold and wet, so the losses probably followed a spell of heavy rain. A second batch of 50 lambs arrived in June, matching the 50 born in May. On St Helena the lambing season therefore fell in the southern autumn and early winter, the reverse of England, where flocks lambed in spring. The island's breeders had adjusted the cycle to local seasons so that lambs arrived when the rains brought fresh grass to the pastures. The slaughter of sheep fell from 37 in May to 23 in June. This matches the drop in mutton at the Company's table from 230 lb to 100 lb recorded the same month. No animals were sent aboard ships in June, in contrast to May, when steers, wethers and ducks went to the *Egmont* and other vessels. The quieter month of shipping allowed the flock to grow from 679 to 691 despite the losses. The phrase errors excepted was a standard accounting reservation. It allowed the overseer to correct any mistake later without being held to figures he had signed in good faith.
335	331	Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of June 1764 Guns Fired, 4pounder, 3pounder, 2pounder, 1pounder, Powder Expended 1 Departed the Belleine Ship of War saluted her with: Guns Fired 13, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 13, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 13lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 0oz Departed the Neptune returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4pounder 3, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 5, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 12lb 8oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 2 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived the Houghton returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived the Falmouth returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 0oz Arrived the Cruttenden returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 4 Fired to Salute the Anniversary of His Majestys Birth Day: Guns Fired 21, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 18, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 23lb 8oz	The gunner's account of artillery stores used in June 1764 listed each firing in turn. For every entry it gave the number of guns fired, the number fired with charges of 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb, and the gunpowder used. 1 June 1764, salute to the warship *Baleine* on sailing: 13 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 13 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 13 lb 0 oz. Priming powder, 2 lb 0 oz Salute returned to the *Neptune* on sailing: 9 guns fired, 3 guns with 4 lb charges, 1 gun with 3 lb charges, 5 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 12 lb 8 oz. Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz 2 June 1764, alarm signal: 6 guns fired, 2 guns with 4 lb charges, 2 guns with 3 lb charges, 0 guns with 2 lb charges, 2 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 12 lb 0 oz Salute returned to the *Houghton* on arrival: 9 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 9 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz Alarm signal: 6 guns fired, 2 guns with 4 lb charges, 2 guns with 3 lb charges, 0 guns with 2 lb charges, 2 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 12 lb 0 oz Salute returned to the *Falmouth* on arrival: 9 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 9 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz Alarm signal: 6 guns fired, 2 guns with 4 lb charges, 2 guns with 3 lb charges, 0 guns with 2 lb charges, 2 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 12 lb 0 oz Salute returned to the *Cruttenden* on arrival: 9 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 9 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz 4 June 1764, salute for the anniversary of the King's birthday: 21 guns fired, 2 guns with 4 lb charges, 1 gun with 3 lb charges, 18 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 23 lb 8 oz Priming powder, 3 lb 8 oz

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		Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 8oz Fired with Small Arms for Do.: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 16lb 8oz 9 Departed Princess Augusta returned the Salute: Guns Fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb 0oz Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 16 Powder for priming in order to have returned the Salute of the Falmouth and Cruttenden: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 0oz 18 Powder for priming in order to have returned the Salute of the Houghton: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 18lb 0oz 23 Do. for Shooting Wild Cats in the Longwood: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 0oz Do. for the Funeral of James Warrington: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz Do. for the Funeral of Jonathan Chandler: Guns Fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 4oz Total: Guns Fired 97, 4pounder 11, 3pounder 8, 2pounder 72, 1pounder 6, Powder Expended 160lb 8oz Tallow for the use of the Long Boat 16lb Do. for the use of the Carts 4lb Match burnt at the Main Fort 6lb Paper for making Cannon Cartridges 8 Qrs. Bitts broke at the Main Fort 1 Bitt (signed) Thos. Hall John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 1764	Powder for small-arms fire for the King's birthday, 16 lb 8 oz 9 June 1764, salute returned to the *Princess Augusta* on sailing: 9 guns fired, 0 guns with 4 lb charges, 0 guns with 3 lb charges, 9 guns with 2 lb charges, 0 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 9 lb 0 oz. Priming powder, 1 lb 8 oz 10 June 1764, priming powder for guns readied to return the salutes of the *Falmouth* and the *Cruttenden*, 3 lb 0 oz. 18 June 1764, priming powder for guns readied to return the salute of the *Houghton*, 1 lb 8 oz. 23 June 1764, powder for shooting wild cats at Longwood, 1 lb 0 oz Powder for the funeral of James Warrington, 2 lb 4 oz Powder for the funeral of Jonathan Chandler, 2 lb 4 oz Totals: 97 guns fired, 11 guns with 4 lb charges, 8 guns with 3 lb charges, 72 guns with 2 lb charges, 6 guns with 1 lb charges, powder 160 lb 8 oz The account then listed other artillery stores used during the month: Tallow for the longboat, 15 lb Tallow for the carts, 4 lb Slow match burnt at the Main Fort, 6 lb Paper for making cannon cartridges, 5 quires Bells broken at the Main Fort, 1 Thomas Hall signed the account, and Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed beneath it. **Interpretations** Powder use fell to 160 lb 8 oz in June from 302 lb in May, and the number of guns fired dropped from 205 to 97. May had seen an admiral's squadron, a departing and an incoming governor and a stream of visiting warships and foreign vessels. June's firings were mostly routine exchanges with the Company's own homeward Indiamen, together with the single great occasion of the King's birthday. The King's birthday on 4 June marked George III's anniversary, and the island honoured it with a royal salute of 21 guns, two more than any admiral or governor received. The garrison also fired its muskets in a running volley, costing a further 16 lb 8 oz of powder. This was the largest single use of powder in the month and shows the island's loyalty to the Crown being displayed publicly, even though it was governed by a trading company. The priming entries for 10 June and 18 June record powder spent readying guns to answer the salutes of the *Falmouth*, the *Cruttenden* and the *Houghton* as they sailed for England, with no guns shown as fired. The guns were perhaps primed and then not discharged because the departing ships did not salute, leaving only the priming charged to the account. The gunner still had to account for every ounce drawn, even when the salute never took place. The powder used to shoot wild cats at Longwood shows the garrison acting against vermin as well as enemies. Longwood was an open upland plain in the east of the island, used for grazing, and feral cats descended from ships' animals preyed on poultry, lambs and ground-nesting birds. Spending Company powder on them treated the protection of livestock as a public concern. Each funeral cost 2 lb 4 oz of powder, a small allowance for a few musket volleys over the grave. Jonathan Chandler, the discharged soldier who died on 21 June 1764, received this military honour even after leaving the garrison. The same modest figure suggests that the funeral entries in May, written as 24, also stood for 2 lb 4 oz rather than 24 lb.
336	332	At a Consultation held on Monday the 16th day of July 1764	Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the

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		at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 9th July 1764 Toney a Man Slave belonging to the Honorable Company being missed on Wednesday last and have not been since heard of We suppose he was drowned at Friar Valley as his Cloaths were found there The Storekeeper this Day brought in his Collection and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing April the 1st and ending June the 30th 1764 which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt. Collection of Goods sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Stores from April 1st to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Beef and Pork vizt. 316 ps. Beef£31 12s 0d 3577 ps. Pork£357 14s 0d £389 6s 0d Longcloth vizt. 1 Do. J£1 10s 6d 4 Do. L£21 11s 4d 6 Do. M£26 2s 0d 2 Do. N£7 6s 4d 10 Do. O£27 5s 0d 22½ Do. P£33 11s 3d £116 5s 5d Broad Cloth 5⅝ yds Black£6 3s 11½d 23 yds Blue£22 16s 2½d 3¼ yds Scarlet£3 9s 4d 2¼ Fr. Gray£2 3s 6d £33 13s 0d Carried over £539 4s 5d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	Castle on Monday 16 July 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 9 July 1764. Tony, a male slave owned by the Company, had been missing since Wednesday 11 July 1764 and nothing had been heard of him since. His clothes were found at Friar's Valley, and the Council concluded that he had drowned there. The storekeeper presented his record of sales, and the paymaster his accounts, for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764. The Council examined and approved both. Goods sold and issued from the Company's stores between 1 April and 30 June 1764 were as follows: Beef and pork: Beef, 316 pieces, £31 12s 0d Pork, 3,577 pieces, £357 14s 0d Beef and pork, subtotal, £389 6s 0d Longcloth: Longcloth of sort J, 1 piece, £1 10s 6d Longcloth of sort L, 4 pieces, £21 11s 4d Longcloth of sort M, 6 pieces, £26 2s 0d Longcloth of sort N, 2 pieces, £7 6s 4d Longcloth of sort O, 10 pieces, £27 5s 0d Longcloth of sort P, 22½ pieces, £33 11s 3d Longcloth, subtotal, £116 5s 5d Broadcloth: Black broadcloth, 5⅝ yards, £5 3s 1½d Blue broadcloth, 23 yards, £22 16s 2½d Scarlet broadcloth, 3¾ yards, £3 9s 4d French grey broadcloth, 2¼ yards, £2 3s 6d Broadcloth, subtotal, £33 13s 0d Carried forward, £539 4s 5d **Interpretations** The Company's store acted as the island's main shop, selling imported provisions and cloth to settlers, soldiers and officials. Salt pork dominated the quarter's sales, with 3,577 pieces sold for £357 14s 0d, far more than all the cloth together. Fresh meat from the island's herds was reserved largely for the Company's table and for passing ships, so ordinary islanders lived mainly on preserved meat shipped from England or Ireland in casks, bought by the piece at 2s each. Longcloth was a plain-woven cotton cloth made in India, chiefly on the Coromandel Coast, and shipped in standard lengths called pieces. The letters J to P marked grades of quality and fineness assigned by the Company, which let the storekeeper price each piece without describing it in detail. Longcloth was used for shirts, shifts, sheets and linings, and it reached the island cheaply on homeward Indiamen. Broadcloth was the finest English woollen cloth, woven wide on a broad loom and then heavily fulled to give a dense, smooth finish. Sold by the yard, it was costly, at close to 20s a yard, and went into coats and uniforms. Blue made up the largest share, and the small quantities of scarlet and black suggest cloth for officers' dress and mourning. French grey was a pale, slightly bluish grey then fashionable for gentlemen's coats. Tony was the second Company slave recorded as drowned within two months, after Woodfort in May 1764. The Council recorded his loss through the finding of his clothes rather than a body, entering it as a presumed death so that the Company's count of its slaves could be corrected.
337	333	Brought over £539 4s 5d Hooks & Lines vizt. 550 No. 1 300 No. 3 76 5 525 12	The storekeeper's record of goods sold from the Company's stores between 1 April and 30 June 1764 continued with fishing tackle, salt, haberdashery and sugar. Brought forward, £539 4s 5d Fishing hooks and lines: Fish hooks of size No 1, 550 hooks

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		850 14 125 15 Hooks £2 7s 5½d 141 No. 2 96 3 Lines £3 18s 1d 5 Hambro Do. £0 7s 6d 7 Log Do. £0 7s 5½d £7 0s 4d Salt 21¼ Bushels £3 16s 1d Haberdashery vizt. 37 Sk. Mohair£0 18s 6d 95 Sk. Silk£1 19s 7d 7 doz Mohair Bt. Buttons£0 2s 7¼d 9½ doz Do. Ct. Do.£0 7s 1½d 24 Cockades£0 9s 0d 3 Haymakers Knives£0 3s 8d 3 Do. Dishers£0 6s 5d 1 Do. Drawer£0 2s 9d 1 Pc. Union Cord£0 2s 6d 2 Ps. Gallion£0 11s 5d 1 Pc. White Braid£0 3s 0½d 7 Yards Tabby£3 5s 0½d 6lb Whale Bone£1 17s 6d 10 Ps. White Buckram£0 17s 0d 4 Ps. Holland Tape£0 2s 9d 12 Gross Horn Moulds£0 6s 0d 4 doz Silver Bt. Buttons£0 9s 0d 3½ Silver Coat Do.£0 16s 9d ½ Gross Shirt Do.£0 1s 2½d 1½ Silver Wire Breast Do.£0 3s 5½d £15 0s 4d Sugar & Candy vizt. 3301lb Sugar£55 0s 4d 2324lb Candy£53 5s 3d £108 5s 7d Carried over £671 9s 9d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Fish hooks of size No 3, 300 hooks Fish hooks of size No 5, 75 hooks Fish hooks of size No 12, 525 hooks Fish hooks of size No 14, 850 hooks Fish hooks of size No 15, 125 hooks Fish hooks, all sizes, £2 7s 5½d Fishing lines of size No 2, 141 lines Fishing lines of size No 3, 96 lines Fishing lines, both sizes, £3 18s 1d Hamburg lines, 5 lines, £0 7s 6d Log lines, 7 lines, £0 7s 3½d Fishing hooks and lines, subtotal, £7 0s 4d Salt, 21¾ bushels, £3 16s 1d Haberdashery: Mohair thread, 37 skeins, £0 18s 6d Silk thread, 95 skeins, £1 19s 7d Mohair waistcoat buttons, 7 dozen, £0 2s 7¾d Mohair coat buttons, 9½ dozen, £0 7s 1½d Cockades, 24, £0 9s 0d Staymakers' knives, 3, £0 3s 8d Staymakers' pokers, 3, £0 5s 5d Staymaker's drawer, 1, £0 2s 9d Union cord, 1 piece, £0 2s 6d Galloon, 2 pieces, £0 11s 5d White braid, 1 piece, £0 3s 0½d Tabby silk, 7 yards, £3 5s 0½d Whalebone, 6 lb, £1 17s 6d White buckram, 10 pieces, £0 17s 0d Holland tape, 4 pieces, £0 2s 9d Horn button moulds, 12 gross, £0 6s 0d Silver waistcoat buttons, 4 dozen, £0 9s 0d Silver coat buttons, 3½ dozen, £0 16s 9d Shirt buttons, ½ gross, £0 1s 2½d Silver wire waistcoat buttons, 1½ dozen, £0 3s 5½d Haberdashery, subtotal, £13 3s 4d Sugar and candy: Sugar, 3,301 lb, £55 0s 4d Sugar candy, 2,324 lb, £53 5s 3d Sugar and candy, subtotal, £108 5s 7d Carried forward, £671 9s 9d **Interpretations** Several items belonged to the trade of the staymaker, who made the stiffened bodices, or stays, worn by women of every rank. Whalebone was not bone but baleen, the flexible horny plates from the mouths of certain whales, cut into strips and sewn into channels to shape the stays. Buckram was a coarse linen stiffened with glue or size and used as an interlining. The staymaker's knives cut the baleen, while the pokers and drawer were tools for pushing the strips into their channels and drawing cord through the eyelets. Their sale from the Company's stores shows that stays were being made on the island by a local craftsman rather than imported ready-made. Tabby was a heavy silk taffeta with a watered or rippled finish, sold by the yard and costing more than 9s a yard. Galloon was a narrow woven braid, often of silk or metal thread, used to edge hats and garments. Union cord was a twisted cord of mixed fibres. Holland tape was a narrow linen tape named after the Dutch linen trade. Horn moulds were small discs of horn that tailors covered with cloth or thread to make buttons, and a gross of them held 144. Cockades were the knots of ribbon worn on the hat as a badge of military service, bought perhaps for the garrison or its recruits. The fishing tackle reveals how much the island depended on the sea for food. More than 2,400 hooks in six sizes and over 230 lines were sold in a single quarter. Fish was a cheap and plentiful food for slaves, soldiers and poorer settlers, easing pressure on the Company's herds and its imported salt meat. Hamburg lines were strong hemp lines of German make. Log lines were the knotted cords used at sea to

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			measure a ship's speed, but on shore they perhaps served as general-purpose fishing cord. Sugar and sugar candy were sold in almost equal amounts, 3,301 lb and 2,324 lb, together worth more than eight times the haberdashery. This confirms that the candy charged to the Company's table each month was sugar candy, the hard crystallised sugar shipped from China and Bengal, which on the island was eaten almost as widely as ordinary sugar.
338	334	Brought over £671 9s 9d Flour 2123lb Flour£15 9s 7d 298. 2. 18lb baked£278 15s 0d £294 4s 7d Rice & Paddy vizt. 8. - . 8 Rice£3 13s 6d 19. 2. 15 Paddy£4 0s 3d £7 13s 9d Candles 153lb £16 11s 6d Sope 429lb £15 12s 2d Arrack 83¾ Gal. £20 18s 9d Starch 21¾lb £0 9s 1d Sago 33lb £0 13s 9d Coffee 4lb £0 3s 8d Cordage 423¾lb £8 7s 8d Buckeram 10½ Yards £0 10s 6d Pepper 2½lb £0 1s 5d Oars 1 £0 4s 5d Blanketts 11 £3 0s 6d Challows 35 Ps. £18 0s 2d Flannell 11 Yds £0 14s 8d Pease ½ Bushel £0 4s 8d Desootes 9 Ps. £3 16s 9d Ticking 1 Yard £0 2s 8d Long Ells 3¼ Yds £0 6s 1d Lead vizt. 27½lb Sheet£0 6s 3d 13lb Shot£0 3s 0d £0 9s 3d Carried over £1063 15s 9d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The storekeeper's record of goods sold from the Company's stores between 1 April and 30 June 1764 continued with food, household goods and cloth. Brought forward, £671 9s 9d Flour: Flour, 2,123 lb, £15 9s 7d Flour baked into bread, 298 cwt 2 qr 18 lb, £278 15s 0d Flour, subtotal, £294 4s 7d Rice and paddy: Rice, 8 cwt 0 qr 8 lb, £3 13s 6d Paddy, 19 cwt 2 qr 15 lb, £4 0s 3d Rice and paddy, subtotal, £7 13s 9d Candles, 153 lb, £16 11s 6d Soap, 429 lb, £15 12s 2d Arrack, 83¾ gallons, £20 18s 9d Starch, 21¾ lb, £0 9s 1d Sago, 33 lb, £0 13s 9d Coffee, 4 lb, £0 3s 8d Cordage, 423¾ lb, £8 7s 8d Buckram, 10½ yards, £0 10s 6d Pepper, 2½ lb, £0 1s 5d Oars, 1, £0 4s 5d Blankets, 11, £3 0s 6d Chelloes, 35 pieces, £18 0s 2d Flannel, 11 yards, £0 14s 8d Peas, ½ bushel, £0 4s 8d Dosooties, 9 pieces, £3 16s 9d Ticking, 1 yard, £0 2s 8d Long ells, ¾ yard, £0 6s 1d Lead: Sheet lead, 27½ lb, £0 6s 3d Lead shot, 13 lb, £0 3s 0d Lead, subtotal, £0 9s 3d Carried forward, £1,063 15s 9d **Interpretations** Several of the cloths and foodstuffs were Asian goods brought by homeward Indiamen. Chelloes were checked or striped cotton cloths woven in India, much used for clothing and furnishings and shipped in standard pieces. Dosooties were coarse, strong cotton cloths, also Indian, whose name referred to their double-thread weave; they served for sacking, sails, workwear and slaves' clothing. Paddy was rice still in its husk, cheaper than cleaned rice and suited to people who would pound it themselves, which suggests it was bought to feed slaves or households on a budget. Sago was a starch taken from the pith of palm trunks in the Malay world and eaten as a pudding or given to the sick. Long ells were a light English woollen serge, named for the length of the pieces in which they were woven, and ticking was a tough striped linen used to cover mattresses and pillows. Baked flour was by far the largest item on the page, at almost 300 hundredweight worth £278 15s 0d. The Company baked flour into bread or biscuit and sold it to the islanders, making the store the island's chief bakery as well as its shop. This one entry was worth more than all the salt beef and pork sold in the quarter, which shows that imported grain, rather than home-grown food, still fed most of the population. The Company sold arrack from its own store at 5s a gallon, as the 83¾ gallons sold for £20 18s 9d show. This was below the 6s 6d ceiling set on 24

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			September 1759 for arrack sold to publicans. It helps explain the complaint of 2 July 1764 about unlicensed sellers: anyone who bought from the store at 5s could resell by the bottle and still undercut the licensed houses, which were permitted to charge up to 12s a gallon. Rice, flour and bread are given in hundredweight, quarters and pounds, the English system in which a hundredweight held 112 lb and a quarter 28 lb. Bulk staples were weighed this way, while smaller goods such as candles, soap and coffee were counted in pounds.
339	335	Brot. over £1063 15s 9d Nails vizt. 4lb 2d 7 3 5 4 55 6 27 10 5 20 £2 19s 6d 2¼ Tacks £0 3s 1d 18 Flooring Brads £0 6s 9d 1 Glazing Do. £0 1s 11d 1 Scupper £0 0s 6d £3 11s 9d Iron Ware vizt. 7 Chest Locks£1 10s 10½d 7 Splinter Do.£0 3s 9d 3 Pad Do.£0 5s 0d 3 Closet Do.£0 10s 9d 8 doz Wood Screws£0 3s 0d 3 Stock Locks£0 9s 0d 1 Ragstone£0 0s 3½d 1 Cupboard Lock£0 3s 1½d 1 Large Frying Pan£0 8s 8d 1 Spring Rat Trap£0 1s 8d 1 Pr. Dovetail Hinges£0 0s 5½d 3 Sail Needles£0 0s 5½d 2 Gimblets£0 0s 4½d £3 3s 3d Oil vizt. 16¾ Galls. Train£3 11s 2d 4½ Linseed£0 14s 10d 21 Bottles Florence£3 6s 6d £7 12s 6d Camblet 7 Yds Scarlet £1 12s 8d Shalloon vizt. 77 Yds Coloured£7 14s 0d 11 Yds Scarlet£1 17s 1d £9 11s 1d Carried over £1089 7s 0d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The storekeeper's record of goods sold from the Company's stores between 1 April and 30 June 1764 continued with nails, ironmongery, oil and cloth. Brought forward, £1,063 15s 9d Nails: 2d nails, 4 lb 3d nails, 7 lb 4d nails, 15 lb 6d nails, 55 lb 10d nails, 27 lb 20d nails, 5 lb Nails, all sizes, £2 19s 6d Tacks, 2¼ lb, £0 3s 1d Flooring brads, 18 lb, £0 6s 9d Glazing brads, 1 lb, £0 1s 11d Scupper nails, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Nails, subtotal, £3 11s 9d Ironmongery: Chest locks, 7, £1 10s 10½d Splinter locks, 7, £0 3s 9d Padlocks, 3, £0 5s 0d Closet locks, 3, £0 10s 9d Wood screws, 8 dozen, £0 3s 0d Stock locks, 3, £0 9s 0d Ragstone, 1, £0 0s 3½d Cupboard lock, 1, £0 3s 1½d Large frying pan, 1, £0 3s 8d Spring rat trap, 1, £0 1s 8d Dovetail hinges, 1 pair, £0 0s 5½d Sail needles, 3, £0 0s 3½d Gimlets, 2, £0 0s 4½d Ironmongery, subtotal, £3 3s 3d Oil: Train oil, 16¾ gallons, £3 11s 2d Linseed oil, 4½ gallons, £0 14s 10d Florence oil, 21 bottles, £3 6s 6d Oil, subtotal, £7 12s 6d Scarlet camlet, 7 yards, £1 12s 8d Shalloon: Coloured shalloon, 77 yards, £7 14s 0d Scarlet shalloon, 11 yards, £1 17s 1d Shalloon, subtotal, £9 11s 1d Carried forward, £1,089 7s 0d **Interpretations** Nail sizes were named in pence, a system that originally described the price of a hundred nails of each length. A 2d nail was a small fine nail for light joinery, while a 20d nail was a heavy spike for framing. Flooring brads were slim nails with small heads that could be driven below the surface of floorboards, glazing brads held panes of glass in window frames, and scupper nails had broad flat heads for fixing lead or leather linings. Train oil was oil rendered from whale or seal blubber and was the common fuel for lamps, as well as a dressing for leather and rope. Linseed oil, pressed from flax seed, was used chiefly to mix paint and preserve timber. Florence oil was fine olive oil from Tuscany, shipped in thin straw-covered flasks and sold by the bottle for cooking and salads, which explains why 21 bottles cost almost as much as nearly 17 gallons of train oil.

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			Camlet was a fine cloth originally woven from goat or camel hair and by this date usually made of wool mixed with silk or hair. Shalloon was a light, closely woven worsted twill used above all for lining coats and uniforms. The large quantity of shalloon and the scarlet camlet point to demand for military and official dress on an island dominated by its garrison. A stock lock was a heavy lock set in a wooden case and fitted to outside doors. A ragstone was a coarse whetstone used to sharpen edged tools. The spring rat trap reflects a persistent problem on St Helena, where rats brought ashore from ships had spread widely and damaged crops and stores.
340	336	Brought over £1089 7s 0d Corks vizt. 19 Gross£2 8s 3d 4¼ Sheet£0 2s 10d £2 11s 1d Tea vizt. 216lb Bohea£9 18s 0d 341 Congo£24 17s 3d 47 Single£3 8s 6d £38 3s 9d China Ware 2 Blue and White Baking£0 4s 5d 7 Enam. Speckers£0 3s 2¼d 35 Blue and White Do.£0 13s 1½d 4 Tea Pots£0 5s 0d 25 Bowls£1 11s 3d 4 Sauce Boats£0 1s 10d 6 Chamber Pots£0 10s 0d 4 Blue and White Guglets and Basons£0 12s 4d 4 Setts of Dishes and Plates£4 2s 4d 2 Sallad Dishes£0 1s 10d 1 Mug£0 1s 8d 12 Soop Plates£0 6s 8d £8 13s 8d Shoes vizt. 117 Pr. Mens Ordinary Shoes£25 16s 9d 18 Pr. Mens Fine Do.£5 9s 6d 21 Pr. Mens Pumps£5 15s 6d 6 Pr. Channelled Do.£2 0s 6d 22 Pr. Calimanco Do.£4 13s 6d 9 Pr. Womens Calf Do.£1 5s 10d 5 Pr. Spanish Do.£1 1s 3d 9 Pr. Boys£1 10s 9d 7 Pr. Girls£0 15s 5d £48 9s 0d Iron Pots 1 of 1 Gallon £0 2s 5d Carried over £1187 7s 11d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The storekeeper's record of goods sold from the Company's stores between 1 April and 30 June 1764 continued with corks, tea, china and footwear. Brought forward, £1,089 7s 0d Corks: Corks, 19 gross, £2 8s 3d Cork sheets, 4¼ sheets, £0 2s 10d Corks, subtotal, £2 11s 1d Tea: Bohea tea, 216 lb, £9 18s 0d Congou tea, 341 lb, £24 17s 3d Singlo tea, 47 lb, £3 8s 6d Tea, subtotal, £38 3s 9d China: Blue and white baking dishes, 2, £0 4s 5d Enamelled sneakers, 7, £0 3s 2½d Blue and white sneakers, 35, £0 13s 1½d Teapots, 4, £0 5s 0d Bowls, 25, £1 11s 3d Sauce boats, 4, £0 1s 10d Chamber pots, 6, £0 10s 0d Blue and white guglets with basins, 4, £0 12s 4d Sets of dishes and plates, 4 sets, £4 2s 4d Salad dishes, 2, £0 1s 10d Mug, 1, £0 1s 8d Soup plates, 12, £0 6s 8d China, subtotal, £8 13s 8d Shoes: Men's ordinary shoes, 117 pairs, £25 16s 9d Men's fine shoes, 18 pairs, £5 9s 6d Men's pumps, 21 pairs, £5 15s 6d Channelled pumps, 6 pairs, £2 0s 6d Calamanco pumps, 22 pairs, £4 13s 6d Women's calfskin shoes, 9 pairs, £1 5s 10d Spanish leather shoes, 5 pairs, £1 1s 3d Boys' shoes, 9 pairs, £1 10s 9d Girls' shoes, 7 pairs, £0 15s 5d Shoes, subtotal, £48 9s 0d Iron pot holding 1 gallon, 1, £0 2s 5d Carried forward, £1,187 7s 11d **Interpretations** The three teas were all Chinese and were graded by quality. Bohea was the coarsest and cheapest black tea, congou a finer black tea made with more care, and singlo a green tea from the hills of Anhui. On the island bohea sold for about 11d a pound and the better teas for about 1s 5½d. In England at the same date the heavy duties on tea pushed retail prices to several shillings a pound, which drove a large smuggling trade. St Helena drew its tea straight from the Company's China ships before any duty was charged, so islanders drank tea at a fraction of the English price. The china was Chinese export porcelain shipped home in bulk on the same vessels, often packed as ballast beneath the tea. Sneakers were small bowls used for drinking tea or punch. Guglets were narrow-necked water bottles of Indian design, in which porous clay or glazed ware kept drinking water cool, and they were sold with basins for washing. The low prices, such as 25 bowls for £1 11s 3d, show how

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			cheaply such wares reached the island compared with the cost of fine ceramics in England. Men's ordinary shoes made up more than half the pairs sold, perhaps largely bought by or for the soldiers of the garrison and the Company's labourers. Pumps were light, low-cut shoes with thin soles, and channelled pumps had their sole stitching sunk into a groove to protect it from wear. Calamanco was a glossy woollen fabric used for the uppers of women's shoes. Spanish leather was a fine, supple leather prized for its quality. Corks were sold by the gross, and 19 gross came to over 2,700 corks, reflecting the demand for stoppers for the bottles in which wine, arrack and beer were sold. Cork sheets were larger slabs that could be cut into bungs, shoe insoles or floats for fishing nets.
341	337	Brought over £1187 7s 11d Cuttlery vizt. 12 Ivory Combs£0 13s 0d 11 Horn Do.£0 11s 10d 11 Pr. Leather Garters£0 4s 0½d 18 Staghorn Knives and Forks£0 16s 6d 2 Pr. Shoe Buckles£0 1s 2d 1 Pruning Knife£0 0s 9½d 1 Chafing Do.£0 1s 3d £1 16s 8d Pitch & Tar vizt. 10½ Pitch£0 1s 9d 5¼ Gals. Tar£0 4s 6d 45lb Rozin£0 7s 6d £0 13s 9d Hats vizt. 4 Mens£3 17s 6d 12 Boys£4 0s 6d £7 18s 0d Serge &ca. vizt. 21¼ Yds Blue Serge£5 7s 1½d 1 Yd Scarlet Do.£0 6s 6d 1½ French Grey£0 7s 6½d 1 Do. [...]£2 3s 7½d ½ Do. Sagathy£2 1s 5d £10 6s 2d Braziers Ware vizt. 2 Three Quart Tea Kettles£1 7s 0d 3¼lb Brass Plate£0 1s 4d £1 8s 4d Turners Ware 6 paint Brushes£0 3s 6d 1 Plasterers Do.£0 1s 3d 17 Shoe Do.£0 10s 7½d 1 Scrubbing Do.£0 2s 6½d 3 Hair Brooms£0 7s 7d 1 Mop£0 1s 4d 2 Punch Ladles£0 1s 3d 1 Hair Sieve£0 0s 6d £1 8s 7d Carried over £1211 1s 5d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The storekeeper's record of goods sold from the Company's stores between 1 April and 30 June 1764 continued with small wares, naval stores, hats, cloth, brass goods and brushes. Brought forward, £1,187 7s 11d Cutlery and small wares: Ivory combs, 12, £0 13s 0d Horn combs, 11, £0 11s 10d Leather garters, 11 pairs, £0 0s 4½d Staghorn-handled knives and forks, 18, £0 16s 6d Shoe buckles, 2 pairs, £0 1s 2d Pruning knife, 1, £0 0s 9½d Clasp knife, 1, £0 1s 3d Cutlery and small wares, subtotal, £1 18s 8d Pitch and tar: Pitch, 10½ lb, £0 1s 9d Tar, 5¼ gallons, £0 4s 6d Rosin, 45 lb, £0 7s 6d Pitch and tar, subtotal, £0 13s 9d Hats: Men's hats, 4, £3 17s 6d Boys' hats, 12, £4 0s 6d Hats, subtotal, £7 18s 0d Serge and other woollens: Blue serge, 21¼ yards, £5 7s 1½d Scarlet serge, 1 yard, £0 6s 6d French grey serge, 1½ yards, £0 7s 6½d Fustian, 1 piece, £2 3s 7½d Sagathy, ½ piece, £2 1s 5d Serge and other woollens, subtotal, £10 6s 2d Brass and copper ware: Tea kettles holding 3 quarts, 2, £1 7s 0d Brass plate, ¾ lb, £0 1s 4d Brass and copper ware, subtotal, £1 8s 4d Brushes and wooden ware: Paint brushes, 6, £0 3s 6d Plasterer's brush, 1, £0 1s 3d Shoe brushes, 17, £0 10s 7½d Scrubbing brush, 1, £0 2s 6½d Hair brooms, 3, £0 7s 7d Mop, 1, £0 1s 4d Punch ladles, 2, £0 1s 3d Hair sieve, 1, £0 0s 6d Brushes and wooden ware, subtotal, £1 8s 7d Carried forward, £1,211 1s 5d **Interpretations** Sagathy was a light woollen stuff, sometimes mixed with silk, woven in a twill like serge and used for coats and waistcoats. Fustian was a stout twilled cloth with a linen warp and a cotton weft, hard-wearing and used for work clothes, jackets and linings. Serge was a durable twilled woollen, and the blue serge, the largest single cloth item on the page, was perhaps bought for soldiers' or labourers' clothing. Pitch, tar and rosin were naval stores, all derived from pine resin. Tar and pitch sealed the seams of

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			boats and waterproofed roofs and rope, and rosin was mixed with pitch to harden it and used for soldering and caulking. Their steady sale reflects an island community that kept its own boats for fishing and landing cargo, as the large sales of fish hooks and lines on the preceding page also show. The men's hats cost nearly 19s 5d each, while the boys' hats averaged under 6s 9d. The men's were probably felted beaver hats, the most expensive headwear of the period, while boys wore cheaper wool felt. At more than 13s each, the two copper tea kettles cost more than all 25 porcelain bowls sold in the same quarter, showing how much dearer English metalwork was on the island than Chinese ceramics shipped directly from Canton.
342	338	Brought over £1211 1s 5d Thread vizt. 7lb Whited Brown£2 10s 11d 10lb Colored£1 15s 10d £4 6s 9d Deals vizt. 7 double£1 3s 6d 2 Single£0 3s 8d 1 Rimboard£0 7s 5½d 6 Wainscott Do.£2 4s 7½d £3 19s 3d Books vizt. 1 Common Prayer£0 3s 0½d 1 Bible£0 3s 8d 2 Spelling Books£0 2s 7d 1 Horn Book£0 0s 1½d 2 Primmers£0 0s 7d £0 10s 0d Twine vizt. 24 Sk. Twine£0 15s 0d 3 Cotton Wick£0 7s 6d £1 2s 6d Hosiers Ware vizt. 88 Pr. Mens Thread Stockings£13 15s 0d 5 Pr. Mens Wove Do.£0 19s 9½d 6 Pr. Mens Knit Do.£1 0s 0d 7 Pr. Boys Do.£0 15s 2½d £16 10s 0d Glass Ware vizt. 39 Sqrs. 8 by 10£1 6s 0d 2 Do. 11 by 17¾£0 2s 11½d 1 Do. 10 by 12£0 0s 11d 4 Do. 6 by 8£0 1s 3d 18 Wine Glasses£0 11s 6½d 10 Beer Do.£0 12s 11d 1 Tumbler£0 0s 8d £2 16s 3d Pewter vizt. 1 Bed Pan£0 7s 8d 1 Quart Funnel£0 2s 7½d 2 Chamber Pots£0 3s 2½d 2 Large Stool Pans£0 10s 6d £1 4s 0d Carried over £1241 10s 2d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The storekeeper's record of goods sold from the Company's stores between 1 April and 30 June 1764 continued with thread, timber, books, stockings, glass and pewter. Brought forward, £1,211 1s 5d Thread: Half-bleached thread, 7 lb, £2 10s 11d Coloured thread, 10 lb, £1 15s 10d Thread, subtotal, £4 6s 9d Deals and boards: Double deals, 7, £1 3s 6d Single deals, 2, £0 3s 8d Elm board, 1, £0 7s 5½d Wainscot boards, 6, £2 4s 7½d Deals and boards, subtotal, £3 19s 3d Books: Book of Common Prayer, 1, £0 3s 0½d Bible, 1, £0 3s 8d Spelling books, 2, £0 2s 7d Hornbook, 1, £0 0s 1½d Primers, 2, £0 0s 7d Books, subtotal, £0 10s 0d Twine and wick: Twine, 24 skeins, £0 15s 0d Cotton wick, 3 lb, £0 7s 6d Twine and wick, subtotal, £1 2s 6d Stockings: Men's linen thread stockings, 88 pairs, £13 15s 0d Men's worsted stockings, 5 pairs, £0 19s 9½d Men's knitted stockings, 6 pairs, £1 0s 0d Boys' stockings, 7 pairs, £0 15s 2½d Stockings, subtotal, £16 10s 0d Glassware: Window panes measuring 8 by 10 inches, 39, £1 6s 0d Window panes measuring 11 by 17¾ inches, 2, £0 2s 11½d Window pane measuring 10 by 12 inches, 1, £0 0s 11d Window panes measuring 6 by 8 inches, 4, £0 1s 3d Wine glasses, 18, £0 11s 6½d Beer glasses, 10, £0 12s 11d Tumbler, 1, £0 0s 8d Glassware, subtotal, £2 16s 3d Pewter: Bedpan, 1, £0 7s 8d Funnel holding 1 quart, 1, £0 2s 7½d Chamber pots, 2, £0 3s 2½d Close-stool pans, 2, £0 10s 6d Pewter, subtotal, £1 4s 0d Carried forward, £1,241 10s 2d **Interpretations** The books point to the basic schooling of the island's children. A hornbook was a small wooden paddle bearing a printed sheet with the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer, protected by a thin layer of transparent horn, and it was the first reading lesson for most children in the English-speaking world.

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			Primers and spelling books followed as the next stage. That the Company's store stocked them alongside the Bible and Book of Common Prayer shows it met the needs of families teaching reading at home or in a small school, not only the island's adults. Wainscot was fine oak, usually imported from the Baltic and cut to show its figure, used for panelling walls and making furniture. It cost far more than ordinary deal, as the six boards selling for over £2 show. Deals were sold as double or single according to their thickness. On an island with few trees of its own, every board of timber arrived by sea, which helps explain why the rotting of Plantation House's beams, reported to the Council on 25 June 1764, was such a costly problem. Half-bleached thread, called whited brown, was linen thread partly whitened and cheaper than fully bleached thread, used for general sewing and mending. The 88 pairs of men's linen thread stockings, many times the number of woollen ones, reflect the island's climate, where lighter linen hose was more comfortable than wool for most of the year. Close-stool pans were the removable pewter pans fitted inside a close stool, a box-like seat with a lid used as an indoor lavatory. Together with the bedpan and chamber pots, they show the Company's store supplying the full range of household sanitary wares, all of which had to be shipped from England.
343	339	Brought over £1241 10s 2d Shirts vizt. 135 Shirts£39 7s 11d 9 Rolers£0 6s 4d 24½ Yds B. Holland£2 10s 0d £42 4s 3d Paint vizt. 27lb Indico£2 11s 9d 20lb Blue Smalts£1 10s 6d 7 Barls. Blacking£0 4s 1d 1 Chocolate Color£0 0s 8d 1 Red Lead£0 0s 2½d 44 Whiting£0 1s 10d 2 Yellow Oaker dry£0 0s 5d 15lb Ven. Red dry£0 3s 5½d 6 White Lead dry£0 2s 1½d 16 Stone Color£0 8s 4d 4 White Lead mixed£0 1s 8d 1lb Copperas£0 1s 1d 1 Ven. Red mixed£0 0s 6½d £5 6s 7d Canvas vizt. 77½ Yds Eng. Canvas£4 13s 6d 47 Yds Osnabrugs£1 19s 2d 42½ Ticklenburgs£2 5s 1d £8 17s 11d Leather vizt. 35lb Sole Leather£1 15s 0d 6 Calf Skins£2 19s 6d £4 14s 6d Tin Ware vizt. 1 Gallon Funnel£0 2s 5d 6 Lamps£0 7s 6d 5 Quart Saucepans£0 2s 3d £0 12s 2d Carried over £1303 5s 7d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The storekeeper's record of goods sold from the Company's stores between 1 April and 30 June 1764 continued with shirts, paint, canvas, leather and tinware. Brought forward, £1,241 10s 2d Shirts and linen: Shirts, 155, £39 7s 11d Roller towels, 9, £0 6s 4d Brown holland, 24½ yards, £2 10s 0d Shirts and linen, subtotal, £42 4s 3d Paint: Indigo, 27 lb, £2 11s 9d Blue smalt, 20 lb, £1 10s 5d Blacking, 7 balls, £0 4s 1d Chocolate-coloured paint, 1 lb, £0 0s 8d Red lead, 1 lb, £0 0s 2½d Whiting, 44 lb, £0 1s 10d Dry yellow ochre, 2 lb, £0 0s 5d Dry Venetian red, 15 lb, £0 3s 5½d Dry white lead, 6 lb, £0 2s 1½d Stone-coloured paint, 16 lb, £0 8s 4d White lead ground in oil, 4 lb, £0 1s 8d Copperas, 1 lb, £0 1s 1d Venetian red ground in oil, 1 lb, £0 0s 6½d Paint, subtotal, £5 6s 7d Canvas: English canvas, 77½ yards, £4 13s 8d Osnaburg, 47 yards, £1 19s 2d Ticklenburg, 42½ yards, £2 5s 1d Canvas, subtotal, £8 17s 11d Leather: Sole leather, 35 lb, £1 15s 0d Calfskins, 6, £2 19s 6d Leather, subtotal, £4 14s 6d Tinware: Funnel holding 1 gallon, 1, £0 2s 5d Lamps, 6, £0 7s 6d Saucepans holding 1 quart, 5, £0 2s 3d Tinware, subtotal, £0 12s 2d Carried forward, £1,303 5s 7d **Interpretations** Osnaburg and ticklenburg were coarse, unbleached linens named after the German towns of Osnabrück and Tecklenburg in Westphalia, where they were first woven. Both were cheap, hard-wearing

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			cloths shipped in great quantities to the colonies, where they were the standard material for the clothing of slaves and labourers, as well as for sacking and bedding. Brown holland was an unbleached linen of Dutch origin, finer than osnaburg, used for aprons, linings and furniture covers. English canvas was a heavy hemp or flax cloth for sails, awnings and tents. Most of the paints were mineral pigments bought dry and ground in linseed oil by the painter, although some white lead and Venetian red were sold already mixed. Smalt was powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, used as a blue paint and to whiten laundry. Whiting was finely ground chalk for whitewash and putty, and Venetian red and yellow ochre were earth pigments of iron oxide. Red lead served as a rust-proof primer for ironwork, and copperas, or iron sulphate, was used in dyeing and in making ink. Indigo, the blue dye from an Indian plant, was the most costly item in the group and was perhaps bought to dye cloth on the island rather than for paint. The 155 ready-made shirts, worth more than all the other items on the page together, show that the store supplied finished clothing as well as cloth. Such plain shirts were perhaps bought chiefly by or for soldiers and Company labourers, who had neither the time nor the means to sew their own.
344	340	Brought over £1303 4s 7d Hats vizt. 2 Hatters Irons 2 Do. 1lb Copperas 1lb Verdigrease 10lb Logwood 1½ Looping 2 doz Loops and Buttons 2 doz Coarse Bands 6 Leisers 2 doz Silk Linings 2 doz Holland Do. 2 Light Brushes 2 hard Do. 1 Laping Do. £3 18s 3d £1307 2s 10d Sold to the Planters at 25 p Cent. vizt. Chelloes 6 Ps. £3 10s 0d Long Ells 12 Yds £1 5s 0d Flannel 12 Yds £0 18s 6d Buckeram 1½ Yds £0 1s 9d Shoes vizt. 3 Pr. Mens Pumps£0 18s 6d 2 Pr. Mens Ordinary£0 10s 0d 3 Pr. Mens fine£1 0s 7d 9 Pr. Boys£1 14s 3d 10 Pr. Girls£1 5s 0d 4 Pr. Womens Calimanco£0 19s 2d 8 Pr. Womens Calf£1 5s 10d 1 Pr. Channelled Pumps£0 7s 7d £8 1s 4d Carried over £13 8s 10d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The storekeeper's record of goods sold from the Company's stores between 1 April and 30 June 1764 continued with a hatter's supplies, followed by a separate list of goods sold to the planters. Brought forward, £1,303 4s 7d Hatter's supplies: Hatter's irons, 2 Hatter's irons, 2 Copperas, 1 lb Verdigris, 1 lb Logwood, 10 lb Lapping, 1½ lb Loops and buttons, 2 dozen Coarse hatbands, 2 dozen Leisers, 6 Silk hat linings, 2 dozen Holland hat linings, 2 dozen Light brushes, 2 Hard brushes, 2 [...] brush, 1 Hatter's supplies, all items, £3 18s 3d Total, £1,307 2s 10d Goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost: Chelloes, 6 pieces, £3 10s 0d Long ells, 12 yards, £1 5s 0d Flannel, 12 yards, £0 18s 6d Buckram, 1½ yards, £0 1s 9d Shoes: Men's pumps, 3 pairs, £0 18s 6d Men's ordinary shoes, 2 pairs, £0 10s 0d Men's fine shoes, 3 pairs, £1 0s 7d Boys' shoes, 9 pairs, £1 14s 3d Girls' shoes, 10 pairs, £1 5s 0d Women's calamanco shoes, 4 pairs, £0 19s 2d Women's calfskin shoes, 3 pairs, £1 5s 10d Channelled pumps, 1 pair, £0 7s 7d Shoes, subtotal, £8 1s 4d Carried forward, £13 8s 10d **Interpretations** The hatter's supplies show that hats were being finished and dyed on the island. Logwood, a dense red timber from Central America, was boiled with copperas and verdigris to produce the deep black dye used on felt hats, the iron and copper salts fixing the colour. Hatter's irons were heated and passed over the felt to shape the brim and give it a smooth finish,

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			while the brushes raised or laid the nap. The linings, bands, loops and buttons were the trimmings a hatter added to a finished body. Their sale as a single lot suggests one craftsman bought the whole stock to carry on his trade. The planters bought their goods on different terms from other customers, paying the cost price plus a fixed 25 per cent. This gave the island's landholders a predictable and relatively low price for cloth and shoes, a privilege that supported the farming families on whom the Company relied to grow food and keep the island supplied. Recording these sales separately allowed the Council to see exactly how much of the store's trade went to the planters on favoured terms. Among the planters' purchases, children's shoes made up a large share, with 19 pairs for boys and girls against eight pairs for men. The pattern points to settled farming families with households of children, in contrast to the general sales, where men's ordinary shoes, perhaps for soldiers and labourers, predominated.
345	341	Brought over £13 8s 10d Hats vizt. 1 Mans£1 2s 0d 7 Boys£2 13s 3d £3 15s 3d Broad Cloth vizt. 2½ Yds Black£2 11s 4d 3 Yds Pompadour£3 15s 0d £6 6s 4d Shalloon 16½ Yds Scarlet £1 17s 1d Serge &c. 11 Yds Blue Serge£3 3s 3d 2 Yds Fr. Grey£0 11s 6d ½ Ps. Fustian£1 1s 9d £4 16s 6d Hosiers Ware vizt. 1 Pr. Mens Wove Stockings£0 4s 6d 1 Pr. Womens Do.£0 3s 6d 2 Pr. Girls Do.£0 5s 2d 4 Pr. Boys Do.£0 9s 10d £1 3s 0d Shirts 18 Yds Brown Holland £2 1s 3d Long Cloth vizt. 1 Ps. O£3 1s 11d 2 Ps. P£3 7s 6d £6 9s 5d Sold at 40 p Cent Arrack 298 Galls. £89 8s 0d Tea vizt. 24lb Bohea£1 8s 0d 81lb Congo£8 2s 0d 9lb Single£0 18s 0d £10 8s 0d Sugar & Candy vizt. 403lb Sugar£9 4s 8d 99lb Candy£3 6s 0d £12 10s 8d Carried over £152 4s 4d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The list of goods sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost continued with hats, cloth and stockings. A further group of goods sold to them at 40 per cent above cost followed. Brought forward, £13 8s 10d Hats: Man's hat, 1, £1 2s 0d Boys' hats, 7, £2 13s 3d Hats, subtotal, £3 15s 3d Broadcloth: Black broadcloth, 2½ yards, £2 11s 4d Pompadour broadcloth, 3 yards, £3 15s 0d Broadcloth, subtotal, £6 6s 4d Scarlet shalloon, 16½ yards, £1 17s 1d Serge and other woollens: Blue serge, 11 yards, £3 3s 3d French grey serge, 2 yards, £0 11s 6d Fustian, ½ piece, £1 1s 9d Serge and other woollens, subtotal, £4 16s 6d Stockings: Men's worsted stockings, 1 pair, £0 4s 6d Women's worsted stockings, 1 pair, £0 3s 6d Girls' worsted stockings, 2 pairs, £0 5s 2d Boys' worsted stockings, 4 pairs, £0 9s 10d Stockings, subtotal, £1 3s 0d Brown holland for shirts, 18 yards, £2 1s 3d Longcloth: Longcloth of sort O, 1 piece, £3 1s 11d Longcloth of sort P, 2 pieces, £3 7s 6d Longcloth, subtotal, £6 9s 5d Goods sold at 40 per cent above cost: Arrack, 298 gallons, £89 8s 0d Tea: Bohea tea, 24 lb, £1 3s 0d Congou tea, 81 lb, £8 2s 0d Singlo tea, 9 lb, £0 18s 0d Tea, subtotal, £10 3s 0d Sugar and sugar candy: Sugar, 403 lb, £9 4s 8d Sugar candy, 99 lb, £3 6s 0d Sugar and sugar candy, subtotal, £12 10s 8d Carried forward, £152 4s 4d **Interpretations** The planters paid two different rates of mark-up. Clothing, cloth, shoes and hats went to them at 25 per cent above cost, but arrack, tea and sugar carried 40 per cent. The Company thus took its larger profit on drink and imported groceries, which planters bought in quantity and could not easily do without, while keeping the goods needed for clothing a household relatively cheap. Arrack alone, at 298 gallons, earned more than all the planters' cloth and shoes together.

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			Pompadour was a fashionable shade of crimson or purplish pink, named after Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV of France. Its appearance among the broadcloths bought by the island's planters shows that colours in vogue in Paris and London reached even a remote Company settlement within a few years.
346	342	Brought over £152 4s 4d Rice & Paddy - . 3 . 18 Rice£0 10s 7d 29 . 3 . 12 Paddy£7 11s 10d £8 2s 5d Salt 3½ Bushels £0 16s 10d Flour 555lb £5 15s 7d Sope 54lb £2 12s 10d Cordage 59. 3. 15 £174 13s 3d Pepper 2lb £0 1s 6d Coals 20 Bushels £1 14s 6d Pease 1 Bushel £0 12s 0d Oars 1 £0 5s 6d Haberdashers Ware vizt. 14 Sks. Silk£0 10s 6d 9 Sks. Mohair£0 5s 7½d 3½ doz Silver Wire Coat Buttons£1 2s 5d 2½ doz Do. Bt. Do.£0 7s 3d £2 5s 10d Paint vizt. 21 Barls. Blacking£0 16s 2d 9 W. Lead dry£0 4s 1½d 4lb Indico£0 10s 0d 1lb Yellow Oaker dry£0 0s 3½d 2 Ven. Red mixed£0 1s 5d £1 12s 0d Pitch & Tar vizt. 4 Barls. 6½ P.£6 1s 4d 2 Barls. 8½ Tar£3 5s 9d £9 7s 1d China Ware vizt. 1 Set Dishes and Plates£1 6s 4d 2 Bowls£0 3s 0d 6 Blue and White Sneakers£0 3s 0d 6 Pint Cups and Saucers£0 2s 7d £1 14s 11d Carried over £357 18s 7d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The list of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent above cost continued with provisions, household goods and materials. Brought forward, £152 4s 4d Rice and paddy: Rice, 0 cwt 3 qr 18 lb, £0 10s 7d Paddy, 29 cwt 3 qr 12 lb, £7 11s 10d Rice and paddy, subtotal, £8 2s 5d Salt, 3½ bushels, £0 16s 10d Flour, 555 lb, £5 15s 7d Soap, 54 lb, £2 12s 10d Cordage, 59 cwt 3 qr 15 lb, £174 13s 3d Pepper, 2 lb, £0 1s 6d Coal, 20 bushels, £1 14s 6d Peas, 1 bushel, £0 12s 0d Oars, 1, £0 6s 6d Haberdashery: Silk thread, 14 skeins, £0 10s 6d Mohair thread, 9 skeins, £0 5s 7½d Silver wire coat buttons, 3½ dozen, £1 2s 5d Silver wire waistcoat buttons, 2½ dozen, £0 7s 3d Haberdashery, subtotal, £2 5s 10d Paint: Blacking, 21 balls, £0 16s 2d Dry white lead, 9 lb, £0 4s 1½d Indigo, 4 lb, £0 10s 0d Dry yellow ochre, 1 lb, £0 0s 3½d Venetian red ground in oil, 2 lb, £0 1s 5d Paint, subtotal, £1 12s 0d Pitch and tar: Pitch, 4 barrels [...], £6 1s 4d Tar, 2 barrels [...], £3 5s 9d Pitch and tar, subtotal, £9 7s 1d China: Set of dishes and plates, 1 set, £1 6s 4d Bowls, 2, £0 3s 0d Blue and white sneakers, 6, £0 3s 0d [...] pint cups and saucers, 6, £0 2s 7d China, subtotal, £1 14s 11d Carried forward, £357 18s 7d **Interpretations** Cordage was by far the largest purchase on the page, and nearly three tons of rope went to the planters at a cost of over £174. Rope served on the island for hauling timber and stone up its steep valleys, for tethering cattle, for rigging fishing boats and for the tackle used to land goods through the surf. Its weight and value suggest that the planters were supplying their farms and boats in bulk rather than buying for occasional household use. Coal, sold by the bushel, came from England as ballast or cargo. St Helena had lost much of its native woodland to clearing and grazing goats since the early days of settlement, so fuel was scarce, and coal served the smithy and the kitchen where firewood could not be spared. The large quantity of paddy, almost 30 hundredweight, bought by the planters at 40 per cent above cost, was perhaps intended to feed slaves on their farms. Unhusked rice was the cheapest form of grain and required hand pounding before cooking, work that fell to the slaves themselves.
347	343	Brought over £359 18s 7d Twine vizt. 12 Sk. Twine£0 10s 0d	The list of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent above cost continued with twine, fishing tackle, nails and small wares. Brought forward, £359 18s 7d

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		3 Cotton Wick£0 9s 9d £0 19s 9d Hooks & Lines vizt. 625 No. 1 550 3 150 12 25 13 100 14 Hooks £2 18s 7d 42 No. 2 60 3 12 4 Lines £2 10s 9d 12 Log Do. £0 16s 6d 1 Hambro Do. £0 2s 0d £6 7s 10d Corks ½ Sheet Cork £0 0s 5d Nails vizt. 16lb 2d 4 3 42 6 2 4 46 10 38 20 £5 6s 9d 50 Spike £1 3s 11½d 2½ Glazing Brads £0 6s 2½d 5 Coopers Rivets £0 3s 8d £7 0s 7d Cuttlery 12 Staghorn Knives and Forks£0 14s 0d 1 Horn Comb£0 0s 3d 1 Shoe Knife£0 0s 6d £0 14s 9d Tin Ware 48 Lanthorn Leaves £0 14s 0d Thread vizt. 2 Whited Brown£0 18s 6d 2 Coloured£0 9s 3d £1 7s 9d Carried over £377 3s 8d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Twine and wick: Twine, 12 skeins, £0 10s 0d Cotton wick, 3 lb, £0 9s 9d Twine and wick, subtotal, £0 19s 9d Fishing hooks and lines: Fish hooks of size No 1, 625 hooks Fish hooks of size No 3, 550 hooks Fish hooks of size No 12, 150 hooks Fish hooks of size No 13, 25 hooks Fish hooks of size No 14, 100 hooks Fish hooks, all sizes, £2 18s 7d Fishing lines of size No 2, 42 lines Fishing lines of size No 3, 60 lines Fishing lines of size No 4, 12 lines Fishing lines, all sizes, £2 10s 9d Log lines, 12 lines, £0 16s 6d Hamburg line, 1 line, £0 2s 0d Fishing hooks and lines, subtotal, £6 7s 10d Cork sheet, ½ sheet, £0 0s 5d Nails: 2d nails, 16 lb 3d nails, 4 lb 6d nails, 42 lb 4d nails, 2 lb 10d nails, 46 lb 20d nails, 38 lb Nails, all sizes, £5 6s 9d Spikes, 50, £1 3s 11½d Glazing brads, 2½ lb, £0 6s 2½d Coopers' rivets, 5, £0 3s 8d Nails, subtotal, £7 0s 7d Cutlery: Staghorn-handled knives and forks, 12, £0 14s 0d Horn comb, 1, £0 0s 3d Shoemaker's knife, 1, £0 0s 6d Cutlery, subtotal, £0 14s 9d Tinware, lantern horns, 12 leaves, £0 14s 0d Thread: Half-bleached thread, 2 lb, £0 18s 6d Coloured thread, 2 lb, £0 9s 3d Thread, subtotal, £1 7s 9d Carried forward, £377 3s 8d **Interpretations** Lantern leaves were thin, translucent sheets of horn, made by softening cattle horn in hot water and pressing it flat. They served as the panes of the tin lanterns used on farms, boats and in stables, where glass would have broken too easily. Their listing under tinware reflects the fact that they were sold as spare parts for the lantern frames. The planters' heavy purchases of fish hooks and lines, over 1,400 hooks in a single quarter, match the large general sales of the same tackle recorded earlier in the account. Farming households evidently relied on fishing as much as the townspeople did, and fish from the island's coast was perhaps a staple food for the slaves and labourers on their farms. Coopers' rivets were the small iron fastenings used to join the ends of the metal hoops that bound casks and barrels. Their sale alongside spikes and heavy 20d nails suggests the planters were building and repairing both structures and containers for storing their produce.
348	344	Brought over £377 3s 8d Deals vizt. 2 Double Deals£0 8s 7d 13 Single Deals£0 18s 4d 3 Wainscott Boards£1 8s 6d 2 Elm Boards£0 19s 0d £3 14s 5d Turners Ware vizt. 1 Scrubbing Brush£0 3s 2d 2 Mops£0 3s 1d	The list of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent above cost continued with timber, tools, oil, glass and other materials. Brought forward, £377 3s 8d Deals and boards: Double deals, 2, £0 8s 7d Single deals, 13, £0 18s 4d Wainscot boards, 3, £1 8s 6d Elm boards, 2, £0 19s 0d Deals and boards, subtotal, £3 14s 5d Brushes and wooden ware:

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		12 Paint Brushes£0 9s 6d 1 Labourers Baskets£0 1s 1d £0 17s 1d Iron Ware vizt. 11 Steel Shovels£1 10s 3d 1 Large Frying Pan£0 4s 8d 50 Sail Needles£0 6s 3d 6 Pad Locks£0 15s 0d 2 small Frying Pans£0 7s 0d 1 Ditching Shovel£0 4s 8d 1 Hand Hatchet£0 2s 3d £3 5s 1d Oil vizt. ½ Galln. Train£0 2s 9d 2½ Galls. Linseed£0 13s 9d 3 Bottles Florence£0 9s 6d £1 6s 0d Glass Ware vizt. 1 Sqr. 10 by 12£0 1s 2d 2 Urinals£0 2s 10d 10 Sqrs. 8 by 10£0 8s 6d 2 Tumblers£0 1s 8d £0 14s 2d Pewter 1 Bed Pan £0 9s 9d Leather vizt. 1½ Sole£0 2s 0d 2 Calf Skins£1 5s 4d £1 7s 4d Lead 18lb Sheet £0 4s 4d Canvas 28 Yds Osnabrugs £1 10s 4d Carried over £390 15s 2d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	Scrubbing brush, 1, £0 3s 2d Mops, 2, £0 3s 1d Paint brushes, 12, £0 9s 6d Labourer's basket, 1, £0 1s 1d Brushes and wooden ware, subtotal, £0 17s 1d Ironmongery: Iron-shod shovels, 11, £1 10s 3d Large frying pan, 1, £0 4s 8d Sail needles, 50, £0 6s 3d Padlocks, 6, £0 15s 0d Small frying pans, 2, £0 7s 0d Ditching shovel, 1, £0 4s 8d Hand hatchet, 1, £0 2s 3d Ironmongery, subtotal, £3 8s 1d Oil: Train oil, ½ gallon, £0 2s 9d Linseed oil, 2½ gallons, £0 13s 9d Florence oil, 3 bottles, £0 9s 6d Oil, subtotal, £1 6s 0d Glassware: Window pane measuring 10 by 12 inches, 1, £0 1s 2d Glass urinals, 2, £0 2s 10d Window panes measuring 8 by 10 inches, 10, £0 8s 6d Tumblers, 2, £0 1s 8d Glassware, subtotal, £0 14s 2d Pewter bedpan, 1, £0 9s 9d Leather: Sole leather, 1½ lb, £0 2s 0d Calfskins, 2, £1 5s 4d Leather, subtotal, £1 7s 4d Sheet lead, 18 lb, £0 4s 4d Osnaburg canvas, 28 yards, £1 10s 4d Carried forward, £390 15s 2d **Interpretations** The tools bought by the planters were those of field work rather than trade. Shod shovels had wooden blades edged with a strip of iron, a cheaper alternative to all-iron shovels that was still strong enough for turning soil. A ditching shovel had a long, narrow blade for cutting drainage channels, which were essential on the island's steep, rain-washed slopes to stop soil being carried away. The eleven shovels bought in a single quarter suggest gangs of labourers, perhaps slaves, working the planters' land. Glass urinals were flasks used to collect urine for a physician to examine, since the colour, clarity and sediment of a patient's urine were then among the chief means of diagnosing illness. Together with the bedpan, they show planting households equipping themselves to nurse the sick at home, far from the island's surgeons in Jamestown.
349	345	Brought over £390 15s 2d Blocks vizt. 6 Dead Eyes£2 8s 0d 1 Single Block of 6 In.£0 0s 1½d 12 Do. of 8 Do.£0 15s 6d 2 Do. of 9 Do.£0 3s 4d 1 Do. of 10 Do.£0 2s 1d 1 Do. of 11 Do.£0 2s 1d 1 Do. of 12 Do.£0 1s 11d 1 Do. of 14 Do.£0 4s 4½d 1 Double Do. of 8 Do.£0 2s 10d 1 Do. of 10 Do. 1 Do. of 11 Do. 4 Do. of 12 Do. £1 7s 4d £5 8s 5d Naval Stores 100lb Irish Tallow £3 2s 6d £401 14s 2d Sold to the Honorable Company's Ships @ 10 p Ct. Cordage 9 C. 3 qr. 26lb	The list of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent above cost ended with ship's blocks and tallow. A new list followed, covering goods sold to the Company's own ships at 10 per cent above cost. Brought forward, £390 15s 2d Blocks: Deadeyes, 6, £2 8s 0d Single block of 6 inches, 1, £0 0s 1½d Single blocks of 8 inches, 2, £0 15s 6d Single blocks of 9 inches, 2, £0 3s 4d Single block of 10 inches, 1, £0 2s 1d Single block of 11 inches, 1, £0 2s 1d Single block of 12 inches, 1, £0 1s 11d Single block of 14 inches, 1, £0 4s 4½d Double block of 8 inches, 1, £0 2s 10d Double block of 10 inches, 1 Double block of 11 inches, 1 Double blocks of 12 inches, 4 Double blocks of 10, 11 and 12 inches, together, £1 7s 4d Blocks, subtotal, £5 8s 5d Naval stores, Irish tallow, 100 lb, £3 2s 6d

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		£29 2s 4d Hooks & Lines vizt. 100 Hooks No. 14£0 1s 1½d 24 No. 2 12 4 Lines£0 16s 1d 25 Log£1 14s 7½d £2 11s 10d Twine 92lb £8 1s 0d Oil vizt. 11 Galls. Train£3 0s 6d 53 Do. Linseed£14 11s 6d £17 12s 0d Pitch & Tare vizt. 9 Barls. Pitch£22 10s 9d 4 Barls. Tar£6 5s 0d £28 15s 9d Carried over £86 2s 11d **Margin Notes:** 1764 [...]	Total, £401 14s 2d Goods sold to the Company's ships at 10 per cent above cost: Cordage, 9 cwt 3 qr 26 lb, £29 2s 4d Fishing hooks and lines: Fish hooks of size No 14, 100 hooks, £0 1s 1½d Fishing lines of size No 2, 24 lines Fishing lines of size No 4, 12 lines Fishing lines, both sizes, £0 16s 1d Log lines, 25 lines, £1 14s 7½d Fishing hooks and lines, subtotal, £2 11s 10d Twine, 92 lb, £8 1s 0d Oil: Train oil, 11 gallons, £3 0s 6d Linseed oil, 53 gallons, £14 11s 6d Oil, subtotal, £17 12s 0d Pitch and tar: Pitch, 9 barrels, £22 10s 9d Tar, 4 barrels, £6 5s 0d Pitch and tar, subtotal, £28 15s 9d Carried forward, £86 2s 11d **Interpretations** Blocks were the wooden pulleys through which ships' ropes ran, sized by the length of their wooden shell in inches. A single block held one sheave, or pulley wheel, and a double block two, giving greater purchase for hoisting heavy loads. Deadeyes were thick round blocks pierced with three holes, used in pairs to tighten the shrouds that braced a ship's masts. Their sale to the planters suggests the island's landholders owned boats of their own, or used ship's tackle for hauling goods up the steep paths from the shore. The Company charged its own ships only 10 per cent above cost, against 25 or 40 per cent for planters and full retail prices for other islanders. The small mark-up covered handling and storage while treating the transaction largely as a transfer within the Company. The goods themselves were ship's chandlery: rope, twine, log lines, pitch, tar and oil, the materials Indiamen needed to repair rigging and hulls after long passages before continuing to England. Irish tallow was rendered beef or mutton fat shipped from Ireland, which supplied much of the salted provisions and animal products used by British ships. It served for greasing masts, blocks and rigging so that ropes and yards moved freely, as well as for making candles and soap.
350	346	Brought over Blocks 2 Single of 10 In. £0 1s 10d Nails vizt. 21lb Coopers Rivets£0 14s 10d 12 Scupper£0 8s 3d 20 Spike£0 10s 5½d 1lb Glazing Brads£0 2s 5½d 2lb 2d 6 3 3 4 6½ 6 10 10 35 20 22½ 40 Nails£2 11s 10d £4 7s 10d Beef & Pork vizt. 2 Puncheons Beef£36 6s 6d 2 Hhds. Pork£27 15s 0d £64 1s 6d Canvas vizt. 5 Bolts Eng. Canvas£15 16s 8d 2 Bolts Osnabrugs£16 18s 0d 105 Yds Ticklenburgs£7 8s 6d £40 3s 2d Paint vizt.	The list of goods sold to the Company's ships at 10 per cent above cost continued with blocks, nails, provisions, canvas and paint. Brought forward Single blocks of 10 inches, 2, £0 1s 10d Nails: Coopers' rivets, 21 lb, £0 14s 10d Scupper nails, 12 lb, £0 8s 3d Spikes, 20 lb, £0 10s 5½d Glazing brads, 1 lb, £0 2s 5½d 2d nails, 2 lb 3d nails, 6 lb 4d nails, 3 lb 6d nails, 6½ lb 10d nails, 10 lb 20d nails, 35 lb 40d nails, 22½ lb Nails of all sizes, £2 11s 10d Nails, subtotal, £4 7s 10d Beef and pork: Salt beef, 2 puncheons, £36 6s 6d Salt pork, 2 hogsheads, £27 15s 0d Beef and pork, subtotal, £64 1s 6d Canvas: English canvas, 5 bolts, £15 16s 8d Osnaburg, 2 bolts, £16 18s 0d Ticklenburg, 108 yards, £7 8s 6d

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		46 Barrels Blacking£1 17s 1d 160lb White Lead dry£3 8s 9½d 1 Copperas£0 1s 4d 20lb Ven. Red dry£0 5s 10d 7¼ Verdigrease£1 19s 3d 1 Sky Blue£0 2s 7½d 2 Red Lead£0 0s 7d £7 15s 6d Lead 55lb Sheet £0 14s 11d Tin Ware 20 Lanthorn Leaves £0 8s 9d Carried over £203 16s 5d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	Canvas, subtotal, £40 3s 2d Paint: Blacking, 46 barrels, £1 17s 1d Dry white lead, 160 lb, £3 8s 9½d Copperas, 1 lb, £0 1s 4d Dry Venetian red, 20 lb, £0 5s 10d Verdigris, 7¼ lb, £1 19s 3d Sky blue, 1 lb, £0 2s 7½d Red lead, 2 lb, £0 0s 7d Paint, subtotal, £7 15s 6d Sheet lead, 55 lb, £0 14s 11d Tinware, lantern horns, 20 leaves, £0 8s 9d Carried forward, £203 16s 5d **Interpretations** The Company's ships drew salt beef and pork from the island's stores by the cask. A puncheon was a large cask holding roughly 70 to 84 gallons, and a hogshead a somewhat smaller one. Buying preserved meat at 10 per cent above cost let a homeward Indiaman replenish provisions consumed on the long passage from the East, sparing the island's live cattle and sheep for fresh supplies. Canvas sold by the bolt, a standard roll of about 38 to 40 yards, was destined for new sails, sail repairs, hatch covers and awnings. The heavy English canvas served for sails, while the cheaper German osnaburg and ticklenburg were used for lighter work aboard, such as bags, hammocks and covers. Verdigris was a green pigment made by exposing copper to vinegar, which formed a crust of copper acetate that was scraped off and ground. Mixed with oil it gave a strong green paint, and its copper content made it poisonous to marine growth, which was one reason for its use on ships. The 40d nails, the largest size on any page of the account, were heavy spikes for fastening thick timbers in hull repairs.
351	347	Brought over £203 16s 5d Iron Ware vizt. 75 Sail Needles £1 1s 10d Turners Ware 10 Paint Brushes £0 7s 11d Glass Ware 1 Tumbler £0 0s 10d £206 7s 0d Charges General Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Iron Ware vizt. 1 Rag Stone£0 0s 3d 1lb Yellow Speltor£0 1s 11d ½lb Borax£0 6s 8½d 2 Rasps£0 2s 3d 1 Claw Hammer£0 1s 8½d 4 Smiths Rubbers£0 15s 2d 104 Files£3 9s 4d 9 Drill Strings£0 5s 3d 1 Large Screw Plate and Tap£1 0s 4d 12 Warding Files£0 8s 0d 1 Pr. B. Sheers£0 8s 3d 1 Hand Vice£0 3s 10d 42 Files Hafts£0 2s 7½d 6 Hand Hammer Helves£0 2s 6d for the Armorers 6 Nail Tools£0 9s 11d 1 Ditching Shovel for the Stable£0 4s 6d 1 Blank Key for the Arm.£0 0s 8½d 6 Stock Locks for the File House, new Barracks Lime House and Doctors Shop£0 16s 3d 24 Helves for the Porters Banks's Guard, Masons L. Wood and Hospital£0 14s 0d Iron Ware Carried over £9 13s 2¾d Carried over **Margin Notes:** 1764	The list of goods sold to the Company's ships at 10 per cent above cost ended with a few final items. The storekeeper then began a separate account of stores issued from 1 April to 30 June 1764 for the Company's own use, charged to its general expenses. Brought forward, £203 16s 5d Ironmongery, sail needles, 75, £1 1s 10d Brushes and wooden ware, paint brushes, 10, £0 7s 11d Glassware, tumbler, 1, £0 0s 10d Total, £205 7s 0d Stores issued for the Company's own use, charged to general expenses: Ironmongery: Issued to the armourer: Ragstone, 1, £0 0s 3d Yellow spelter, 1 lb, £0 1s 11d Borax, ½ lb, £0 6s 8½d Rasps, 2, £0 2s 3d Claw hammer, 1, £0 1s 8½d Smith's rubbers, 4, £0 15s 2d Files, 104, £3 9s 4d Drill strings, 9, £0 5s 3d Large screw plate and tap, 1, £1 0s 4d Warding files, 12, £0 8s 0d Bench shears, 1 pair, £0 8s 3d Hand vice, 1, £0 3s 10d File handles, 42, £0 2s 7½d Hand-hammer handles, 6, £0 2s 6d Other issues: Nail tools, 6, £0 9s 11d Ditching shovel for the stable, 1, £0 4s 6d Blank key for the armoury, 1, £0 0s 8½d Stock locks for the tile house, the new barracks, the lime house and the doctor's shop, 6, £0 16s 3d Tool handles for the [...] at Banks's guard, the masons, Longwood and the hospital, 24, £0 14s 0d Ironmongery, carried forward, £9 13s 2¾d **Interpretations**

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			The heading of general charges marked a shift from sales to internal consumption. Goods issued to the armourer, the stables, the barracks and the hospital brought in no money, so the storekeeper charged their cost to the Company's running expenses instead. This let the Council see what the island's own establishment consumed each quarter, separately from what the store earned by selling to settlers, planters and ships. The armourer's supplies show him working as a general smith and locksmith as well as a gun repairer. Yellow spelter was a zinc alloy used as a brazing solder, and borax served as the flux that let it flow and bond metal joints. Warding files were thin flat files for cutting the notches in keys to match the wards of a lock, which fits the blank key sent to the armoury. The screw plate and tap cut matching external and internal threads for bolts and screws, while smith's rubbers were coarse files for rough shaping. Drill strings drove a bow drill, the hand tool then used to bore holes in metal. The locks issued to the tile house, the lime house, the new barracks and the doctor's shop reveal the Company's public works on the island. The tile house and lime house produced roofing tiles and lime for mortar, the materials needed for repairs such as those planned for the Castle roof on 2 July 1764. The doctor's shop was the dispensary where the Company surgeon kept his medicines.
352	348	Iron Ware brought over Brought over £9 13s 2¾d 1 Chest Lock for a Table Drawer £0 3s 3d 1 Pickax for Banks's Guard £0 3s 2d 2 Pr. Steel Yards for the Castle and Hospital £0 13s 9d 1 Pad Lock for the Bakehouse £0 1s 6d 3 Hand Hammers for the Armorers and to break Lime Stone £0 8s 3d 7 doz Gimblets £0 17s 6d 12 Former Chisels £0 3s 4d 24 Spike Gimblets £0 5s 0d 24 Turning Chisels and Gouges £1 0s 11d 2 Pr. Steel Compasses 1 Pr. Callipers £0 5s 7d 1 Screw and Point 1 Rest £1 11s 11d 1 doz 2 Foot Rules £0 10s 5d 2 doz Black Lead Pencils £0 8s 10d 1 Wheelwrights Ax £0 10s 5d 2 Carpenters Do. £0 5s 10d 2 Adzes £0 11s 0d 2 Coopers Hammers £0 3s 10d 3 Loping Axes£0 8s 6d 2 Hand Hatchets£0 3s 6d to Cut Wood at House Point 1 Bricklayers Trowel for the Masons £0 1s 7d 3½ Rod of Iron to make Nails £0 0s 8¾d	The list of stores issued for the Company's own use during the quarter continued with further ironmongery. Ironmongery, brought forward, £9 13s 2¾d Chest lock for a table drawer, 1, £0 3s 3d Pickaxe for Banks's guard, 1, £0 3s 2d Steelyards for the Castle and the hospital, 2 pairs, £0 13s 9d Padlock for the bakehouse, 1, £0 1s 6d Hand hammers for the armourer and for breaking limestone, 3, £0 8s 3d Gimlets, 7 dozen, £0 17s 6d Former chisels, 12, £0 3s 4d Spike gimlets, 24, £0 5s 0d Turning chisels and gouges, 24, £1 0s 11d Steel compasses, 2 pairs Callipers, 1 pair Steel compasses and callipers, together, £0 5s 7d Lathe screw and centre point, 1 Lathe rest, 1 Lathe screw, centre point and rest, together, £1 11s 11d Two-foot rules, 1 dozen, £0 10s 5d Black lead pencils, 2 dozen, £0 8s 10d Wheelwright's axe, 1, £0 10s 5d Carpenter's axes, 2, £0 5s 10d Adzes, 2, £0 11s 0d Cooper's hammers, 2, £0 3s 10d Lopping axes for cutting wood at Horse Point, 3, £0 8s 6d Hand hatchets for cutting wood at Horse Point, 2, £0 3s 6d Bricklayer's trowel for the masons, 1, £0 1s 7d Iron rods for making nails, 3½, £0 0s 8¾d Maul for the bakehouse, 1, £0 8s 2½d Plate iron for a kitchen fender, 10 lb, £0 3s 9d Shovels, 2, £0 4s 5d Adzes for the cooper's house, 2, £0 7s 2d Axes for the cooper's house, 2, £0 11s 0d Cooper's hammer, 1, £0 1s 11d Coopers' rivets, 12, £0 19s 10d Punches, 12, £0 11s 0d Ironmongery, carried forward, £22 2s 4d **Interpretations** The turning chisels, gouges, lathe screw, centre point and rest equipped a lathe for turning wood. The

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		1 Maul for the Bakehouse £0 8s 2½d 10lb Plate Iron for a Fender in the Kitchen £0 3s 9d 2 Shovels £0 4s 5d 2 Adzes£0 7s 2d 2 Axes£0 11s 0d for the Cooperage 1 Coopers Hammer £0 1s 11d 12 Coopers Rivets £0 19s 10d 12 Punches £0 11s 0d Iron Ware Carried over £22 2s 4d Carried over **Margin Notes:** 16th July	Company was evidently fitting out its own turner to make handles, bowls, blocks and other round wooden goods on the island rather than importing them all. The compasses, callipers and two-foot rules served for measuring and marking out such work. The iron rods issued for making nails show the Company's smiths producing some nails locally. Rod iron was cut into short lengths and hammered to a point and head at the forge, a slow process but one that saved the cost of shipping finished nails when stocks ran short. The lopping axes and hatchets sent to Horse Point, in the east of the island, were for cutting timber and brushwood there. With wood scarce across much of St Helena, the Company drew on the remaining scrub and trees in outlying districts for fuel for its bakehouse, lime kiln and kitchens, which is why the tools were issued for a named place. A steelyard was a balance with a single long arm and a sliding weight, used for weighing heavy goods without a set of scale weights. The pairs sent to the Castle and the hospital perhaps served for weighing rations and provisions issued there.
353	349	Iron Ware brought over Brought over £22 2s 4d 24 Dowling Bits £0 5s 6d 1 Tap Borer £0 3s 10d 1 Cock Borer £0 2s 9d 2 Drawing Knives £0 5s 6d 2 Doz. Coopers Vices £0 13s 2d 2 Crow Stocks and Iron £0 7s 8d 1 doz Files £0 8s 0d 6 Cold Chisels £0 5s 6d £24 14s 3d Sope 66lb £2 2s 7d Starch 16lb £0 5s 8d Paint vizt. 10lb Blue Smalts£0 13s 0½d 2 Indico£0 3s 5½d 3 Whiting Casks£0 0s 1d £0 17s 1d Deals vizt. 2 Single for the Officers Guard Room and Castle£0 3s 11d 4 Double for Water Troughs and Stores£0 12s 6d £0 16s 5d Canvas vizt. 1½ Eng. Canvas for a Blacks Armourer£0 1s 7½d 12½ Yds of Osnabrugs£0 9s 4½d £0 11s 0d Oil vizt. 9½ Gall. Train for the Kitchen & Armorer£1 16s 5d ½ Gal. Linseed Do.£0 1s 0d 1 Bottle Florence for the Gunners use£0 2s 10d £2 0s 3d Turners Ware vizt.£0 2s 2½d 2 Plasterers for the Masons£0 3s 0d 8 Birch Brooms to sweep the Parade and Stable£0 1s 0d 2 Paint Brushes for painting£0 1s 1½d 2 Shoe Brushes for the Armorer£0 0s 7½d Turners Ware Carried over Carried over £31 7s 3d **Margin Notes:**	The list of stores issued for the Company's own use during the quarter continued with tools, household goods and materials. Ironmongery, brought forward, £22 2s 4d Dowelling bits, 24, £0 5s 6d Tap borer, 1, £0 3s 10d Cock borer, 1, £0 2s 9d Drawing knives, 2, £0 5s 6d Coopers' vices, 2 dozen, £0 13s 2d Croze stocks and irons, 2, £0 7s 8d Files, 1 dozen, £0 8s 0d Cold chisels, 6, £0 5s 6d Ironmongery, subtotal, £24 14s 3d Soap, 66 lb, £2 2s 7d Starch, 16 lb, £0 5s 8d Paint: Blue smalt, 10 lb, £0 13s 0½d Indigo, 2 lb, £0 3s 5½d Whiting, 3 [...], £0 0s 1d Paint, subtotal, £0 17s 1d Deals: Single deals for the officers' guardroom and the Castle, 2, £0 3s 11d Double deals for water troughs and the stores, 4, £0 12s 6d Deals, subtotal, £0 16s 5d Canvas: English canvas for a black armourer, 1½ yards, £0 1s 7½d Osnaburg, 12½ yards, £0 9s 4½d Canvas, subtotal, £0 11s 0d Oil: Train oil for the kitchen and the armourer, 9½ gallons, £1 16s 5d Linseed oil for [...], ¼ gallon, £0 1s 0d Florence oil for the gunner's use, 1 bottle, £0 2s 10d Oil, subtotal, £2 0s 3d Brushes and wooden ware: Plasterer's brushes for the masons, 2, £0 2s 2½d Birch brooms for sweeping the parade ground and the stable, 8, £0 3s 0d Paint brushes, 2, £0 1s 0d Shoe brushes for the armourer, 2, £0 1s 1½d Brushes and wooden ware, carried forward, £0 7s 2d Carried forward, £31 7s 3d **Interpretations** Most of the tools issued in this section belonged to the cooper, who made and repaired the casks on which the island's supply of water, provisions and drink depended. A croze was a tool that cut the

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		1764	groove inside the ends of the staves into which the cask head fitted, and a drawing knife shaped the staves themselves. Tap borers and cock borers were tapered augers for boring the holes in which taps and spigots were fitted. Together with the adzes, hammers and rivets issued to the cooper's house earlier in the account, these show the Company maintaining a busy cooperage. The canvas issued for a black armourer suggests that one of the men working under the Company armourer was black, and perhaps a slave trained in the smithing trade. The Company's slaves were not only field labourers but also filled skilled posts in its workshops, which reduced its dependence on scarce and costly European craftsmen. The double deals issued for water troughs point to the constant need to supply water for the garrison's animals and the Company's livestock. Troughs at the stables and in the pastures were a practical necessity on an island with steep terrain and scattered springs.
354	350	Brought over £31 7s 3d Turners Ware brought over£0 7s 4d 1 Hair Sieve for the Castle£0 0s 6d 1 Long Constables Staff£0 9s 1d 1 Short Do.£0 5s 0d £1 1s 11d Arrack 67⅞ Gallons for Drams to Sundries Workmen unloading the Store Ships Guard Boat Men and Launching the Long Boat £10 14s 9d Nails vizt. 1lb 2d£0 0s 8¾d 1 3 to make Chests for the Colours£0 0s 8½d 17 6 Repairs in the Castle Forms£0 8s 10¼d 13 10 for the Jury and Water Troughs£0 5s 5¼d 1 20£0 0s 4½d 4 40£0 1s 4½d 1 Spike for the Crane£0 0s 3¾d 1½ Glazing Brads for Jackets£0 2s 7¼d 9 Coopers Rivets£0 4s 1d £1 4s 8d Candles vizt. 105lb for the Council£10 5s 7d 90 Do. for the Council£8 16s 3d 2 Do. Secy. Office£0 3s 11d 4 Doctors Shop£0 7s 10d £19 13s 7d Iron Pots 1 of 3 Galls. Longwood £0 3s 6d Paddy 700lb given to his Majestys Ship Norfolk £1 5s 4d Kersey 3 Yds. for the Hospital £0 4s 7d Twine 1 Sk. Store use £0 0s 6d China Ware vizt. 12 Do. Pint Cups & Saucers£0 4s 8d 1 Tea Pot£0 1s 0d 6 Bowls£0 6s 0d for the Castle £0 11s 8d Carried over £55 17s 9d **Margin Notes:** 16th July [...]	The list of stores issued for the Company's own use during the quarter continued with further household goods, drink, nails, candles and other supplies. Brought forward, £31 7s 3d Brushes and wooden ware, brought forward, £0 7s 4d Hair sieve for the Castle, 1, £0 0s 6d Long constable's staff, 1, £0 9s 1d Short constable's staff, 1, £0 5s 0d Brushes and wooden ware, subtotal, £1 1s 11d Arrack for drams given to workmen unloading the store ships, the guard-boat crew and the men launching the longboat, 67⅞ gallons, £10 14s 9d Nails for making chests for the regimental colours, repairing benches in the Castle, the jury and water troughs: 2d nails, 1 lb, £0 0s 8¾d 3d nails, 1 lb, £0 0s 8½d 6d nails, 17 lb, £0 8s 10¼d 10d nails, 13 lb, £0 5s 5¼d 20d nails, 1 lb, £0 0s 4½d 40d nails, 4 lb, £0 1s 4½d Spike for the crane, 1, £0 0s 3¾d Glazing brads for window sashes, 1½ lb, £0 2s 7¾d Coopers' rivets, 9, £0 4s 1d Nails, subtotal, £1 4s 8d Candles: Candles for the Council, 105 lb, £10 5s 7d Candles for the Council, 90 lb, £8 16s 3d Candles for the secretary's office, 2 lb, £0 3s 11d Candles for the doctor's shop, 4 lb, £0 7s 10d Candles, subtotal, £19 13s 7d Iron pot holding 3 gallons for Longwood, 1, £0 3s 6d Paddy given to the Royal Navy ship *Norfolk*, 700 lb, £1 5s 4d. Kersey for the hospital, 3 yards, £0 4s 7d Twine for use in the stores, 1 skein, £0 0s 6d China for the Castle: Pint cups and saucers, 12 pairs, £0 4s 8d Teapot, 1, £0 1s 0d Bowls, 6, £0 6s 0d China, subtotal, £0 11s 8d Carried forward, £55 17s 9d **Interpretations** The arrack issued as drams was a form of payment in kind for hard or unpleasant work. Men unloading the store ships, rowing the guard boat and launching the heavy longboat through the surf received a measure of spirits on the spot, a customary reward that cost the Company less than extra wages. Nearly 68 gallons in a single quarter shows how

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			routinely drink was used to get labour done on the island. The constable's staffs point to a civil police force separate from the garrison. Constables carried a painted staff as their badge of office when keeping order in Jamestown or bringing offenders before the Council. Nails issued for the jury, together with those for repairing the Castle benches, suggest the fitting out of seating for a trial, since serious cases on the island were heard before a jury on the English model. Candles for the Council, almost 200 lb in a quarter, were by far the largest single charge on the page. Council business, correspondence and accounts were often carried on after dark, and candles were the only lighting available, so the cost of government included a heavy outlay on tallow. Kersey was a coarse, ribbed woollen cloth woven in narrow widths, cheap and warm. Issued to the hospital, it was perhaps used for blankets or patients' clothing during the cool, wet winter months.
355	351	Brought over £55 17s 9d Cordage 119lb for a Crane Rope and to make Slings for the Coal Tubs and Thatching £2 4s 7d Cutlery 2 horn Combs for the Groom £0 0s 4d Tin Ware vizt. 1 Lamp for the Armorer£0 1s 1d 6lb Solder for Tinning£0 5s 2d 5 Sheet of Tin to make Cases for Fifes£0 3s 4d 4 Lanthorn Leaves to repr. Lanthorns£0 0s 10d 1 Small H. Lanthorn£0 2s 9d £0 13s 3d Pitch and Tar vizt. 3lb Rozin for Tinning£0 0s 6d 10 Pitch for Water Troughs£0 1s 8d £0 2s 2d Flannel ½ Yd for Fife Cases £0 0s 7d Lines 1 Log for the Fort Garden £0 1s 0d Braziers Ware 10 oz Brass Wire for the Armorer £0 1s 8d Coals 80 Bushels £4 18s 4d £74 19s 8d Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Flour 964lb £6 0s 6d Beef & Pork vizt. 4 Ps. Beef£0 12s 7d 17 Ps. Pork£2 0s 9d £2 13s 4d Arrack 67 Gallons £10 13s 7d Tea vizt. 13lb Congo£0 16s 3d 1 Single£0 1s 3d £0 17s 6d Rice 200 £0 [...]s 5d Salt 2 Bushels £0 6s 4d Pepper 6lb £0 3s 0d Coffee 10lb £0 8s 4d Candy 315lb £6 11s 3d £28 10s 3d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The list of stores issued for the Company's own use during the quarter ended with rope, tinware and fuel. A separate account followed for stores issued between 1 April and 30 June 1764 and charged to diet expenses. Brought forward, £55 17s 9d Cordage for a crane rope, slings for the coal tubs and thatching, 119 lb, £2 4s 7d Cutlery, horn combs for the groom, 2, £0 0s 4d Tinware: Lamp for the armourer, 1, £0 1s 1d Solder for tinning, 6 lb, £0 5s 2d Sheets of tin for making fife cases, 5, £0 3s 4d Lantern horns for repairing lanterns, 4 leaves, £0 0s 10d Small horn lantern, 1, £0 2s 9d Tinware, subtotal, £0 13s 3d Pitch and tar: Rosin for tinning, 3 lb, £0 0s 6d Pitch for water troughs, 10 lb, £0 1s 8d Pitch and tar, subtotal, £0 2s 2d Flannel for fife cases, ½ yard, £0 0s 7d Log line for the fort garden, 1 line, £0 11s 0d Brass and copper ware, brass wire for the armourer, 10 oz, £0 1s 8d Coal, 80 bushels, £4 18s 4d Total, £74 19s 8d Stores charged to diet expenses: Flour, 964 lb, £6 0s 6d Beef and pork: Beef, 4 pieces, £0 12s 7d Pork, 17 pieces, £2 0s 9d Beef and pork, subtotal, £2 13s 4d Arrack, 67 gallons, £10 13s 7d Tea: Congou tea, 13 lb, £0 16s 3d Singlo tea, 1 lb, £0 1s 3d Tea, subtotal, £0 17s 6d Rice, 200 lb, £0 16s 5d Salt, 2 bushels, £0 6s 4d Pepper, 6 lb, £0 3s 0d Coffee, 10 lb, £0 8s 4d Sugar candy, 315 lb, £6 11s 3d Total, £28 10s 3d **Interpretations** The tin cases lined with flannel were made to hold the fifes of the garrison's musicians. Fifes and drums sounded the daily routine of a garrison, calling men to meals, duty and parade, and the cases protected the wooden instruments from damp. Tinning with solder and rosin, also issued here, allowed the Company's tinsmith to make and mend such cases and other ware on the island. Diet expenses covered the provisions drawn from the stores for the Company's official table and

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			the households it maintained at public cost. Separating them from general charges let the Council see what was spent on feeding its officers and guests, as distinct from the running of its workshops and buildings. Arrack and sugar candy together cost more than half the quarter's diet account, which matches the monthly table accounts, where arrack was consistently the largest single item. Coal, at 80 bushels, was issued in far greater quantity than to any private buyer. It fuelled the armourer's forge and the Company kitchens, where scarce firewood could not meet the demand for steady heat.
356	352	Garrison Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Beef & Pork vizt. 1 Ps. Beef£0 3s 1d 40 Ps. Pork£4 15s 10d for the Recruits £4 18s 11d Rice 22lb £0 1s 8d Blankets 61 Do. & sevl. Guards £15 0s 0d Oil vizt. 113¾ Galls. Train£22 16s 0d 5½ Do. Linseed£0 2s 5d for the sevl. Guards £22 18s 5d Tea 90lb Bohea for Do. £3 16s 10d Lines vizt. 12 No. 2£0 3s 4½d 1 Whip Cord£0 2s 10½d for Whips 12 No. 3£0 3s 10d 2 Hambro£0 2s 8d for Drums 2 Knots Sash Line for the Fifes£0 2s 2d £0 14s 11d Iron Ware 4 Wood Axes£0 11s 4d 4 Hand Hatchets£0 7s 0d 5 Helves£0 2s 11d 12 Large Frying Pans£2 7s 6d 4 Small Do.£0 11s 4d 1 Stock Lock£0 2s 8½d 1 Pad Lock£0 1s 6½d for the sevl. Guards £4 4s 4d Tin Ware 23 Lamps for Do. £1 5s 10d Turners Ware vizt. 2 Labrs. Baskets for the Main Fort£0 1s 7d 35 Wood Bowls£2 5s 2d 30 Platters£1 17s 6d for the sevl. Guards 2 Birch Brooms Main Fort£0 0s 8d 1 Paint Brush£0 0s 6d 4 Wood Ladles£0 1s 4d £4 6s 9d Carried over £57 7s 8d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The storekeeper then set out the stores issued to the garrison between 1 April and 30 June 1764. Beef and pork for the recruits: Beef, 1 piece, £0 3s 1d Pork, 40 pieces, £4 15s 10d Beef and pork, subtotal, £4 18s 11d Rice for the recruits, 22 lb, £0 1s 8d Blankets for the recruits and the various guards, 61, £15 0s 0d Oil for the various guards: Train oil, 113¾ gallons, £22 16s 0d Linseed oil, ⅝ gallon, £0 2s 5d Oil, subtotal, £22 18s 5d Bohea tea for the various guards, 90 lb, £3 16s 10d Lines: Fishing lines of size No 2 for whips, 12 lines, £0 3s 4½d Whipcord for whips, 1, £0 2s 10½d Fishing lines of size No 3 for drums, 12 lines, £0 3s 10d Hamburg lines for drums, 2 lines, £0 2s 8d Sash line for the fifes, 2 knots, £0 2s 2d Lines, subtotal, £0 14s 11d Ironmongery for the various guards: Wood axes, 4, £0 11s 4d Hand hatchets, 4, £0 7s 0d Tool handles, 5, £0 2s 11d Large frying pans, 12, £2 7s 6d Small frying pans, 4, £0 11s 4d Stock lock, 1, £0 2s 8½d Padlock, 1, £0 1s 6½d Ironmongery, subtotal, £4 4s 4d Tinware, lamps for the various guards, 23, £1 5s 10d Brushes and wooden ware: Labourers' baskets for the Main Fort, 2, £0 1s 7d Wooden bowls for the various guards, 35, £2 5s 2d Wooden platters for the various guards, 30, £1 17s 6d Birch brooms for the Main Fort, 2, £0 0s 8d Paint brush, 1, £0 0s 6d Wooden ladles, 4, £0 1s 4d Brushes and wooden ware, subtotal, £4 6s 9d Carried forward, £57 [...]s 8d **Interpretations** The guards received 90 lb of bohea tea in a single quarter, issued as part of their supplies. In England at this date tea was still a costly, heavily taxed drink, and soldiers there were not given it as a ration. On St Helena, where the Company's China ships landed tea before any duty was paid, it was cheap enough to issue to the men on guard duty, perhaps as a warm drink on cold night watches in the island's damp uplands. Train oil was by far the largest single cost on the page, at over 113 gallons. The garrison's guard posts were scattered across the island's batteries, lookouts and landing places, each lit through the night by oil lamps, including the 23 lamps also issued here.

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			Keeping so many posts lit and watchful was a steady and expensive part of the island's defence. The wooden bowls, platters, ladles and frying pans formed the basic messing kit of the guard posts, where soldiers cooked and ate together while on duty away from the barracks. The lines and cords issued for drums tightened the drumheads, while those for whips and fifes perhaps served to replace worn slings and cords on the band's equipment.
357	353	Brought over £57 7s 8d Iron Pots vizt. 1 of 3 Gallons£0 14s 0d 3 of 2 Do.£0 7s 6d 2 of 1 Do.£0 4s 4d 1 of 13 Do.£0 12s 0d £1 17s 10d Soldiers Cloaths 4 Centry Coats £4 9s 4d Nails vizt. ½ Tacks for Drums£0 0s 7½d 6 10£0 2s 7½d 14 6£0 1s 0d to repr. the Gd. House at Sandy Bay £0 4s 3d Hats 9 Centinels £1 5s 6d Haberdashery ½ Gross Worsted Lace for the Drum Majors Coat £0 8s 6d Paint vizt. 1lb Sky Blue to paint the Fife Cases£0 1s 10d 2lb Ven. Red dry to Mark Blankets£0 0s 5d 28lb Whiting£0 1s 2d 4lb Yellow Oaker£0 0s 9d to Clean their Accoutrements £0 4s 2d Deals vizt. 1 Single£0 1s 11d 6 Double£0 18s 9d for Coffins £1 0s 8d Thread vizt. 2lb Colored£0 6s 6d ½ Whited Brown£0 3s 3d for the Fifers £0 9s 9d Flour 312lb for the Recruits £1 19s 0d Arrack 22½ Galls. for Drams on mustering £3 12s 2d £72 18s 10d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The list of stores issued to the garrison during the quarter continued with cooking pots, clothing, paint and other supplies. Brought forward, £57 7s 8d Iron pots: Iron pot holding 3 gallons, 1, £0 14s 0d Iron pots holding 2 gallons, 3, £0 7s 6d Iron pots holding 1 gallon, 2, £0 4s 4d Iron pot holding 13 gallons, 1, £0 12s 0d Iron pots, subtotal, £1 17s 10d Soldiers' clothing, sentry coats, 4, £4 9s 4d Nails: Tacks for drums, ½ lb, £0 0s 7½d 10d nails for repairing the guardhouse at Sandy Bay, 6 lb, £0 2s 7½d 6d nails for repairing the guardhouse at Sandy Bay, 14 lb, £0 1s 0d Nails, subtotal, £0 4s 3d Hats for sentries, 9, £1 5s 6d Haberdashery, worsted lace for the drum major's coat, ½ gross, £0 8s 6d Paint: Sky blue for painting the fife cases, 1 lb, £0 1s 10d Dry Venetian red for marking blankets, 2 lb, £0 0s 5d Whiting for cleaning the soldiers' equipment, 28 lb, £0 1s 2d Yellow ochre for cleaning the soldiers' equipment, 4 lb, £0 0s 9d Paint, subtotal, £0 4s 2d Deals for coffins: Single deal, 1, £0 1s 11d Double deals, 6, £0 18s 9d Deals, subtotal, £1 0s 8d Thread for the fifers: Coloured thread, 2 lb, £0 6s 6d Half-bleached thread, ½ lb, £0 3s 3d Thread, subtotal, £0 9s 9d Flour for the recruits, 312 lb, £1 19s 0d Arrack for drams at musters, 22½ gallons, £3 12s 2d Total, £72 18s 10d **Interpretations** Whiting and yellow ochre were used to keep the soldiers' equipment smart for parade. Whiting, mixed with water into a paste, was rubbed into white belts and straps to whiten them, and yellow ochre served the same purpose on buff leather. Smart turnout was a mark of discipline, and the Company bore the cost of the materials rather than leaving it to the men. The Venetian red issued to mark blankets was used to paint an identifying mark on the Company's bedding. Soldiers were known to sell or pawn their blankets for drink, and a painted mark made it easy to prove the item was Company property and to trace it if it went missing. The arrack issued for drams at musters was a reward for turning out on parade to be counted, a customary small inducement in garrisons of the period. Deals issued for coffins reflect the ordinary mortality of the garrison, the Company providing a coffin for each soldier who died in its service.

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358	354	Blacks Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1 April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Sugar 129lb £1 17s 8d Tea 55½lb Bohea £2 6s 3d Shoes vizt. 26 Pr. Mens Ordinary£5 4s 0d 2 Pr. Womens Calf£0 5s 2d £5 9s 2d Beef & Pork 531 Ps. Beef£83 10s 5d 610 Ps. Pork£73 1s 5d £156 11s 10d Rice 65 C. 3 qr. 3lb £26 19s 9d Flour 21lb £0 2s 7d Oil 1¼ Galls. £0 6s 8d Hooks & Lines vizt. 600 No. 1 425 3 25 12 25 14 Hooks£1 15s 8d 14 doz 2 11½ doz 3 Lines£4 11s 0d £6 6s 8d Arrack 1¼ Galls. £0 5s 7d Hosiers Ware 2 Pr. Womens Stockings £0 5s 6d Long Cloth vizt. 6 Yds No. 7£0 4s 7d 9 Ps. J£12 9s 0d £12 13s 7d Iron Pots 1 of 6 Galls.£0 4s 11d 1 of 3 Do.£0 3s 6d 1 of 2 Do.£0 2s 6d £0 10s 11d Carried over £213 16s 2d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The storekeeper next recorded the stores issued to the Company's slaves between 1 April and 30 June 1764. Sugar, 129 lb, £1 17s 8d Bohea tea, 55½ lb, £2 6s 3d Shoes: Men's ordinary shoes, 26 pairs, £5 4s 0d Women's calfskin shoes, 2 pairs, £0 5s 2d Shoes, subtotal, £5 9s 2d Beef and pork: Beef, 531 pieces, £83 10s 5d Pork, 610 pieces, £73 1s 5d Beef and pork, subtotal, £156 11s 10d Rice, 65 cwt 3 qr 3 lb, £26 19s 9d Flour, 21 lb, £0 2s 7d Oil, 1¾ gallons, £0 6s 8d Fishing hooks and lines: Fish hooks of size No 1, 600 hooks Fish hooks of size No 3, 425 hooks Fish hooks of size No 12, 25 hooks Fish hooks of size No 14, 25 hooks Fish hooks, all sizes, £1 15s 8d Fishing lines of size No 2, 14 dozen lines Fishing lines of size No 3, 11½ dozen lines Fishing lines, both sizes, £4 11s 0d Fishing hooks and lines, subtotal, £6 6s 8d Arrack, 1¾ gallons, £0 5s 7d Stockings, women's stockings, 2 pairs, £0 5s 6d Longcloth: Longcloth of sort 7, 6 yards, £0 4s 7d Longcloth of sort J, 9 pieces, £12 9s 0d Longcloth, subtotal, £12 13s 7d Iron pots: Iron pot holding 6 gallons, 1, £0 4s 11d Iron pot holding 3 gallons, 1, £0 3s 6d Iron pot holding 2 gallons, 1, £0 2s 6d Iron pots, subtotal, £0 10s 11d Carried forward, £213 16s 2d **Interpretations** Salt beef and pork made up the great bulk of the slaves' issued food, more than 1,100 pieces in a single quarter, supplemented by over three tons of rice and the yams recorded in the monthly livestock returns. Preserved meat shipped from Europe was thus a staple of the slaves' diet, not a luxury. The scale of this issue helps explain why the store's general sales of salt meat to other islanders were so heavy: the island as a whole lived largely on imported provisions. The hooks and lines issued to the slaves, more than a thousand hooks and over 300 lines, show that they were expected to catch fish to feed themselves. Fishing added fresh protein to a diet of salt meat and starch at little cost to the Company, and it drew on the slaves' own time and labour. The two drownings of Company slaves recorded on the island in May 1764 and July 1764 perhaps reflect some of the risks of this work along a rocky coast. The issue of tea and sugar to the slaves stands out. With bohea cheap on the island, as the garrison's own tea ration shows, the Company could supply it to its slaves at small cost. The longcloth, shoes and stockings formed their clothing allowance, with 26 pairs of men's shoes against only two for women, which suggests that most of the Company's working slaves were men.
359	355	Brought over £213 6s 2d Iron Ware vizt. 4 Iron Frying Pans£0 11s 4d 1 Hand Hatchet£0 1s 9d 2 Pickaxes£0 6s 4d 2 Helves£0 1s 2d £1 0s 7d Turners Ware 2 Birch Brooms	The stores issued to the Company's slaves during the quarter continued with tools, clothing and cloth. A separate account followed for stores issued to the Malays between 1 April and 30 June 1764. Brought forward, £213 6s 2d Ironmongery: Iron frying pans, 4, £0 11s 4d Hand hatchet, 1, £0 1s 9d Pickaxes, 2, £0 6s 4d

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		£0 0s 8d Sailors Cloaths vizt. 112 Mens Jackets & Breeches£94 12s 11d 224 Shirts£43 3s 6d 22 Boys Jacket and Breeches£15 4s 4d 44 Do. Shirts£6 8s 4d £159 9s 1d Chelloes 34 Ps. £15 18s 0d Haberdashery 7 Ps. Holland Tape £0 4s 5d Kersey 7 Ps. £17 0s 8d Thread vizt. 4lb W. Brown£1 6s 5d 3 Colored£0 9s 9d £1 16s 2d Canvas 74 Yds Osnabrugs £2 15s 6d Blankets 2 £0 10s 0d £412 11s 3d Military Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Rice 150lb £0 12s 3d Beef 13 Ps. £2 0s 10d Arrack ¾ Galls. £0 10s 4d Sugar 26lb £0 7s 7d Sope 6lb £0 3s 10d Tea 3lb Bohea £0 2s 6d Oil ½ Gall. Train £0 2s 10d £4 0s 2d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Tool handles, 2, £0 1s 2d Ironmongery, subtotal, £1 0s 7d Brushes and wooden ware, birch brooms, 2, £0 0s 8d Seamen's ready-made clothing: Men's jackets and breeches, 112, £94 12s 11d Men's shirts, 224, £43 3s 6d Boys' jackets and breeches, 22, £15 4s 4d Boys' shirts, 44, £6 8s 4d Seamen's ready-made clothing, subtotal, £159 9s 1d Chelloes, 34 pieces, £15 18s 0d Haberdashery, Holland tape, 7 pieces, £0 4s 5d Kersey, 7 pieces, £17 0s 8d Thread: Half-bleached thread, 4 lb, £1 6s 5d Coloured thread, 3 lb, £0 9s 9d Thread, subtotal, £1 16s 2d Osnaburg canvas, 74 yards, £2 15s 6d Blankets, 2, £0 10s 0d Total, £412 11s 3d Stores issued to the Malays: Rice, 156 lb, £0 12s 3d Beef, 13 pieces, £2 0s 10d Arrack, ¾ gallon, £0 10s 4d Sugar, 26 lb, £0 7s 7d Soap, 6 lb, £0 3s 10d Bohea tea, 3 lb, £0 2s 6d Train oil, ¾ gallon, £0 2s 10d Total, £4 0s 2d **Interpretations** The clothing issued to the Company's slaves was bought as seamen's slops, the cheap ready-made jackets, breeches and shirts supplied to sailors. The Company clothed its slaves from the same stock, issuing two shirts for every suit. The figures give a sense of the size of the workforce: 112 men's suits and 22 boys' suits point to more than 130 male slaves clothed from the store in a single quarter, with boys making up about one in six. Women's clothing was supplied differently. Instead of ready-made garments, the account lists chelloes, kersey, Holland tape and thread, cloth and materials that the women perhaps sewed into their own dresses and wraps. The large quantity of kersey, a warm woollen, suggests it served for cloaks or blankets against the cool, wet winter. The Malays had their own separate account, apart from both the garrison and the slaves. They were people from the Malay world of Sumatra and the surrounding islands, perhaps brought to St Helena on ships from Bencoolen. Their rations of rice, tea, sugar and a little beef and arrack closely resemble those of the slaves, but recording them under a distinct heading suggests the Company regarded them as a separate group with a different status.
360	356	Plantation Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1st April to the 30th June vizt. Rice & Paddy vizt. 0 C. 3 qr. 20lb Rice£0 7s 8d 29 C. 1 qr. 24lb Paddy£5 6s 11d £5 14s 7d Iron Ware vizt. 1 Loping Ax for the great Wood£0 2s 10d 4 Helves for Do.£0 2s 4d 1 Shod Shovel£0 1s 11d 1 Ditching Do.£0 4s 6d Maldivy Garden 1 Hand Hatchet L. Wood£0 1s 9d 18 Scythes for the Garden£2 7s 0d 1 Pad Lock£0 1s 6d 5 Pr. Garden Sheers£1 0s 10d 1 Garden Hoe£0 1s 4d 2 Spades£0 8s 0d	The storekeeper next set out the stores issued to the Company's plantation between 1 April and 30 June 1764. Rice and paddy: Rice, 0 cwt 3 qr 20 lb, £0 7s 8d Paddy, 29 cwt 1 qr 24 lb, £5 6s 11d Rice and paddy, subtotal, £5 14s 7d Ironmongery: Lopping axe for the Great Wood, 1, £0 2s 10d Tool handles for the Great Wood, 4, £0 2s 4d Iron-shod shovel for the Maldivia garden, 1, £0 1s 11d Ditching shovel for the Maldivia garden, 1, £0 4s 6d Hand hatchet for Longwood, 1, £0 1s 9d Scythes for the garden, 18, £3 7s 0d Padlock, 1, £0 1s 6d Garden shears, 5 pairs, £1 0s 10d

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		1 Bill Hook£0 2s 5½d 2 Edging Irons£0 6s 11½d 2 Garden Rakes£0 4s 9d £6 5s 10d Cordage 67½lb to thatch the Plantation House and for the Longwood £1 3s 11d Turners Ware vizt. 1 Pr. Yokes£1 15s 10d 4 Ox Bows£0 5s 6d for Oxen £2 1s 4d Cuttlery Ware vizt. 18 Butchers Knives for Plantation house£0 7s 11d 3 Cases Fleams to bleed Cattle£0 7s 9d 2 Pruning Knives for the Garden£0 1s 5d £0 17s 1d Lines 1 Hambro for the Garden £0 1s 4d Oil 1½ Galls. Train for the Overseer in the Wood £0 5s 9d Earthen Ware 2 Milk Pans for Dairy £0 1s 7d Nails 7lb 6d 3lb 10d to thatch Plantation house and for the Long Wood £0 5s 0d Tar 2 Galls. for Carts £0 1s 6d £16 17s 11d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	Garden hoe, 1, £0 1s 4d Spades, 2, £0 8s 0d Billhook, 1, £0 2s 5½d Edging irons, 2, £0 6s 7½d Garden rakes, 2, £0 4s 9d Ironmongery, subtotal, £6 5s 10d Cordage for thatching Plantation House and for Longwood, 67½ lb, £1 3s 11d Wooden ware for the oxen: Yokes, 1 pair, £1 15s 10d Ox bows, 4, £0 5s 6d Wooden ware, subtotal, £2 1s 4d Cutlery: Butchers' knives for Plantation House, 18, £0 7s 11d Fleams for bleeding cattle, 3 cases, £0 7s 9d Pruning knives for the garden, 2, £0 1s 5d Cutlery, subtotal, £0 17s 1d Hamburg line for the garden, 1 line, £0 1s 4d Train oil for the overseer in the wood, 1½ gallons, £0 5s 9d Earthenware milk pans for the dairy, 2, £0 1s 7d Nails for thatching Plantation House and for Longwood: 6d nails, 7 lb 10d nails, 3 lb Nails, both sizes, £0 5s 0d Tar for the carts, 2 gallons, £0 1s 6d Total, £18 17s 11d **Interpretations** The cordage and nails issued for thatching Plantation House show the Council's decision on the building already being carried out. On 25 June 1764 both carpenters had advised replacing the failed lead-guttered roof with thatch, and by the end of the quarter rope and nails were being drawn from the stores to tie and fix the new covering. The Company plantation was a mixed farm run at public expense. Scythes, garden shears, edging irons and rakes served the gardens at Maldivia, on the edge of Jamestown, which supplied vegetables and fruit for the Castle and passing ships. Oxen worked in yokes and bows to haul carts and ploughs, and the dairy produced milk for the Governor's household. The overseer stationed in the Great Wood, with his lamp oil and axes, managed what remained of the island's native woodland on the uplands near Longwood. Fleams were small lancets, usually several blades folded into a single case, used to bleed cattle by opening a vein. Bleeding was then a standard treatment for sick or overheated livestock, as it was for people, and the purchase of three cases shows the Company tending its herds with the veterinary methods of the day.
361	357	Fortification Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Iron 30lb £0 6s 3d Iron Ware 1 Pad Lock for the Line Gate £0 1s 6d Turners Ware 15 Birch Brooms to sweep the Parade £0 5s 4d Paint vizt. 3lb White Lead mixed£0 1s 1½d 1 Barrel Blacking£0 0s 6½d to paint the Flag Staff at the Budge House £0 1s 8d Oil ½ Gall. Linseed for Do. £0 1s 5d Cordage 81lb for mounting Cannon & Port Cullises at Banks's and Hallyards for the Flag at the Main Fort £1 8s 8d £2 4s 10d	The storekeeper next recorded the stores issued for the fortifications between 1 April and 30 June 1764. Iron for the Lines gate, 30 lb, £0 6s 3d Ironmongery, padlock for the Lines gate, 1, £0 1s 6d Birch brooms for sweeping the parade ground, 15, £0 5s 4d Paint for the flagstaff at the [...] House: White lead ground in oil, 3 lb, £0 1s 1½d Blacking, 1 barrel, £0 0s 6½d Paint, subtotal, £0 1s 8d Linseed oil for the flagstaff, ⅛ gallon, £0 1s 5d Cordage for mounting cannon and gun-port tackle at Banks's and for flag halyards at the Main Fort, 81 lb, £1 8s 8d Total, £2 4s 10d A separate account followed for stores issued to the Company's boats over the same period: Cordage, 6 cwt 0 qr 20 lb, £12 6s 1d

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		Boats Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Cordage 6 C. 1 qr. 20lb £12 6s 1d Oars vizt. 2 Oars for the fishing Yaul£0 7s 7d 6 Pinnace Oars for the Pinnace£2 14s 5d £3 2s 0d Pitch and Tar vizt. 10 Galls. Tar£0 7s 6d ½ Barl. Pitch£0 18s 7d £1 6s 1d Oil vizt. ¼ Gall. Train£0 1s 1½d 1½ Galls. Linseed£0 5s 9½d £0 6s 9d Nails vizt. 1lb 2d 2lb 3d 2lb 4d 6lb 6d 5lb 10d 5lb 20d £0 10s 6d Carried over £16 10s 5d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Oars: Oars for the fishing yawl, 2, £0 7s 7d Pinnace oars for the pinnace, 6, £2 14s 5d Oars, subtotal, £3 2s 0d Pitch and tar: Tar, 10 gallons, £0 7s 6d Pitch, ½ barrel, £0 18s 7d Pitch and tar, subtotal, £1 6s 1d Oil: Train oil, ¼ gallon, £0 0s 11½d Linseed oil, 1½ gallons, £0 5s 9½d Oil, subtotal, £0 6s 9d Nails: 2d nails, 1 lb 3d nails, 2 lb 4d nails, 2 lb 6d nails, 6 lb 10d nails, 5 lb 20d nails, 5 lb Nails, all sizes, £0 10s 6d Carried forward, £16 10s 5d **Interpretations** The Lines were the fortified wall that closed the mouth of James's Valley behind the landing place, with a gate through which all traffic between the wharf and Jamestown passed. Iron and a padlock for the gate show that the Company kept this single entrance secured, controlling who came ashore and what goods moved inland. The rope issued for mounting cannon at Banks's was used in the tackle that ran guns in and out of their embrasures and absorbed their recoil. Without sound tackle a heavy gun could not be worked safely, so even in peacetime the batteries had to be kept rigged and ready. The boats' account shows how much the Company depended on small craft. A pinnace was a light, fast boat pulled by several oars and used to carry officers and messages between the shore and ships in the road, while the fishing yawl supplied fish for the Company's table and people. Over six hundredweight of rope in a quarter reflects the heavy wear on the boats' moorings and gear in St Helena's open anchorage, where there was no sheltered harbour and every cargo had to be landed through the swell.
362	358	Brought over £16 10s 5d Deals vizt. 3 Elm Boards£1 0s 8d 2 Single Deals£0 3s 11d 2 Double Do.£0 6s 8d £1 10s 5d Paint vizt. 23lb Ven. Red dry£0 4s 9½d 1lb Yellow Oaker dry£0 0s 2½d ¾ Copperas£0 0s 3d £0 5s 3d Turners Ware vizt. 1 Paint Brush£0 0s 6d 1 Wood Bowl£0 1s 3½d 1 Platter£0 1s 3d 3 Laborers Baskets£0 2s 4½d £0 5s 5d Twine 2 Sks. £0 1s 0d Iron 23lb £0 4s 9d Leather 1lb Sole £0 0s 11d Iron Ware 1 Hand Hatchet £0 1s 9d £19 19s 11d Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st	The stores issued to the Company's boats during the quarter continued with timber, paint and other materials. A separate account followed for stores issued to the hospital between 1 April and 30 June 1764. Brought forward, £16 10s 5d Deals and boards: Elm boards, 3, £1 0s 8d Single deals, 2, £0 3s 11d Double deals, 2, £0 6s 8d Deals and boards, subtotal, £1 10s 5d Paint: Dry Venetian red, 23 lb, £0 4s 9½d Dry yellow ochre, 1 lb, £0 0s [...]d Copperas, ¼ lb, £0 0s 3d Paint, subtotal, £0 5s 3d Brushes and wooden ware: Paint brush, 1, £0 0s 6d Wooden bowl, 1, £0 1s 3½d Wooden platter, 1, £0 1s 3d Labourers' baskets, 3, £0 2s 4½d Brushes and wooden ware, subtotal, £0 5s 5d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 0d Iron, 23 lb, £0 4s 9d Sole leather, 1 lb, £0 0s 11d Ironmongery, hand hatchet, 1, £0 1s 9d Total, £19 19s 11d Stores issued to the hospital: Sugar, 321 lb, £4 18s 8d

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		April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Sugar 321lb £4 18s 8d Flour 321lb £2 0s 2d Salt 1½ Bushels £0 4s 9d Oil 13 Galls. Train £2 9s 10d Rice 300lb £1 4s 7d Tea 6lb Bohea £0 5s 0d Tin Ware 1 Lamp £0 1s 1d Twine vizt. ½lb Cotton Wick£0 0s 9d 1 Sk. Twine£0 0s 6d £0 1s 3d Iron Pots 3 of 3 Galls. £0 10s 6d Carried over £11 16s 10d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	Flour, 321 lb, £2 0s 2d Salt, 1½ bushels, £0 4s 9d Train oil, 13 gallons, £2 9s 10d Rice, 300 lb, £1 4s 7d Bohea tea, 6 lb, £0 5s 0d Tinware, lamp, 1, £0 1s 1d Twine and wick: Cotton wick, ½ lb, £0 0s 9d Twine, 1 skein, £0 0s 6d Twine and wick, subtotal, £0 1s 3d Iron pots holding 3 gallons, 3, £0 10s 6d Carried forward, £11 18s 10d **Interpretations** The hospital's stores were chosen to suit a sickroom diet. Rice was boiled into rice water or soft rice for patients with fevers and fluxes, the commonest illnesses among soldiers and seamen, and flour made gruels and light bread. Sugar was used both to sweeten these foods and to make syrups and cordials in which bitter medicines were given. Tea, then widely regarded as a restorative, completed the diet. Train oil, issued in quantity, kept the hospital's lamps burning through the night so that attendants could watch over the sick. The iron pots served for cooking the patients' food and heating water. The Venetian red issued to the boats was the usual paint for hulls and oars, cheap, durable and resistant to weather. Elm, which does not rot readily when kept wet, was the timber favoured for boat bottoms and planking below the waterline.
363	359	Brought over £11 10s 10d Turners Ware vizt. 1 Scrubing Brush£0 2s 3½d 1 Mop£0 1s 2½d £0 3s 6d Canvas vizt. 2¾ Yds English£0 3s 0d 7 Yds Osenbrugs£0 5s 3d £0 8s 3d £12 2s 7d Mercury Snow Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Canvas 7 Bolts English £15 3s 4d Iron Ware vizt. 100 Sail Needles£0 8s 4d 2 ditching Shovels£0 9s 0d 2 Loping Axes£0 5s 8d 2 Hand Hatchets£0 3s 6d 3 Helves£0 1s 2d 1 Bill Hook£0 2s 5½d 4 Pad Locks£0 6s 2d 1 Closet Lock£0 3s 3d 2 Shod Shovels£0 3s 10d 2 Claw Hammers£0 2s 11½d 1 Coopers Driver£0 1s 8d £2 8s 0d Tin Ware vizt. 8lb Solder£0 7s 0d 4 small Horn Lanthorns£0 5s 6d £0 12s 6d Pitch & Tar vizt. 4lb Rozin£0 0s 8d 1 Barl. Pitch£1 17s 3d 2 Barls. Tar£2 15s 0d £4 12s 11d Carried over £22 16s 9d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The stores issued to the hospital during the quarter ended with brushes and canvas. The storekeeper then set out the stores issued to the snow *Mercury* between 1 April and 30 June 1764. Brought forward, £11 10s 10d Brushes and wooden ware: Scrubbing brush, 1, £0 2s 3½d Mop, 1, £0 1s 2½d Brushes and wooden ware, subtotal, £0 3s 6d Canvas: English canvas, 2¾ yards, £0 3s 0d Osnaburg, 7 yards, £0 5s 3d Canvas, subtotal, £0 8s 3d Total, £12 2s 7d Stores issued to the snow *Mercury*: English canvas, 7 bolts, £15 3s 4d Ironmongery: Sail needles, 100, £0 8s 4d Ditching shovels, 2, £0 9s 0d Lopping axes, 2, £0 5s 8d Hand hatchets, 2, £0 3s 6d Tool handles, 3, £0 1s 2d Billhook, 1, £0 2s 5½d Padlocks, 4, £0 6s 2d Closet lock, 1, £0 3s 3d Iron-shod shovels, 2, £0 3s 10d Claw hammers, 2, £0 2s 11½d Cooper's driver, 1, £0 1s 8d Ironmongery, subtotal, £2 8s 0d Tinware: Solder, 8 lb, £0 7s 0d Small horn lanterns, 4, £0 5s 6d Tinware, subtotal, £0 12s 6d Pitch and tar: Rosin, 4 lb, £0 0s 8d Pitch, 1 barrel, £1 17s 3d Tar, 2 barrels, £2 15s 0d Pitch and tar, subtotal, £4 12s 11d Carried forward, £22 16s 9d **Interpretations** These stores fitted out the *Mercury* for the Madagascar voyage on which she sailed with the cutter *Fly* on 6 June 1764. Canvas, sail needles, pitch and tar prepared her sails and hull for a long passage.

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			The shovels, axes, hatchets and billhook were tools for work ashore, perhaps for cutting firewood and clearing ground to fill water casks at Madagascar. The padlocks and closet lock were for securing her holds and stores, a precaution that matches the Council's warning of 5 June 1764 to guard against any rising once slaves were aboard. A cooper's driver was a blunt-edged tool struck with a hammer to force the iron hoops down onto a cask. Carried at sea, it let the crew tighten loosened hoops on water and provision casks during a voyage on which fresh water for both crew and slaves would be critical.
364	360	Brought over Cordage 9 C. 1 qr. 12lb £18 11s 2d Braziers Ware 38½lb Copper Plate £2 11s 4d Glass Ware 1 Sqr. 10 by 12 £0 0s 10d Corks 6lb Sheet £0 3s 8d Deals vizt. ¼ Ash Plank£0 12s 0d 10 double Deals£1 11s 3d 2 Wainscott Boards£0 13s 6d £2 16s 9d Paint vizt. 56lb White Lead dry£0 16s 4d 56lb Red Lead Do.£0 11s 8d 7lb Yellow Oaker Do.£0 1s 4d 7lb Ven. Red£0 1s 5d ¼lb Verdigrease£0 3s 10½d £1 14s 8d Flour 5 C. 1 qr. 22lb Cape£6 7s 1d 12 C. 1 qr. 3lb Europe£8 11s 10d £14 18s 11d Beef & Pork vizt. 6 Puncheons Beef£77 17s 0d 5 Hhds. Pork£49 10s 10d £127 7s 10d Oil vizt. 1 Jar Train£5 2s 10d 1 Jar Linseed£5 3s 7d £10 6s 5d Rice 2075lb £7 12s 0d Candles 55lb £5 7s 9d Turners Ware vizt. 2 Mops£0 2s 5d 1 Hair Broom£0 2s 3½d 2 Scrubing Brushes£0 4s 7d 6 Birch Brooms£0 2s 1½d 6 Wood Bowls£0 7s 9d 6 Platters£0 7s 6d £1 6s 8d Carried over £216 0s 11d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The stores issued to the snow *Mercury* during the quarter continued with rope, timber, paint and a large quantity of provisions. Brought forward Cordage, 9 cwt 1 qr 12 lb, £18 11s 2d Brass and copper ware, copper plate, 38½ lb, £2 11s 4d Glassware, window pane measuring 10 by 12 inches, 1, £0 0s 10d Cork sheet, 6 lb, £0 3s 8d Deals and boards: Ash plank, ¼, £0 12s 0d Double deals, 10, £1 11s 3d Wainscot boards, 2, £0 13s 6d Deals and boards, subtotal, £2 16s 9d Paint: Dry white lead, 56 lb, £0 16s 4d Dry red lead, 56 lb, £0 11s 8d Dry yellow ochre, 7 lb, £0 1s 4d Venetian red, 7 lb, £0 1s 5d Verdigris, ¼ lb, £0 3s 10½d Paint, subtotal, £1 14s 8d Flour: Flour from the Cape, 5 cwt 1 qr 22 lb, £6 7s 1d Flour from Europe, 12 cwt 1 qr 3 lb, £8 11s 10d Flour, subtotal, £14 18s 11d Beef and pork: Salt beef, 6 puncheons, £77 17s 0d Salt pork, 5 hogsheads, £49 10s 10d Beef and pork, subtotal, £127 7s 10d Oil: Train oil, 1 jar, £5 2s 10d Linseed oil, 1 jar, £5 3s 7d Oil, subtotal, £10 6s 5d Rice, 2,075 lb, £7 12s 0d Candles, 55 lb, £5 7s 9d Brushes and wooden ware: Mops, 2, £0 2s 5d Hair broom, 1, £0 2s 3½d Scrubbing brushes, 2, £0 4s 7d Birch brooms, 6, £0 2s 1½d Wooden bowls, 6, £0 7s 9d Wooden platters, 6, £0 7s 6d Brushes and wooden ware, subtotal, £1 6s 8d Carried forward, £216 0s 11d **Interpretations** Salt beef and pork were by far the costliest items issued to the *Mercury*, laid in to feed her crew on the long voyage to Madagascar and back. The large issue of rice fits the Council's instructions of 5 June 1764, which required the agents to carry enough rice and provisions for the crew and the slaves they bought until they reached St Helena. The wooden bowls and platters were perhaps intended for serving that food to the captives on the return passage. The flour came from two sources, Europe and the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch settlement at the Cape grew wheat on a large scale and lay only a few weeks' sail from St Helena, so it offered a nearer and often cheaper supply than shipments from England. Keeping Cape and European flour apart in

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			the books allowed the Company to track what it drew from each. Copper plate was used for repairs to fittings exposed to seawater, such as pump linings, scuppers and sheathing around the rudder, since copper does not rust. Red lead, issued in the same quantity as white lead, was the standard priming coat for ironwork and new timber, giving the snow's hull and fittings protection against rot and corrosion on a voyage into warm waters.
365	361	Brought over £216 0s 11d Bunting vizt. 12 Yds White£0 6s 0d 12 Yds Blue£0 6s 6d £0 12s 6d Lines vizt. 2 Hambro£0 2s 8d 2 Deep Sea£0 10s 0d 24 No. 4£0 9s 1d £1 1s 9d Iron Pots vizt. 1 of 3 Gals.£0 3s 6d 1 of 6 Do.£0 4s 11d £0 8s 5d Oars 2 £0 7s 7d Sugar 250lb £3 12s 11d Nails vizt. 6lb 2d 10lb 4d 15lb 6d 22lb 10d 12lb 20d 12lb 40d Nails£1 16s 10d 6 Tacks£0 7s 6d ½ Glazing Brads£0 0s 10d 6 Coopers Rivets£0 2s 9d £2 5s 11d Cutlery 1 doz Stag Horn Kn. & Forks £0 11s 0d Lead 53lb Sheet £0 9s 11d Pewter 1 Cullender £0 7s 8d Shirts 1 Ps. Irish Linnen £1 12s 8d Flannel 20 Yds £1 4s 7d Haberdashery 5 Ps. Holland Tape £0 3s 2d Long Cloth 1 Piece P. £1 7s 0d Twine vizt. 2lb Cotton Wick£0 5s 8d 1 Sk. Twine£0 0s 6d £0 6s 2d £230 7s 0d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The stores issued to the snow *Mercury* during the quarter continued with flag cloth, lines, nails and other supplies. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £216 0s 11d Bunting: White bunting, 12 yards, £0 6s 0d Blue bunting, 12 yards, £0 6s 6d Bunting, total as entered, £0 12s 6d Lines: Hamburg lines, 2 lines, £0 2s 8d Deep-sea lines, 2 lines, £0 10s 0d Fishing lines of size No 4, 24 lines, £0 9s 1d Lines, total as entered, £1 1s 9d Iron pots: Iron pot holding 3 gallons, 1, £0 3s 6d Iron pot holding 6 gallons, 1, £0 4s 11d Iron pots, total as entered, £0 8s 5d Oars, 2, £0 7s 7d Sugar, 250 lb, £3 12s 11d Nails: 2d nails, 6 lb 4d nails, 10 lb 6d nails, 15 lb 10d nails, 22 lb 20d nails, 12 lb 40d nails, 12 lb Nails of all sizes, £1 16s 10d Tacks, 6 lb, £0 7s 6d Glazing brads, ½ lb, £0 0s 10d Coopers' rivets, 6, £0 2s 9d Nails, total as entered, £2 6s 11d Cutlery, staghorn-handled knives and forks, 1 dozen, £0 11s 0d Sheet lead, 53 lb, £0 9s 11d Pewter colander, 1, £0 7s 8d Irish linen for shirts, 1 piece, £1 12s 8d Flannel, 20 yards, £1 4s 7d Haberdashery, Holland tape, 5 pieces, £0 3s 2d Longcloth of sort P, 1 piece, £1 7s 0d Twine and wick: Cotton wick, 2 lb, £0 5s 8d Twine, 1 skein, £0 0s 6d Twine and wick, total as entered, £0 6s 2d Carried forward, £230 7s 0d **Interpretations** Bunting was a light woollen cloth woven for flags. The white and blue lengths issued to the *Mercury* were for making or repairing her signal flags and colours, essential for communicating with the cutter *Fly*, which the Council had ordered to follow the signals of Captain Harrold throughout the voyage. Deep-sea lines were long sounding lines fitted with a heavy lead weight, used to measure the depth of water and sample the seabed when approaching an unfamiliar coast. On a voyage to the anchorages of Madagascar, where the charts of the day were poor, regular soundings were the main safeguard against running aground. The Irish linen, flannel and longcloth were perhaps intended for clothing the crew on the voyage or for use as trade goods at Madagascar, where cloth was among the goods most in demand.

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366	362	Fly Cutter Dr. for the following Stores issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1764 vizt. Flour vizt. 6 C. 0 qr. 22lb Europe£4 6s 9d 2 C. 3 qr. 23lb Cape£3 9s 0d £7 15s 9d Coals 2 Chaldron 3 Bushels £4 12s 1d Pitch and Tar vizt. 1¾ Barrels Pitch£3 5s 2d 1 Barrel 12 Galls. Tar£1 17s 0d 50lb Turpentine£0 10s 5d £5 12s 7d Sugar and Candy vizt. 150lb Sugar£2 3s 9d 24lb Candy£0 10s 0d £2 13s 9d Pepper 4lb £0 2s 0d Arrack 191 Galls. £30 8s 10d Rice 29 C. 1 qr. 26lb £12 2s 0d Iron Ware 3 Shod Shovels£0 5s 9d 75 Sail Needles£0 6s 3d 6 Helves£0 3s 6d ½lb Yellow Oaker£0 1s 0d ¼lb Borax£0 3s 4d 8 Splinter Locks£0 3s 10d 2 Wood Axes£0 5s 8d 1 Bill Hook£0 2s 5½d 1 Large Frying Pan£0 3s 11½d £1 15s 9d Paint vizt. 40lb Ven. Red dry£0 8s 4d 6lb Ven. Red mixed£0 2s 9d 4lb Red Lead£0 0s 10d 2 Barls. Blacking£0 1s 0½d ¼lb Umber£0 0s 1d ¼lb Copperas£0 0s 2¾d 1lb Yellow Oaker dry£0 0s 2¾d 1½lb White Lead mixed£0 0s 6¾d ½lb Sky Blue£0 0s 11¼d 18lb W. Lead dry£0 5s 3d 1lb Whiting£0 0s 0½d £1 0s 3d Carried over £96 3s 0d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The storekeeper then set out the stores issued to the cutter *Fly* between 1 April and 30 June 1764. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Flour: Flour from Europe, 6 cwt 0 qr 22 lb, £4 6s 9d Flour from the Cape, 2 cwt 3 qr 23 lb, £3 9s 0d Flour, total as entered, £7 15s 9d Coal, 2 chaldrons 3 bushels, £4 12s 1d Pitch and tar: Pitch, 1¾ barrels, £3 5s 2d Tar, 1 barrel and 12 gallons, £1 17s 0d Turpentine, 50 lb, £0 10s 5d Pitch and tar, total as entered, £5 12s 7d Sugar and sugar candy: Sugar, 150 lb, £2 3s 9d Sugar candy, 24 lb, £0 10s 0d Sugar and sugar candy, total as entered, £2 13s 9d Pepper, 4 lb, £0 2s 0d Arrack, 191 gallons, £30 8s 10d Rice, 29 cwt 1 qr 26 lb, £12 2s 0d Ironmongery: Iron-shod shovels, 3, £0 5s 9d Sail needles, 75, £0 6s 3d Tool handles, 6, £0 3s 6d Yellow ochre, ½ lb, £0 1s 0d Borax, ¼ lb, £0 3s 4d Splinter locks, 8, £0 3s 10d Wood axes, 2, £0 5s 8d Billhook, 1, £0 2s 5½d Large frying pan, 1, £0 3s 11½d Ironmongery, total as entered, £1 15s 9d Paint: Dry Venetian red, 40 lb, £0 8s 4d Venetian red ground in oil, 6 lb, £0 2s 9d Red lead, 4 lb, £0 0s 10d Blacking, 2 barrels, £0 1s 0½d Umber, ¼ lb, £0 0s 1d Copperas, ¼ lb, £0 0s 2¾d Dry yellow ochre, 1 lb, £0 0s 2¾d White lead ground in oil, 1½ lb, £0 0s 6¾d Sky blue, ½ lb, £0 0s 11¼d Dry white lead, 18 lb, £0 5s 3d Whiting, 1 lb, £0 0s 0½d Paint, total as entered, £1 0s 3d Carried forward, £96 3s 0d **Interpretations** Arrack was the costliest item issued to the *Fly*. The Council's invoice of 5 June 1764 had already loaded a hogshead of brandy among the trade goods for Madagascar, and spirits were a staple of the slave trade there. The arrack was perhaps partly for the crew's allowance on a long voyage and partly for barter, but the store account does not say which. A chaldron was a large measure for coal, originally a Newcastle cartload and in London reckoned as 36 bushels. The coal perhaps fuelled a cooking fire aboard, since firewood would be hard to come by on the passage and a small vessel carrying captives needed to cook rice for many more people than her crew. The large issue of rice, like that to the *Mercury*, followed the Council's order to carry enough food for the crew and the slaves they bought until they reached St Helena. Turpentine, distilled from pine resin, was used to thin paint and pitch and to clean brushes, while umber was a brown earth pigment used in mixing darker paints.
367	363	Brought over £66 3s 0d Deals vizt. 1 Coffin£0 4s 1d 19 Single Deals£1 17s 7d ½ Elm Board£0 3s 4½d	The stores issued to the cutter *Fly* during the quarter continued with timber, rope, household goods and provisions. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £66 3s 0d Deals and boards:

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		1 Double Deal£0 3s 1d £2 8s 2d Cordage 9 C. 2 qr. 18lb £19 3s 2d Twine 49 Sks. £1 5s 0d Braziers Ware vizt. 1 Pr. Steel Snuffers£0 3s 0d 1 Pr. Candlesticks£0 7s 6d 1 Copper Saucepan of 5 Quarts£0 13s 9d 1 Small Brass Skimmer£0 2s 8d £1 6s 11d Turners Ware 10 Birch Brooms£0 3s 6½d 1 Paint Brush£0 0s 6d 2 Wood Ladles£0 0s 8d 1 Scrubing Brush£0 2s 3½d £0 7s 0d Iron 89lb £0 18s 6d Beef and Pork 3 Puncheons Beef£38 18s 6d 4 Hhds. Pork£39 12s 8d £78 11s 2d Nails vizt. 3lb 2d 6lb 3d 9lb 4d 10lb 6d 7lb 10d 13lb 20d £1 7s 10¼d 1 Glazg. Brads£0 1s 8¾d 4 Coopers Rivets£0 1s 10d £1 11s 5d Oil vizt. 2½ Gals. Linseed£0 8s 2d 1 Jar 1 Gal. Train£5 18s 10d £6 7s 0d £178 1s 4d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Coffin, 1, £0 4s 1d Single deals, 19, £1 7s 7d Elm board, ½, £0 3s 4½d Double deal, 1, £0 3s 1d Deals and boards, total as entered, £2 8s 2d Cordage, 9 cwt 2 qr 18 lb, £19 3s 2d Twine, 49 skeins, £1 5s 0d Brass and copper ware: Steel candle snuffers, 1 pair, £0 3s 0d Candlesticks, 1 pair, £0 7s 6d Copper saucepan holding 5 quarts, 1, £0 13s 9d Small brass skimmer, 1, £0 2s 8d Brass and copper ware, total as entered, £1 6s 11d Brushes and wooden ware: Birch brooms, 10, £0 3s 6½d Paint brush, 1, £0 0s 6d Wooden ladles, 2, £0 0s 8d Scrubbing brush, 1, £0 2s 3½d Brushes and wooden ware, total as entered, £0 7s 0d Iron, 89 lb, £0 18s 6d Beef and pork: Salt beef, 3 puncheons, £38 18s 6d Salt pork, 4 hogsheads, £39 12s 8d Beef and pork, total as entered, £78 11s 2d Nails: 2d nails, 3 lb 3d nails, 6 lb 4d nails, 9 lb 6d nails, 10 lb 10d nails, 7 lb 20d nails, 13 lb Nails of all sizes, £1 7s 10¼d Glazing brads, 1 lb, £0 1s 5¾d Coopers' rivets, 4, £0 1s 10d Nails, total as entered, £1 11s 5d Oil: Linseed oil, 2½ gallons, £0 8s 2d Train oil, 1 jar and 1 gallon, £5 18s 10d Oil, total as entered, £6 7s 0d Carried forward, £178 1s 4d **Interpretations** A coffin was issued to the *Fly* with her other stores. The account gives no reason, but it suggests a death among her crew while she lay at St Helena before sailing, the Company supplying the coffin as it did for soldiers of the garrison. The candlesticks, snuffers, copper saucepan and skimmer furnished the commander's cabin and the vessel's galley. Snuffers were scissor-like tools with a small box attached, used to trim the charred wick of a tallow candle so that it burned brightly without smoking. A skimmer was a flat, perforated ladle for lifting scum from boiling food, perhaps from the large pots of rice to be cooked on the return voyage.
368	364	Brought over £178 1s 4d Blocks vizt. 1 Double of 10 Inch.£0 3s 10d 1 Do. of 9 Do.£0 2s 6d £0 6s 4d Leather 19lb Sole £0 16s 8d Lines vizt. 4 Hambro£0 5s 4d 12 Log£0 11s 3d 3 Deep Sea£0 15s 0d £1 11s 7d Canvas vizt. 5 Bolts 10 Yds Eng.£11 7s 6d 40 Yds Ticklenburgh£1 18s 4d 3 Yds Osnabrugs£0 2s 3d £13 8s 1d Glass Ware vizt.	The stores issued to the cutter *Fly* during the quarter ended with blocks, lines, canvas and other supplies. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £178 1s 4d Blocks: Double block of 10 inches, 1, £0 3s 10d Double block of 9 inches, 1, £0 2s 6d Blocks, total as entered, £0 6s 4d Sole leather, 19 lb, £0 16s 8d Lines: Hamburg lines, 4 lines, £0 5s 4d Log lines, 12 lines, £0 11s 3d Deep-sea lines, 3 lines, £0 15s 0d Lines, total as entered, £1 11s 7d Canvas: English canvas, 5 bolts and 10 yards, £11 7s 6d Ticklenburg, 40 yards, £1 18s 4d Osnaburg, 3 yards, £0 2s 3d

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		7 Sqrs. 8 by 10£0 4s 3d 1 half minute Glass£0 0s 6d £0 4s 9d Tin Ware vizt. 1 Lamp£0 1s 1½d 1 Quart Sauce Pan£0 0s 5½d 2 Small Lanthorns£0 5s 6d 8 Lanthorn Leaves£0 1s 8d £0 8s 9d Candles 40lb £3 18s 4d Pease 1 Bushell £0 8s 7d Tea 10lb Single £0 12s 6d Bunting vizt. 30 Yds Red£1 0s 7½d 7 Yds Blue£0 3s 9½d 7 Yds White£0 3s 6d £1 7s 11d Lead 125lb Sheet £1 3s 5d Salt ½ Bushel £0 1s 7d Cutlery 1 Butchers Knife £0 0s 5d Thread ½lb Colored £0 1s 7d China Ware 6 Soop Plates £0 3s 0d St Helena 30 June 1764 £202 14s 10d Errors Excepted p Js. Powell Storekeeper **Margin Notes:** 16th July	Canvas, total as entered, £13 8s 1d Glassware: Window panes measuring 8 by 10 inches, 7, £0 4s 3d Half-minute sandglass, 1, £0 0s 6d Glassware, total as entered, £0 4s 9d Tinware: Lamp, 1, £0 1s 1½d Saucepan holding 1 quart, 1, £0 0s 8½d Small lanterns, 2, £0 5s 6d Lantern horns, 8 leaves, £0 1s 8d Tinware, total as entered, £0 8s 9d Candles, 40 lb, £3 18s 4d Peas, 1 bushel, £0 8s 7d Singlo tea, 10 lb, £0 12s 6d Bunting: Red bunting, 30 yards, £1 0s 7½d Blue bunting, 7 yards, £0 3s 9½d White bunting, 7 yards, £0 3s 6d Bunting, total as entered, £1 7s 11d Sheet lead, 125 lb, £1 3s 5d Salt, ½ bushel, £0 1s 7d Cutlery, butcher's knife, 1, £0 0s 5d Coloured thread, ½ lb, £0 1s 7d China, soup plates, 6, £0 3s 0d Total, £202 14s 10d J. Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 30 June 1764, noting that it was subject to correction of any errors. **Interpretations** The half-minute glass was a small sandglass used with the log line to measure a ship's speed. A seaman threw the log overboard and let the knotted line run out while the glass emptied, and the number of knots that passed through his hands in that time gave the speed in knots. Issued together with log lines and deep-sea sounding lines, it equipped the *Fly* to keep track of her progress and position on the open ocean between St Helena and Madagascar. The storekeeper who signed the account was perhaps the same James Powell who complained to the Council on 2 July 1764 about John Mitchland buying up goods from Captain Baddison's ship. As the officer responsible for the Company's stores and their sale, Powell had a professional interest in the supply of imported goods reaching the island's householders. His complaint therefore came from someone who knew exactly what was being landed and how it was being traded. The red, blue and white bunting, like that issued to the *Mercury*, was for the cutter's flags and signals. The larger quantity of red suggests the making of an ensign, the red flag flown by British merchant vessels, as well as smaller signal flags.
369	365	List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salarys diet money &c. for the Quarter commencing the first day of April and ending the thirtieth day of June 1764 Chas. Hutchinson Esqr. Govr. Salary to the 13th of May inc.£58 18s 1d Ditto allowance for Servants as usual£14 19s 1d £73 17s 2d John Skottowe Esqr. Lieutenant Governor Saly. to the 13th May inc.£29 9s 0d Do. Diet money£11 15s 7½d Do. Governors Salary from May the 14th inc.£65 15s 0d Do. allowance for Servants from Do.£16 13s 10½d £123 13s 6d Matthew Purling of Council Salary£15 0s 0d Do. Accomptant£17 10s 0d Do. Diet money£15 0s 0d	The storekeeper's account was followed by a list of the Company's officers and staff on St Helena, with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764. Each personal total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Charles Hutchinson, Governor: Salary to 13 May 1764 inclusive, £58 18s 1d Usual allowance for servants, £14 19s 1d Total as entered, £73 17s 2d John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor and then Governor: Salary as Lieutenant Governor to 13 May 1764 inclusive, £29 9s 0d Diet money, £11 15s 7½d Salary as Governor from 14 May 1764 inclusive, £65 15s 0d Allowance for servants from 14 May 1764, £16 13s 10½d Total as entered, £123 13s 6d Matthew Purling, member of Council:

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		£47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Salary£7 10s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £10 0s 0d William Lee Chaplain Salary£25 0s 0d Do. Diet money£15 0s 0d £40 0s 0d John Thackery Chaplain Salary£10 19s 2d Do. Diet money£6 11s 6d £17 10s 8d Matthew Bazett Secretary Salary£17 10s 0d Do. Diet money£15 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d James Powell Storekeeper Salary£17 10s 0d Do. Diet money£15 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d William Wrangham Factors Salary£7 10s 0d Do. Diet money£10 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d Do. Assistant Storekeeper£5 0s 0d £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham Factors Salary£7 10s 0d Do. Diet money£10 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £20 0s 0d Richard Law Factors Salary£7 10s 0d Do. Diet money£10 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d Do. Assistant to the Governor£10 0s 0d £30 0s 0d David Alcock Writers Salary£5 0s 0d Do. Diet money£10 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £17 10s 0d Carried over £475 1s 4d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Salary, £15 0s 0d Salary as accountant, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d Total as entered, £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, member of Council: Salary, £7 10s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £10 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain: Salary, £25 0s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d Total as entered, £40 0s 0d John Thackery, chaplain: Salary, £10 19s 2d Diet money, £6 11s 6d Total as entered, £17 10s 8d Matthew Bazett, secretary: Salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper: Salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor: Salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Salary as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Total as entered, £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, factor: Salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £20 0s 0d Richard Law, factor: Salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Salary as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d Total as entered, £30 0s 0d David Alcock, writer: Salary, £5 0s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £17 10s 0d Carried forward, £475 1s 4d **Interpretations** The salary list fixes the change of government to the day. Hutchinson was paid as Governor up to 13 May 1764, and Skottowe drew a Lieutenant Governor's pay to the same date and a Governor's salary from 14 May 1764. This matches the gunner's account, which recorded the salute for Hutchinson boarding his ship on 13 May 1764 and the salute celebrating Skottowe's proclamation the following day. Diet money was an allowance paid in cash in place of meals at the Company's table, and house rent an allowance towards lodging for officers without Company quarters. Together they often exceeded the base salary, especially for junior staff. A factor's salary was the same as the house-rent and diet allowances combined for several officers on the list, which shows how much of the Company's pay came through allowances rather than wages. The ranks of writer and factor were the lower grades of the Company's civil service, through which young men advanced towards the posts of merchant and councillor. Low basic pay was topped up by holding a second office, as with Purling's post of accountant, William Wrangham's work as assistant storekeeper and Richard Law's service as assistant to the Governor. This practice gave the Company

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			several officers for the price of one establishment while rewarding the men it trusted most. The island had two chaplains, William Lee and John Thackery. Thackery was the same man who paid money into the Company's treasury on 6 July 1764 in return for bills of exchange payable in England.
370	366	List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants upon the Island St Helena with their several Salarys diet money &c. for the Quarter commencing the first day of April and ending the thirtieth day of June 1764 Chas. Hutchinson Esqr. Govr. Salary to the 13th of May inc.£58 18s 1d Ditto allowance for Servants as usual£14 19s 1d £73 17s 2d John Skottowe Esqr. Lieutenant Governor Saly. to the 13th May inc.£29 9s 0d Do. Diet money£11 15s 7½d Do. Governors Salary from May the 14th inc.£65 15s 0d Do. allowance for Servants from Do.£16 13s 10½d £123 13s 6d Matthew Purling of Council Salary£15 0s 0d Do. Accomptant£17 10s 0d Do. Diet money£15 0s 0d £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Salary£7 10s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £10 0s 0d William Lee Chaplain Salary£25 0s 0d Do. Diet money£15 0s 0d £40 0s 0d John Thackery Chaplain Salary£10 19s 2d Do. Diet money£6 11s 6d £17 10s 8d Matthew Bazett Secretary Salary£17 10s 0d Do. Diet money£15 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d James Powell Storekeeper Salary£17 10s 0d Do. Diet money£15 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £35 0s 0d William Wrangham Factors Salary£7 10s 0d Do. Diet money£10 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d Do. Assistant Storekeeper£5 0s 0d £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham Factors Salary£7 10s 0d Do. Diet money£10 0s 0d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £20 0s 0d Richard Law Factors Salary£7 10s 0d £10 0s 0d Do. Diet money£2 10s 0d Do. House Rent£10 0s 0d Do. Assistant to the Governor£5 0s 0d £30 0s 0d David Alcock Writers Salary£10 0s 0d Do. Diet money£2 10s 0d Do. House Rent£0 0s 0d £17 10s 0d Carried over £475 1s 4d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The storekeeper's account was followed by a list of the Company's officers and staff on St Helena, with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764. Each personal total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Charles Hutchinson, Governor: Salary to 13 May 1764 inclusive, £58 18s 1d Usual allowance for servants, £14 19s 1d Total as entered, £73 17s 2d John Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor and then Governor: Salary as Lieutenant Governor to 13 May 1764 inclusive, £29 9s 0d Diet money, £11 15s 7½d Salary as Governor from 14 May 1764 inclusive, £65 15s 0d Allowance for servants from 14 May 1764, £16 13s 10½d Total as entered, £123 13s 6d Matthew Purling, member of Council: Salary, £15 0s 0d Salary as accountant, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d Total as entered, £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, member of Council: Salary, £7 10s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £10 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain: Salary, £25 0s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d Total as entered, £40 0s 0d John Thackery, chaplain: Salary, £10 19s 2d Diet money, £6 11s 6d Total as entered, £17 10s 8d Matthew Bazett, secretary: Salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper: Salary, £17 10s 0d Diet money, £15 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor: Salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Salary as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Total as entered, £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, factor: Salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £20 0s 0d Richard Law, factor: Salary, £7 10s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d Salary as assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d Total as entered, £30 0s 0d David Alcock, writer: Salary, £5 0s 0d Diet money, £10 0s 0d House rent, £2 10s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			Total as entered, £17 10s 0d Carried forward, £475 1s 4d **Interpretations** The salary list fixes the change of government to the day. Governor Hutchinson was paid up to 13 May 1764, while Skottowe drew a Lieutenant Governor's pay to the same date and the Governor's salary from 14 May 1764. This matches the gunner's account, which recorded the salute for Hutchinson boarding his ship on 13 May 1764 and the salute celebrating Skottowe's proclamation the following day. Diet money was a cash allowance paid in place of meals at the Company's table, and house rent was an allowance towards lodging for officers who had no Company quarters. Both were paid alongside the basic salary, so an officer's income from the Company came as a bundle of separate payments rather than a single wage. The ranks of writer and factor were the lower grades of the Company's civil service, through which young men advanced towards the posts of merchant and councillor. Basic pay was supplemented by holding a second office, as with Purling's post of accountant, William Wrangham's work as assistant storekeeper and Richard Law's service as assistant to the Governor. The practice gave the Company several officers for the price of one establishment while rewarding the men it trusted most. The island had two chaplains, William Lee and John Thackery. Thackery was perhaps the same John Thackeray who paid money into the Company's treasury on 6 July 1764 in return for bills of exchange payable in England.
371	367	Brought over £753 16s 6d Solomon St Maurice Lieut. Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 15s 10½d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain Lieut. Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob Adjutant Salary£22 16s 3d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d £29 13s 1½d Serjeants Robert Cage£7 12s 1d John Tull£7 12s 1d John Steward£7 12s 1d Philip Matony£7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals Jonathan Lake£5 6s 6½d Silvanus Rolph reduced 21st of May 1764£2 19s 5d Do. Centinel from May 22d inc.£1 13s 4d Thomas Payne£5 6s 6½d William Crowder£5 6s 6½d £20 12s 2½d Drummers Richard Flatfoot£5 6s 6½d Henry Howell£5 6s 6½d £10 12s 11d Centinels John Allis£3 16s 0½d John Astinstall£3 16s 0½d John Allmin£3 16s 0½d John Allin discharged 23d of April£0 19s 2d Thomas Berwick£3 16s 0½d John William Blank discharged 9th April£0 7s 6d John Brown£3 16s 0½d William Blackman£3 16s 0½d William Baker discharged the 10th June£2 19s 2d John Beakman ent. 21st May£1 14s 5d	The list of the Company's officers and staff for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with the officers and men of the garrison. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £753 16s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 15s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant: Salary, £22 16s 3d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total as entered, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants: Robert Cage, £7 12s 1d John Tull, £7 12s 1d John Steward, £7 12s 1d Philip Malony, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total as entered, £30 8s 4d Corporals: Jonathan Lake, £5 6s 6½d Silvanus Kolph, as corporal until reduced in rank on 21 May 1764, £2 19s 5d Silvanus Kolph, as private from 22 May 1764 inclusive, £1 13s 4d Thomas Payne, £5 6s 6½d William [...], £5 6s 6½d Corporals, total as entered, £20 12s 2½d Drummers: Richard Flatfoot, £5 6s 6½d Henry Howell, £5 6s 6½d Drummers, total as entered, £10 12s 11d Privates: John Allis, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Centinels Carried over £28 16s 3d Carried over £900 6s 10d **Margin Notes:** 1764	John Astinstall, £3 16s 0½d John Allmin, £3 16s 0½d John Allin, discharged on 23 April 1764, £0 19s 2d Thomas Berwick, £3 16s 0½d John William Blank, discharged on 9 April 1764, £0 7s 6d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d William Baker, discharged on 10 June 1764, £2 19s 2d John Beakman, enlisted on 21 May 1764, £1 14s 5d Privates, carried forward, £28 16s 3d Carried forward, £900 6s 10d **Interpretations** Pay in the garrison was fixed by rank and paid only for the days a man actually held it. Silvanus Kolph's reduction from corporal on 21 May 1764 appears as two separate entries, one at a corporal's rate up to that date and one at a private's rate afterwards. Men discharged or enlisted during the quarter, such as John Allin, William Baker and John Beakman, received pay for their days of service alone, so the muster served as a precise record of each soldier's time. Sentinel was the term then used for a private soldier. Demotion to that rank was the usual punishment for a non-commissioned officer found guilty of neglect or misconduct, and it carried an immediate loss of pay. The adjutant was the officer responsible for the garrison's day-to-day administration and discipline, including drill, guard rosters and the keeping of the muster rolls. His place in the list directly beneath the lieutenants reflects that senior administrative role.
372	368	Brought over £900 6s 10d Centinels brought over£28 16s 3d William Bunn Entd. 22d May£1 13s 4d Thomas Blake Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d Henry Crabb Entd. 6th June£1 0s 10d Edward Cocker£3 16s 0½d Isaac Day£3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley£3 16s 0½d John Davis£3 16s 0½d Edward Davis£3 16s 0½d John Dove£3 16s 0½d James Drake Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d Thomas Durham Entd. 11th June£0 16s 8d Samuel Eales£3 16s 0½d Adam Evans£3 16s 0½d John Finin£3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish£3 16s 0½d William French£3 16s 0½d Jonathan Godby£3 16s 0½d James Hall£3 16s 0½d William Hawkes£3 16s 0½d William Hebert£3 16s 0½d William Henderson£3 16s 0½d James Hodge£3 16s 0½d William Johnson£3 16s 0½d George Kibbett£3 16s 0½d Richard Knight£3 16s 0½d William Luke£3 16s 0½d Charles Lewis deserted the 5th May£1 9s 2d Richard Lawrence discharged 17th June£3 5s 0d Duncan McLaron£3 16s 0½d William Mumford£3 16s 0½d John May£3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall£3 16s 0½d Thomas Marr£3 16s 0½d John Pickering£3 16s 0½d William Pawter£3 16s 0½d Thomas Price£3 16s 0½d	The list of the garrison's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with the privates. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £900 6s 10d Privates, brought forward, £28 16s 3d William Bunn, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d Thomas Blake, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d Henry Crabb, enlisted on 6 June 1764, £1 0s 10d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d Thomas Durham, enlisted on 11 June 1764, £0 16s 8d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, £3 16s 0½d John Finin, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, £3 16s 0½d William French, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Godly, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, £3 16s 0½d William Hawkes, £3 16s 0½d William Hebert, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, £3 16s 0½d James Hodge, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d George Kibbett, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d William Luke, £3 16s 0½d Charles Lewis, deserted on 5 May 1764, £1 9s 2d Richard Lawrence, discharged on 17 June 1764, £3 5s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Parfitt Entd. 22d May transfd. to the Artillery Company 6 June£0 12s 6d Centinels Carried over £148 0s 7d Carried over £900 6s 10d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	Duncan McLaren, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d John May, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marr, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d William Pawter, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price, £3 16s 0½d James Parfitt, enlisted on 22 May 1764 and transferred to the Artillery Company on 5 June 1764, £0 12s 6d Privates, carried forward, £148 0s 7d Carried forward, £900 6s 10d **Interpretations** Thomas Durham, entered as enlisting on 11 June 1764, was the man left behind by the *Falmouth* whom the Council took into the Company's service that day with a bounty of £5 0s 0d. His appearance on the pay list shows the bounty recorded in council being followed by regular pay from the day of enlistment. Charles Lewis deserted on 5 May 1764 and was paid only up to that date. On an island where every departure required a ship, desertion usually meant slipping aboard a vessel in the road, which explains why the Council sent Matthew Purling to muster the crews of departing ships and search them for deserters, as recorded on 5 June 1764 and 6 July 1764. James Parfitt served only a few weeks as a private before transferring to the Artillery Company. The Company kept its gunners as a separate unit with its own pay list, drawing men from the infantry who showed aptitude for working the heavy guns in the island's batteries.
373	369	Brought over £900 6s 10d Centinels brought over£149 0s 7d Michael Read£3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts£3 16s 0½d Anthony Read£3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom£3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds made Corporal 21st May£2 2s 6d Do. Corporal from the 22d May inc.£2 6s 8d William Robinson£3 16s 0½d George Rowe£3 16s 0½d William Roebuck discharged 17th June£3 5s 0d William Rowlands£3 16s 0½d William Swabey£3 16s 0½d Henry Schaeffer discharged 2d April£0 1s 8d John Springthorpe£3 16s 0½d John Stewart£3 16s 0½d Joseph Stacey£3 16s 0½d Andrews Julican discharged the 10th June£2 19s 2d Edward Terry£3 16s 0½d John Taylor£3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington£3 16s 0½d William Tipper Entd. 22d May£1 13s 4d Luke Vernon£3 16s 0½d John Willingdale£3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler£3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise£3 16s 0½d William Watkins discharged 10th June£2 19s 2d Thomas Windall£3 16s 0½d Thomas Warn£3 16s 0½d John Weston£3 16s 0½d George Wall Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d Richard Toucas£3 16s 0½d William Yates£3 16s 0½d £255 15s 5d Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Carried over £1201 14s 9d **Margin Notes:**	The list of the garrison's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with the rest of the privates. The heading for a second company followed. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £900 6s 10d Privates, brought forward, £148 0s 7d Michael Read, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Read, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reynolds, as private until promoted to corporal on 21 May 1764, £2 2s 6d Anthony Reynolds, as corporal from 22 May 1764 inclusive, £2 6s 8d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d George Rowe, £3 16s 0½d William Roebuck, discharged on 17 June 1764, £3 5s 0d William Rowlands, £3 16s 0½d William Swaley, £3 16s 0½d Henry Schaffer, discharged on 2 April 1764, £0 1s 8d John Springthorpe, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Stacey, £3 16s 0½d Andrew Sullivan, discharged on 10 June 1764, £2 19s 2d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington, £3 16s 0½d William Tipper, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d John Willingdale, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, £3 16s 0½d William Watkins, discharged on 10 June 1764, £2 19s 2d Thomas Windall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Warn, £3 16s 0½d

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		1764	John Weston, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d Richard Youcas, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, £3 16s 0½d Privates, total as entered, £255 15s 5d Second Company: Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Carried forward, £1,201 14s 9d **Interpretations** Anthony Reynolds was promoted to corporal on 21 May 1764, the same day that Silvanus Kolph was reduced from corporal to private. The dates show a vacancy being filled at once, with one man's demotion opening the rank for another. The garrison kept a fixed establishment of non-commissioned officers, so a corporal's post could not be left empty or doubled. The heading of a second company shows that the garrison was organised into separate companies, each under its own captain and with its own pay list. The first company's privates ended with William Yates, and Henry Bazett's salary as captain opened the accounts of the second.
374	370	Brought over £1201 14s 9d Michael Frost Lieut. Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d John Ware Welch Lieut. Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Serjeants John Bazett£7 12s 1d John Burnham discharged 7 April£0 11s 8d William Conquest£7 12s 1d William Beale£7 12s 1d £23 7s 11d Corporals William Bell to the 7th April inc. made Serjeant£0 8s 2d Do. Serjeant from 8th April inc.£7 0s 0d Thomas Wiffington£5 6s 5½d William Hayes£5 6s 5½d John Forbes to the 28th of May inc. reduced£3 7s 8d Do. Centinel from the 29th of May inc.£1 7s 6d £22 16s 3d Drummers Robert Davis£5 6s 5½d Francis Evans£5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Samuel Alden£3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks£3 16s 0½d William Beech£3 16s 0½d William Brooks£3 16s 0½d Peter Brown discharged the 17th June£3 5s 0d Robert Brown£3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown£3 16s 0½d Thomas Bott£3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell£3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over £33 13s 4d Carried over £1311 6s 7d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The list of the garrison's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with the officers and men of the second company. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £1,201 14s 9d Michael Frost, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £27 11s 10½d John Ware Welch, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total as entered, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: John Bazett, £7 12s 1d John Burnham, discharged on 7 April 1764, £0 11s 8d William Conquest, £7 12s 1d William Beale, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total as entered, £23 7s 11d Corporals: William Bell, as corporal to 7 April 1764 inclusive before promotion to sergeant, £0 8s 2d William Bell, as sergeant from 8 April 1764 inclusive, £7 0s 0d Thomas Wiffington, £5 6s 5½d William Hayks, £5 6s 5½d John Forbes, as corporal to 28 May 1764 inclusive before reduction in rank, £3 7s 8d John Forbes, as private from 29 May 1764 inclusive, £1 7s 6d Corporals, total as entered, £22 16s 3d Drummers: Robert Davis, £5 6s 5½d Francis [...], £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total as entered, £10 12s 11d Privates: Samuel Alden, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d William Beech, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Peter Brown, discharged on 17 June 1764, £3 5s 0d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bott, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell, £3 16s 0½d Privates, carried forward, £33 13s 4d Carried forward, £1,311 6s 7d **Interpretations**

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			William Bell's promotion to sergeant on 8 April 1764 followed the discharge of Sergeant John Burnham on 7 April 1764. As in the first company, where Anthony Reynolds replaced the demoted Silvanus Kolph, the vacancy was filled the very next day, keeping each company's complement of non-commissioned officers intact. John Forbes was the second corporal in the quarter to lose his rank, reduced to private on 29 May 1764. The pay list records such changes with dates precise to the day because each rank carried its own daily rate, and every alteration had to be accounted for when the quarter's wages were settled.
375	371	Brought over £1311 5s 7d Centinels brought over£33 13s 4d Daniel Bay£3 16s 0½d James Byrne£3 16s 0½d William Becket died 10th May£1 13s 4d William Clay to the 7th April made Corporal£0 5s 10d Do. from April the 8th inc. Corporal£4 13s 0d John Carr£3 16s 0½d Edward Couzens£3 16s 0½d Samuel Curd£3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly£3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens£3 16s 0½d John Dobson£3 16s 0½d David Dennis£3 16s 0½d William Drinnan Entd. 22d May£1 13s 4d John Dickerson discharged 10th June£2 19s 2d Thomas Eastwood£3 16s 0½d George Exton£3 16s 0½d Richard Essex£3 16s 0½d William Finch£3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford£3 16s 0½d William Fulwood£3 16s 0½d William Fry£3 16s 0½d George Freeman£3 16s 0½d John Fish Entd. 22d May£1 13s 4d William Greenough to the 28th Made Corporal£2 8s 4d Do. Corporal from the 29th May inc.£1 18s 6d Thomas Greenslade£3 16s 0½d John Goodsall£3 16s 0½d John Grey£3 16s 0½d Robert Green Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d John Holbrook£3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding£3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding£3 16s 0½d John Hawkwood£3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over £123 14s 4d Carried over £1311 5s 7d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The list of the second company's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with its privates. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £1,311 5s 7d Privates, brought forward, £33 13s 4d Daniel Bay, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, £3 16s 0½d William Becket, died on 10 May 1764, £1 13s 4d William Clay, as private to 7 April 1764 before promotion to corporal, £0 5s 10d William Clay, as corporal from 8 April 1764 inclusive, £4 13s 0d John Carr, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cousens, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Curd, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens, £3 16s 0½d John Dobson, £3 16s 0½d David Dennis, £3 16s 0½d William Drinnan, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d John Dickerson, discharged on 10 June 1764, £2 19s 2d Thomas Eastwood, £3 16s 0½d George Exton, £3 16s 0½d Richard Essex, £3 16s 0½d William Finch, £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford, £3 16s 0½d William Fulwood, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, £3 16s 0½d George Freeman, £3 16s 0½d John Fish, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d William Greenough, as private to 28 May 1764 before promotion to corporal, £2 8s 4d William Greenough, as corporal from 29 May 1764 inclusive, £1 18s 6d Thomas Greenslade, £3 16s 0½d John Goodsall, £3 16s 0½d John Grey, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d John Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d John Hawkwood, £3 16s 0½d Privates, carried forward, £123 14s 4d Carried forward, £1,311 5s 7d **Interpretations** William Becket, who died on 10 May 1764, was the William Beckett whose funeral the gunner recorded in his account of powder used in May. The pay list and the artillery account together show the garrison burying one of its own privates with a volley of musketry. The dates of promotion in this company reveal a chain of vacancies being filled. William Bell became sergeant on 8 April 1764 after Sergeant John Burnham was discharged, and on the same day William Clay was raised to corporal in Bell's place. Later, John Forbes was reduced from corporal on 28 May 1764, and William Greenough was promoted to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			corporal from 29 May 1764. Each change at one level opened a post at the level below, and the Company filled it without delay. Several men enlisted on 22 May 1764 across both companies, including William Drinnan, John Fish and Robert Green here. This suggests a single recruiting drive on that date, perhaps drawing on seamen or passengers from ships then lying in the road.
376	372	Brought over £1311 5s 7d Centinels brought over£143 14s 4d Samuel Hylis£3 16s 0½d William Hockley£3 16s 0½d John Holloway died 4th April£0 3s 4d James Hodson£3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands£3 16s 0½d James Huxley discharged 10th June£2 19s 2d William Harris Senr.£3 16s 0½d William Harris Junr.£3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone£3 16s 0½d Richard Jams£3 16s 0½d William Johnson£3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan£3 16s 0½d Samuel Nixon£3 16s 0½d Evan Knowls£3 16s 0½d Edmon Leek£3 16s 0½d John Lewis£3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge£3 16s 0½d Thomas Nuson£3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry£3 16s 0½d William Pinchin£3 16s 0½d Roger Philips£3 16s 0½d Abram Renno£3 16s 0½d John Christian Strife£3 16s 0½d Thomas Sowers£3 16s 0½d Benj. Stringer£3 16s 0½d William Stableford Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d Thomas James Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d William Taylor£3 16s 0½d John Tucker£3 16s 0½d Avery Trueman£3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansel£3 16s 0½d Thomas Wyatt Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d George Watts discharged 17th June£3 5s 0d £258 2s 1½d Third Company Richard Beale Captain Salary £45 12s 6d Carried over £1615 0s 2½d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The list of the second company's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 ended with the rest of its privates. The heading for a third company followed. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £1,311 5s 7d Privates, brought forward, £143 14s 4d Samuel Hylis, £3 16s 0½d William Hockley, £3 16s 0½d John Holloway, died on 4 April 1764, £0 3s 4d James Hodson, £3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands, £3 16s 0½d James Huxley, discharged on 10 June 1764, £2 19s 2d William Harris the elder, £3 16s 0½d William Harris the younger, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Nixon, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 0½d Edmon Leech, £3 16s 0½d John Lewis, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Newton, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry, £3 16s 0½d William Pinchin, £3 16s 0½d Roger Philips, £3 16s 0½d Abram Renno, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Stoss, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Sowers, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, £3 16s 0½d William Stafford, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d Thomas James, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, £3 16s 0½d Avery Trueman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wassel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wyatt, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d George Watts, discharged on 17 June 1764, £3 5s 0d Privates, total as entered, £258 2s 1½d Third Company: Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Carried forward, £1,615 0s 2½d **Interpretations** Two privates named William Harris served side by side, distinguished as the elder and the younger. They were perhaps father and son, both enlisted in the same company. Island-born men such as James Moyce, taken on in July 1764, show that the garrison drew recruits from settled families as well as from passing ships, and a father and son serving together would fit that pattern.
377	373	Brought over £1615 0s 2½d Thomas Bazett Lieut. Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d John Bridgewaters Lieutenant Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d	The list of the garrison's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with the officers and men of the third company. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £1,615 0s 2½d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Serjeants Roger Welwan£7 12s 1d George Bazett£7 12s 1d John Robinson£7 12s 1d John Lemon£7 12s 1d £30 8s 4d Corporals William Hill£5 6s 5½d Fisher Gamble£5 6s 5½d William Robinson£5 6s 5½d John Maurice£5 6s 5½d £21 5s 10d Drummers John Twaits£5 6s 5½d John Waters£5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Centinels Richard Ashford£3 16s 0½d Thomas Abby£3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams£3 16s 0½d James Anderson£3 16s 0½d Henry Brown£3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill£3 16s 0½d Mark Balls£3 16s 0½d Benj. Bennett£3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard£3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorn£3 16s 0½d James Bottomly£3 16s 0½d James Brown discharged 10th June£2 19s 2d William Caleb Baldwin Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d Joseph Boakmans Do.£1 13s 4d Centinels Carried over £101 7s 10½d Carried over £1952 11s 0½d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £27 11s 10½d John Bridgewaters, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: Roger Welman, £7 12s 1d George Bazett, £7 12s 1d John Robinson, £7 12s 1d John Lemon, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total as entered, £30 8s 4d Corporals: William Hill, £5 6s 5½d Fisher Gamble, £5 6s 5½d William Robinson, £5 6s 5½d John Maurice, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total as entered, £21 5s 10d Drummers: John Twaits, £5 6s 5½d John Waters, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total as entered, £10 12s 11d Privates: Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abby, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill, £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, £3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorn, £3 16s 0½d James Bottomly, £3 16s 0½d James Brown, discharged on 10 June 1764, £2 19s 2d William Caleb Baldwin, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d Joseph Boakmans, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d Privates, carried forward, £101 17s 10½d Carried forward, £1,952 11s 0½d **Interpretations** The Bazett name appears repeatedly across the island's establishment. Matthew Bazett was the Council's secretary and signed the livestock returns, Henry Bazett commanded the second company, Thomas Bazett was a lieutenant in the third and John and George Bazett served as sergeants. They were perhaps members of a single island family whose sons filled posts in both the civil administration and the garrison, a pattern common in small colonial settlements where the Company relied on established families for officers and non-commissioned officers.
378	374	Brot. over £1952 11s 0d Centinels brought over John Cork£3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain£3 16s 0½d William Clifton£3 16s 0½d William Carr£3 16s 0½d Michael Downey£3 16s 0½d Robert Davis£3 16s 0½d Baron Delof Entd. 9 April£3 9s 2d William Dicks died 7th April£0 5s 10d Charles Eyles£3 16s 0½d Samuel Eagle£3 16s 0½d William Foster£3 16s 0½d Alexander Grey£3 16s 0½d William Gordon Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d Felix Hopper£3 16s 0½d John Hilliard£3 16s 0½d John Herring£3 16s 0½d	The list of the third company's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with its privates. Brought forward, £1,952 11s 0d Privates, brought forward John Cork, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d William Clifton, £3 16s 0½d William Carr, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, £3 16s 0½d Baron Deloff, enlisted on 9 April 1764, £3 9s 2d William Dicks, died on 7 April 1764, £0 5s 10d Charles Eyles, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Cage, £3 16s 0½d William Foster, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray, £3 16s 0½d William Gordon, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d

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		Thomas Johes£3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson£3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson£3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d Robert Jewhurst discharged 2d April£0 7s 6d James Kemp£3 16s 0½d James Lee£3 16s 0½d Richard Linney£3 16s 0½d John Long£3 16s 0½d John Langridge£3 16s 0½d Edward Lamburn£3 16s 0½d Bryan Lynch£3 16s 0½d Charles Montague£3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce£3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris£3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews£3 16s 0½d John Miller£3 16s 0½d Abram Mayo£3 16s 0½d Peter Nelson£3 16s 0½d Darby O'Brien discharged 10th June£2 19s 2d John Passwater£3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry£3 16s 0½d James Proctor£3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchon£3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over £141 2s 7½d Carried over £1952 11s 0d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	Felix Hyder, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d Robert Jewhurst, discharged on 2 April 1764, £0 7s 6d James Kemp, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lamburn, £3 16s 0½d Bryan Lynch, £3 16s 0½d Charles Montague, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morriss, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, £3 16s 0½d John Miller, £3 16s 0½d Abram Mayo, £3 16s 0½d Peter Nelson, £3 16s 0½d Darby O'Brien, discharged on 10 June 1764, £2 19s 2d John Passwater, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 0½d James Proctor, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen, £3 16s 0½d Privates, carried forward, £141 2s 7½d Carried forward, £1,952 11s 0d
379	375	Brought over £1952 11s 0d Centinels brought over£141 2s 7½d Thomas Pearce£3 16s 0½d David Patton£3 16s 0½d William Roberts£3 16s 0½d Robert Stack£3 16s 0½d Adam Scott£3 16s 0½d David Scott£3 16s 0½d John Smith£3 16s 0½d Thomas Simkins£3 16s 0½d John Thompson£3 16s 0½d Joseph Uppin£3 16s 0½d John Vaughan£3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent£3 16s 0½d John Wyburd£3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward£3 16s 0½d Stepn. Ward£3 16s 0½d Edward Walsh£3 16s 0½d James York£3 16s 0½d William Yates£3 16s 0½d £255 14s 9½d Fourth Company John Howard Captains Salary £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune Lieutenant Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert Lieut. Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Serjeants John Fleming£7 12s 1d Thomas Ferns discharged 10th June£5 18s 4d George Hillesheim discharged 14 April£1 3s 4d Richard Wright£7 12s 1d £22 5s 10d Corporals Thomas Bailey to 14th April inc. made Serjeant£0 16s 4d Do. Serjeant from 15 April inc.£6 8s 4d	The list of the third company's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 ended with its remaining privates. The officers and men of a fourth company followed. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £1,952 11s 0d Privates, brought forward, £141 2s 7½d Thomas Pearn, £3 16s 0½d David Patton, £3 16s 0½d William Roberts, £3 16s 0½d Robert Slack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Simkins, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Upjin, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, £3 16s 0½d John Wyburd, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch, £3 16s 0½d James York, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, £3 16s 0½d Privates, total as entered, £256 14s 9½d Fourth Company: John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laure, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Fleming, £7 12s 1d Thomas Ferris, discharged on 10 June 1764, £5 18s 4d George Hillesheim, discharged on 14 April 1764, £1 3s 4d

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		John Carey to 10 June made Serjeant£4 2s 10d Do. Serjeant from 11th June inc.£1 13s 4d John Simcox£5 6s 5½d Alexr. Groombridge£5 6s 5½d £23 13s 9d Drummers George Wills£5 6s 5½d John Slade£5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Carried over £2146 4s 7d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Richard Wright, £7 12s 1d Sergeants, total as entered, £22 5s 10d Corporals: Thomas Bailey, as corporal to 14 April 1764 inclusive before promotion to sergeant, £0 16s 4d Thomas Bailey, as sergeant from 15 April 1764 inclusive, £6 8s 4d John Carey, as corporal to 10 June 1764 before promotion to sergeant, £4 2s 10d John Carey, as sergeant from 11 June 1764 inclusive, £1 13s 4d John Simcox, £5 6s 5½d Alexander Groombridge, £5 6s 5½d Corporals, total as entered, £23 13s 9d Drummers: George Wills, £5 6s 5½d John Slade, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total as entered, £10 12s 1d Carried forward, £2,146 4s 7d **Interpretations** Sergeant Thomas Ferris, discharged on 10 June 1764, was the man who petitioned the Council on 11 June 1764 for his release, having completed the term of his contract. The pay list shows his wages running to the day before the Council granted his request. Corporal John Carey was promoted to sergeant from 11 June 1764 to take his place, just as Thomas Bailey had replaced George Hillesheim in April.
380	376	Brought over £2126 4s 7d Centinels Daniel Armin Entd. 9th April 14th inc. made Corporal£0 5s 0d Do. Corporal from 15th April inc.£4 9s 10d John Allen£3 16s 0½d George Bennet£3 16s 0½d John Blackwell£3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell£3 16s 0½d Michael Brown£3 16s 0½d Jacob Bernard£3 16s 0½d John Brook£3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff£3 16s 0½d Robert Bosely Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d James Cartwright£3 16s 0½d George Capeling£3 16s 0½d William Cooksby Entd. 13th April£3 5s 10d Duncan Cameron£3 16s 0½d James Colgher£3 16s 0½d John Cunningham£3 16s 0½d Richard Cose£3 16s 0½d Josiah Cummings£3 16s 0½d Henry Davis£3 16s 0½d Edward Davis£3 16s 0½d John Deal Entd. 22 May£1 13s 4d John Eustone£3 16s 0½d George Green£3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding£3 16s 0½d John Gilmore£3 16s 0½d Joseph Gilder£3 16s 0½d Edward German£3 16s 0½d Joseph Good£3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes£3 16s 0½d Henry Harenbough£3 16s 0½d James Hendrie£3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard£3 16s 0½d John Howsdon£3 16s 0½d Stephen John£3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson£3 16s 0½d William Lambton£3 16s 0½d Centinels Carried over £135 0s 8d Carried over £2146 4s 7d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The list of the fourth company's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with its privates. Brought forward, £2,146 4s 7d Privates: Daniel Armin, enlisted on 9 April 1764, as private to 14 April 1764 inclusive before promotion to corporal, £0 5s 0d Daniel Armin, as corporal from 15 April 1764 inclusive, £4 9s 10d John Allen, £3 16s 0½d George Bennet, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Michael Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Bernard, £3 16s 0½d John Brook, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, £3 16s 0½d Robert Bosely, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksby, enlisted on 13 April 1764, £3 5s 10d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Colgher, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d Richard Cose, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Cummings, £3 16s 0½d Henry Davis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Deal, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d John Eustone, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Gilder, £3 16s 0½d Edward German, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hailes, £3 16s 0½d Henry Harenburgh, £3 16s 0½d James Hendrie, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Howston, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d William Lampton, £3 16s 0½d

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			Privates, carried forward, £105 0s 8d Carried forward, £2,146 4s 7d **Interpretations** Daniel Armin enlisted on 9 April 1764 and was made a corporal only six days later, on the same day that Thomas Bailey moved up to sergeant. Promotion so soon after joining suggests Armin arrived with previous military service, perhaps as a soldier discharged or left behind from a passing ship, and the Company used his experience to fill the vacancy at once.
381	377	Brought over £2146 4s 7d Centinels brought over£133 0s 8d William Laroche£3 16s 0½d Thomas Ley£3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyon Entd. 11th June£0 16s 8d John Marsh discharged 13th April£0 10s 10d John Baptist Mitchland Discharged 2d April£0 1s 8d Richard Moreton£3 16s 0½d Simon Mason£3 16s 0½d Murdock McLeod£3 16s 0½d John McAllister£3 16s 0½d John McDonald£3 16s 0½d William Mitchel£3 16s 0½d Jonathan Mallett£3 16s 0½d George Marshall£3 16s 0½d John Newton£3 16s 0½d Martin Newman£3 16s 0½d John Oswald£3 16s 0½d Thomas Perrin£3 16s 0½d Francis Powell£3 16s 0½d John Pluck£3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick Entd. 22d May£1 13s 4d James Richardson£3 16s 0½d Patrick Ryley£3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford£3 16s 0½d John Scotcher£3 16s 0½d John Shaw£3 16s 0½d William Scotman£3 16s 0½d John Swindall£3 16s 0½d James Shadd discharged the 10th June£2 19s 2d John Smith Do.£2 19s 2d John Sheens made Corporal the 10th June£2 19s 2d Do. Corporal from 11th June inc.£1 3s 4d Zedekiah Saunderson£3 16s 0½d Frederick Shaffer£3 16s 0½d William Stedman£3 16s 0½d Thomas Tuffnel£3 16s 0½d John Thomson£3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wharrel£3 16s 0½d William Wells£3 16s 0½d William Waite£3 16s 0½d £264 1s 3½d Carried over £2410 5s 10½d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The list of the fourth company's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with the rest of its privates. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £2,146 4s 7d Privates, brought forward, £133 0s 8d William Laroche, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyon, enlisted on 11 June 1764, £0 16s 8d John March, discharged on 13 April 1764, £0 10s 10d John Baptist Mitchland, discharged on 2 April 1764, £0 1s 8d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Murdock McLeod, £3 16s 0½d John McAllister, £3 16s 0½d John McDonald, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchel, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Mallett, £3 16s 0½d George Marshall, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d Morton Newman, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perrin, £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell, £3 16s 0½d John Pluck, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, enlisted on 22 May 1764, £1 13s 4d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Ryley, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Scotman, £3 16s 0½d John Swindall, £3 16s 0½d James Shadd, discharged on 10 June 1764, £2 19s 2d John Smith, discharged on 10 June 1764, £2 19s 2d John Sheens, as private to 10 June 1764 before promotion to corporal, £2 19s 2d John Sheens, as corporal from 11 June 1764 inclusive, £1 3s 4d Zedekiah Saunderson, £3 16s 0½d Frederick Shaffer, £3 16s 0½d William Stedman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Tuffnel, £3 16s 0½d John Thomson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wherril, £3 16s 0½d William Wells, £3 16s 0½d William Waite, £3 16s 0½d Privates, total as entered, £284 1s 3½d Carried forward, £2,410 15s 10½d **Interpretations** John Baptist Mitchland, discharged on 2 April 1764, was the former soldier whose trading the Council condemned on 2 July 1764. The Council recorded that his term of service had expired in March and that he had then applied for and received his discharge. The pay list confirms the date and shows him drawing only a couple of days' pay in the

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			quarter, after which he was a civilian subject to the Council's order to leave the island. Thomas Lyon, enlisted on 11 June 1764, was the man left behind by the *Princess Augusta* whom the Council took into service that day alongside Thomas Durham. John Sheens was promoted to corporal from the same date, filling the place of John Carey, who had moved up to sergeant on the discharge of Thomas Ferris.
382	378	Brought over £2410 5s 10½d Artillery Company Thomas Hall Capt. Salary £45 12s 6d Nathan Sampel Lieut. Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d £25 1s 10½d Thomas Leech Lieut. Salary£18 5s 0d Do. Diet money£6 16s 10½d Do. House Rent£2 10s 0d £27 11s 10½d Serjeants John Whitchurch£9 2s 6d Adam Watson£9 2s 6d John Shirtley£9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse£9 2s 6d £36 10s 0d Corporals James Long£6 16s 10½d John Jacks£6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor£6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones£6 16s 10½d £27 7s 6d Bombardiers George Nilson£6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham£6 16s 10½d Andrew Baxter£6 16s 10½d William Hodges£6 16s 10½d £27 7s 6d Gunners William Fletcher£6 1s 8d John Cox£6 1s 8d Thomas Collier£6 1s 8d John Grainger£6 1s 8d Robert Gibson£6 1s 8d Nichl. Houghton£6 1s 8d John Jack£6 1s 8d Eustace White£6 1s 8d £48 13s 4d Carried over £2675 10s 5½d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The list of the garrison's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with the Artillery Company. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £2,410 15s 10½d Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Sampel, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d Total as entered, £25 1s 10½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant: Salary, £18 5s 0d Diet money, £6 16s 10½d House rent, £2 10s 0d Total as entered, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d John Shirtley, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, £9 2s 6d Sergeants, total as entered, £36 10s 0d Corporals: James Long, £6 16s 10½d John Jacks, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones, £6 16s 10½d Corporals, total as entered, £27 7s 6d Bombardiers: George Nelson, £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham, £6 16s 10½d Andrew Baxter, £6 16s 10½d William Hodges, £6 16s 10½d Bombardiers, total as entered, £27 7s 6d Gunners: William Fletcher, £6 1s 8d John Cox, £6 1s 8d Thomas Collier, £6 1s 8d John Grainger, £6 1s 8d Robert Gibson, £6 1s 8d Nicholas Houghton, £6 1s 8d John Jack, £6 1s 8d Eustace White, £6 1s 8d Gunners, total as entered, £48 13s 4d Carried forward, £2,675 10s 5½d **Interpretations** Thomas Hall, captain of the Artillery Company, was the officer who signed the monthly accounts of artillery stores for May and June 1764. As commander of the island's gunners he was responsible for every pound of powder fired in salutes, alarms and funerals, which explains why those accounts came to the Council under his name. The artillerymen were paid at higher rates than the infantry. An artillery sergeant received £9 2s 6d for the quarter against £7 12s 1d for an infantry sergeant, and even an ordinary gunner drew more than an infantry corporal. Working heavy guns demanded training in loading, aiming and the handling of powder, and the higher pay reflected the skill and the danger of the work. It also explains why James Parfitt's transfer from the infantry to the Artillery Company on 5 June 1764 was worth recording. Bombardiers ranked between corporals and gunners in the artillery. The title originally denoted

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			men who served mortars and prepared the explosive shells they fired, and by this date it marked a junior non-commissioned grade with specialist duties in handling ammunition.
383	379	Brought over £2675 10s 5½d Drummers George Gerrard£5 6s 5½d Robert Saunders£5 6s 5½d £10 12s 11d Matrosses William Benson£4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton£4 11s 3d William Brown£4 11s 3d Isaac Buck£4 11s 3d Richard Broom£4 11s 3d John Bower£4 11s 3d John Coop£4 11s 3d John Criswell£4 11s 3d Thomas Clark£4 11s 3d Edmond Conner£4 11s 3d Wm. McCullough£4 11s 3d Adam Chricton£4 11s 3d John Doudge£4 11s 3d Edward Currant discharged 21st June£3 6s 6d Daniel Finn£4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling£4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows£4 11s 3d Christian Greenawald£4 11s 3d Laurence Hall£4 11s 3d James Hill discharged 4th April£0 4s 0d William Johnson£4 11s 3d Richard Kempton£4 11s 3d Daniel Maloney£4 11s 3d John Martin£4 11s 3d Barnard Millard£4 11s 3d Esau Newland£4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble£4 11s 3d William Phillips£4 11s 3d William Poulton£4 11s 3d James Parfit Entd. 6th June£1 5s 0d Christr. Reynolds£4 11s 3d John Slater£4 11s 3d Saml. Smith£4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith£4 11s 3d John Smith£4 11s 3d William Snelson£4 11s 3d John Turner£4 11s 3d John Thomason£4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor£4 11s 3d Daniel Tongue£4 11s 3d Thomas Watts£4 11s 3d John Wibly£4 11s 3d Richard Willman£4 11s 3d Nathanl. Young£4 11s 3d £195 16s 3d £2850 19s 7½d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The list of the Artillery Company's pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764 continued with its drummers and matrosses. Each group total below is the clerk's own figure as entered in the manuscript. Brought forward, £2,675 10s 5½d Drummers: George Gerrard, £5 6s 5½d Robert Saunders, £5 6s 5½d Drummers, total as entered, £10 12s 11d Matrosses: William Benson, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 3d William Brown, £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck, £4 11s 3d Richard Broom, £4 11s 3d John Bower, £4 11s 3d John Coop, £4 11s 3d John Criswell, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner, £4 11s 3d William McCullough, £4 11s 3d Adam Chricken, £4 11s 3d John Dowdle, £4 11s 3d Edward Currant, discharged on 21 June 1764, £3 16s 6d Daniel Finn, £4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 3d Christian Greenawald, £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hull, £4 11s 3d James Hill, discharged on 4 April 1764, £0 4s 0d William Johnson, £4 11s 3d Richard Kempton, £4 11s 3d Daniel Maloney, £4 11s 3d John Martin, £4 11s 3d Barnard Millard, £4 11s 3d Esau Newland, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, £4 11s 3d James Parfitt, joined on 6 June 1764, £1 5s 0d Christopher Reynolds, £4 11s 3d John Slater, £4 11s 3d Samuel Smith, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 3d John Smith, £4 11s 3d William Snelson, £4 11s 3d John Turner, £4 11s 3d John Thomason, £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor, £4 11s 3d Daniel Tongue, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d John Webly, £4 11s 3d Richard Wellman, £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young, £4 11s 3d Matrosses, total as entered, £175 16s 3d Carried forward, £2,850 19s 7½d **Interpretations** Matrosses were the lowest rank in the artillery, soldiers who assisted the trained gunners by hauling guns into position, sponging and loading them and handling the ammunition. They learned the work alongside the gunners and could rise to that grade in time. Their quarterly pay of £4 11s 3d, written against each name, stood above the £3 16s 0½d paid to an infantry private. James Parfitt appears here as joining the Artillery Company on 6 June 1764, the day after the infantry pay list recorded his transfer on 5 June 1764. The two entries together show his pay switching from the

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			infantry rate to the matross rate with no gap and no overlap.
384	380	1764 Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr. To Cash received £4202 17s 6½d Carried over £4202 17s 6½d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The paymaster's own account for the quarter opened with a debit charged to Thomas Kirkpatrick. Cash received, £4,202 17s 6½d Carried forward, £4,202 17s 6½d **Interpretations** The paymaster's accounts presented to the Council on 16 July 1764 were kept in Thomas Kirkpatrick's own name, which shows that he held the office of paymaster alongside his seat on the Council. Charging the cash he drew from the treasury to a personal account made him answerable for every penny until he could show, on the facing side, how it had been paid out in salaries, wages and allowances. Any shortfall between what he received and what he could account for would stand as a debt against him personally rather than against the Company.
385	381	1764 Per Contra Cr. By Cash paid Captain Vincent for Sheep Flour &ca. brought from the Cape £61 5s 0d By Cash paid the Surgeon of the Ship Duke of Richmond for his Care of twenty Recruits from England @ 5/ ea. £5 0s 0d By Cash paid Captain Godfrey for Stores bought for the use of the Table £10 2s 9d By Cash paid thirteen Men belonging to the Mercury Snow two Months Wages £50 10s 0d By Cash paid Charles Purefoy discharged from the Mercury Snow £17 15s 0d By Cash paid George Wade Surgeon discharged from Do. £26 10s 6d May 3 By Cash paid Robert Fleming Do. Do. £1 5s 7½d By Cash paid William Potter Do. Do. £20 0s 0d By Cash paid William Isaac Ford for ten days Work on the Fly Cutter £1 5s 0d By Cash paid William Cooksey for 50 days Work on board Do. £2 10s 0d By Cash paid Jasom a Black Fellow for taking up a Turtle that broke out of the Pen £0 5s 0d By Cash paid John Maurice Cooper for 13½ days work on board the Fly Cutter [...] £1 13s 9d By Cash paid Captain Tea the Balance of his Account given in the 12th May 1764 £41 19s 3d By Cash paid Captain Harrold the Companys Allowance for one Year commencing May 17 1763 and ending May 16th 1764 £150 0s 0d By Cash paid Captain Tea the Company's allowance as above £100 0s 0d By Cash paid Captain Harrold for a Set of Carpenters Tools	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster recorded the payments he made out of the cash he received. Cash paid to Captain Vincent for sheep, flour and other goods brought from the Cape, £61 5s 0d Cash paid to the surgeon of the ship *Duke of Richmond* for his care of 20 recruits brought from England, at 5s 0d each, £5 0s 0d. Cash paid to Captain Godfrey for stores bought for the Company's table, £10 2s 9d Cash paid to 13 men of the snow *Mercury* for two months' wages, £50 10s 0d. Cash paid to Charles Purefoy on his discharge from the snow *Mercury*, £17 15s 0d. Cash paid to George Wade, surgeon, on his discharge from the snow *Mercury*, £26 10s 6d. 3 May 1764, cash paid to Robert Fleming on his discharge from the snow *Mercury*, £1 5s 7½d. Cash paid to William Potter on his discharge from the snow *Mercury*, £20 0s 0d. Cash paid to William Isaac Ford for 10 days' work on the cutter *Fly*, £1 5s 0d. Cash paid to William Cooksey for 50 days' work aboard the cutter *Fly*, £2 10s 0d. Cash paid to Jason, a black man, for recapturing a turtle that had escaped from the pen, £0 5s 0d Cash paid to John Maurice, cooper, for 13½ days' work aboard the cutter *Fly*, £1 13s 9d. Cash paid to Captain Teal as the balance of his account submitted on 12 May 1764, £41 19s 3d Cash paid to Captain Harrold as the Company's allowance for the year from 17 May 1763 to 16 May 1764, £150 0s 0d Cash paid to Captain Teal as the Company's allowance for the same year, £100 0s 0d Cash paid to Captain Harrold for a set of carpenter's tools he bought for the snow *Mercury*, £2 5s 0d. Cash paid to Captain Harrold for 16 empty hogsheads to serve as water casks, £4 0s 0d Cash paid to the officers of the cutter *Fly* for six months' wages, £154 10s 0d. Cash paid to the officers of the snow *Mercury* for six months' wages, £177 0s 0d. Cash paid to William Isaac Ford for 5 days spent caulking the longboat, £0 12s 6d Cash paid to various men of the garrison employed for 31 days in heaving down the cutter *Fly*, at 1s 0d a man each day, £1 11s 0d. Carried forward, £830 0s 3½d **Interpretations** The *Mercury* and the *Fly* were the Company's own vessels based at St Helena, not visiting ships. Their captains, Harrold and Teal, drew a fixed yearly allowance from the island treasury, and their officers and crews were paid wages from it every six months.

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		purchased by him for the use of the Snow Mercury £2 5s 0d By Cash paid Do. for 16 Empty Hhds. for water Casks £4 0s 0d By Cash paid Six Months Wages to the Officers of the Fly Cutter £154 10s 0d By Cash paid Six Months Wages to the Officers of the Snow Mercury £177 0s 0d By Cash paid William Isaac Ford for 5 days caulking the Long Boat £0 12s 6d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men employed in heaving down the Fly Cutter 31 days @ 1/ p D. £1 11s 0d Carried over £830 0s 3½d **Margin Notes:** 1764	The payments show the island maintaining a small permanent marine of its own, used for errands such as the Madagascar voyage on which both vessels sailed on 6 June 1764. Heaving down, or careening, meant hauling a vessel over onto her side in shallow water with ropes and tackle so that her bottom could be cleaned of weed and barnacles and repaired. With no dry dock on the island, it was the only way to prepare the *Fly* for a long voyage, and the task needed a large team of men pulling on the tackles for weeks. Soldiers of the garrison earned extra money by working on the Company's vessels. William Isaac Ford, a private in the second company, was paid for work aboard the *Fly* and for caulking the longboat, and John Maurice, a corporal in the third company, was paid for cooper's work aboard the cutter. The Company gained skilled labour at day rates without hiring civilians, and the men supplemented their army pay. The surgeon of the *Duke of Richmond* was paid 5s 0d for each recruit he brought from England. As with the head money promised to Teal and Sheriff for every slave landed alive, the fee rewarded the surgeon for keeping his charges in health on the passage, the Company paying only for men who arrived fit to serve. Turtles were kept alive in a pen on the island as a store of fresh meat, most of them brought from Ascension Island by passing ships. The payment to Jason for catching one that had escaped shows how valuable each animal was, and the Company rewarded him in cash for returning it.
386	382	1764 Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr. To Cash received £4202 17s 6½d Carried over £4202 17s 6½d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The paymaster's account continued on a further page headed with Thomas Kirkpatrick's name and his title of paymaster. Cash received, £4,202 17s 6½d Carried forward, £4,202 17s 6½d
387	383	1764 Per Contra Cr. Brought over £830 0s 3½d By Cash paid Captain Mears for four puncheons Beef and 2 of Pork containing 562 ps. @ 2/ p ps. £56 4s 0d By Cash paid Captain Gabriel Steward for 781 ps. of Beef and Pork @ 2/ p ps. £78 2s 0d By Cash paid John Maurice for 6 days Coopers Work on board the Fly Cutter £0 15s 0d By Cash paid John Barton discharged from the Fly Cutter the Balance of his Account £14 11s 4d By Cash paid Captain Baddison for sundry's bought of him for the use of the Honorable Company's Table £6 13s 0d By Cash paid Captain O Hara for the Passages of William Baker James Brown Andrew Sullivan Darby O'Brien and James Huxley five Invalids £25 0s 0d By Cash paid Captain Bowland for Do. of James Shadd John Smith John Dickenson and William Watkins four Invalids £20 0s 0d	The payments recorded on the credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster continued. Brought forward, £830 0s 3½d Cash paid to Captain Mears for 4 puncheons of beef and 2 [...] of pork, containing 562 pieces at 2s 0d a piece, £56 4s 0d Cash paid to Captain Gabriel Steward for 781 pieces of beef and pork at 2s 0d a piece, £78 2s 0d Cash paid to John Maurice for 6 days' cooper's work aboard the cutter *Fly*, £0 15s 0d. Cash paid to John Barton on his discharge from the cutter *Fly*, as the balance of his account, £14 11s 4d. Cash paid to Captain Baddison for various goods bought from him for the Company's table, £6 13s 0d Cash paid to Captain O'Hara for the passages of William Baker, James Brown, Andrew Sullivan, Darby O'Brien and James Huxley, 5 invalids, £25 0s 0d Cash paid to Captain Bowland for the passages of James Shadd, John Smith, John Dickerson and William Watkins, 4 invalids, £20 0s 0d Cash paid to Singleton Winter for surveying the timbers of the cutter *Fly*, £0 10s 0d. Cash paid to Captain Teal for various payments he made on behalf of Thomas Wright and Wallis Martin, both deceased, £0 19s 0d Cash paid to Henry Harper for the rent of a room for Nakhoda Bokollum this quarter, £1 0s 0d Cash paid to Nicholas Dahleen as the balance of his account as a crewman of the cutter *Fly*, £3 2s 1d.

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		By Cash paid Singleton Winter for Surveying the Works of the Fly Cutter £0 10s 0d By Cash paid Captn. Tea for Sundry disbursements to Thomas Wright and Wallis Martin deceased £0 19s 0d By Cash paid Henry Harper for the Rent of a Room for Norquadah Bokollum this Quarter £1 0s 0d By Cash paid Nicholas Dahleen the balance of his Acct. belong. to the Fly Cutter £3 2s 1d By Cash advanced Christr. Reynolds one Months Wages as Carpenter of the Mercury Snow who is now gone to Madagascar £1 10s 0d By Cash paid Mr. William Rigby third Mate and Thomas Hamilton Surgeon belonging to the Snow Mercury two Months Wages each £13 10s 0d By Cash paid the Men of the Fly Cutter Six Months Wages £42 9s 0d By Cash paid Martin Newman William Hayes Samuel Alden John Long Thomas Pearce Christian Greenawald Abram Mayo Thomas Wiffington James Long Daniel Armin and William Cooksey for relisting to serve the Honorable Company five Years longer as Soldiers @ £10 each £110 0s 0d By Cash paid Jurgan Beakmans for enlisting to serve the Honorable Company five Years as a Soldier his time commencing 24th May 1764 £5 0s 0d Carried over £1209 5s 8½d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Cash advanced to Christopher Reynolds as one month's wages as carpenter of the snow *Mercury*, now gone to Madagascar, £1 10s 0d. Cash paid to William Rigby, third mate, and Thomas Hamilton, surgeon, of the snow *Mercury* for two months' wages, £13 10s 0d. Cash paid to the crew of the cutter *Fly* for six months' wages, £42 9s 0d. Cash paid to Morton Newman, William Hayks, Samuel Nixon, John Long, Thomas Pearce, Christian Greenawald, Abram Mayo, Thomas Wiffington, James Long, Daniel Armin and William Cooksby for re-enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for a further five years, at £10 0s 0d each, £110 0s 0d Cash paid to Jurgan Beakmans for enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for five years from 21 May 1764, £5 0s 0d Carried forward, £1,209 5s 8½d **Interpretations** The nine invalids sent home were the soldiers shown on the pay lists as discharged on 10 June 1764, the day the *Falmouth* and the *Cruttenden* sailed for England. The Company paid Captain O'Hara and Captain Bowland for their passages, so a man worn out by service was returned to Britain at the Company's expense rather than left on the island without work. Discharge, pay and passage were all timed to coincide with the departure of the two ships. Men who re-enlisted for a further five years received £10 0s 0d each, while a new recruit such as Jurgan Beakmans, entered on the pay list as John Beakman, received £5 0s 0d. The larger bounty rewarded trained and seasoned soldiers for staying on, which was cheaper and more reliable than finding raw replacements from passing ships. Several of those who re-enlisted, including the corporals Thomas Wiffington and Daniel Armin, already held rank, and the bounty kept experienced non-commissioned officers in the garrison. Nakhoda was the Malay title for the master of a trading vessel. Bokollum was perhaps the leader of the Malays whose separate ration account appears earlier in the storekeeper's records, and the Company paid for his lodging in Jamestown. The arrangement suggests that the Malays were not treated as slaves but as a group under their own headman, housed and fed at the Company's expense. Captain Mears and Captain Gabriel Steward had both remitted money home by bills of exchange in May 1764. The payments here show the other side of their dealings with the island, the Company buying their surplus salt beef and pork by the piece to restock its stores.
388	384	1764 Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr. To Cash received £4202 17s 6¾d Carried over £4202 17s 6¾d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The paymaster's account continued on a further page headed with Thomas Kirkpatrick's name and his title of paymaster. Cash received, £4,202 17s 6¾d Carried forward, £4,202 17s 6¾d
389	385	1764 Per Contra Cr. Brought over £1209 5s 8½d By Cash paid Thomas Durham and Thomas Lyon for enlisting to serve the Honorable Company five Years as Soldiers their Time to commence 11th July 1764 @ £5 each £10 0s 0d By Cash paid Norquadah Bokollum his allowance from the Honorable Company this Quarter £1 12s 6d	The payments recorded on the credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster continued. Brought forward, £1,209 5s 8½d Cash paid to Thomas Durham and Thomas Lyon for enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for five years from 11 June 1764, at £5 0s 0d each, £10 0s 0d Cash paid to Nakhoda Bokollum as his allowance from the Company this quarter, £1 12s 6d Cash paid to Nakhoda Bokollum for his allowance omitted from the accounts last quarter, £1 12s 6d

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		By Cash paid Do. being an omission of Entry last Quarter £1 12s 6d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for coming express upon Alarms £4 0s 0d By Cash paid John Thomason for making an Ensign for the Fly Cutter £0 10s 0d By Cash paid Captain Tea for Sundry disbursements to the Seamen of the Fly Cutter £3 16s 11d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for working in the Longboat this Quarter £6 17s 0d By Cash paid John Dobson for 13 Weeks Work in the Armorers Shop this Quarter £5 17s 0d By Cash paid William Mumford for 11 Weeks Do. @ 6/ p Week £3 6s 0d By Cash paid Edward Terry for 7 days Do. @ 1/6 p day £0 10s 6d By Cash paid Robert Brown for Painters Work done this Quarter £0 16s 0d By Cash paid Mark Balls and Michael Read for baking 117 Batches of Bread for the use of the Garrison this Quarter @ 20d p B. £9 15s 0d By Cash paid Do. for baking 676lb of Biscuit for the Fly Cutter £1 5s 3½d By Cash paid Do. for baking 600lb of Biscuit for the Snow Mercury £1 2s 6d By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for assisting His Majestys Belleine to Water £3 6s 0d By Cash paid John Price Sexton for digging ten Graves for deceased Soldiers £1 5s 0d By Cash paid Thomas Townsend for Work done by his Apprentice this Quarter £3 5s 0d By Cash paid Mary Harper for 400 Lemons for the use of the Honorable Company this Quarter £0 12s 0d Carried over £1269 3s 5d **Margin Notes:** 1764	Cash paid to various men of the garrison for carrying urgent messages when alarms were raised, £4 0s 0d Cash paid to John Thomason for making an ensign for the cutter *Fly*, £0 10s 0d. Cash paid to Captain Teal for various payments made to the seamen of the cutter *Fly*, £3 16s 11d. Cash paid to various men of the garrison for working in the longboat this quarter, £6 17s 0d Cash paid to John Dobson for 13 weeks' work in the armourer's shop this quarter, £5 17s 0d Cash paid to William Mumford for 11 weeks' work in the armourer's shop at 6s 0d a week, £3 6s 0d Cash paid to Edward Terry for 7 days' work in the armourer's shop at 1s 6d a day, £0 10s 6d Cash paid to Robert Brown for painting work done this quarter, £0 16s 0d Cash paid to Mark Balls and Michael Read for baking 117 batches of bread for the garrison this quarter at [...] a batch, £9 15s 0d Cash paid to Mark Balls and Michael Read for baking 675 lb of biscuit for the cutter *Fly*, £1 5s 3½d. Cash paid to Mark Balls and Michael Read for baking 600 lb of biscuit for the snow *Mercury*, £1 2s 6d. Cash paid to various men of the garrison for helping the Royal Navy ship *Baleine* to take on water, £3 6s 0d. Cash paid to John Price, sexton, for digging graves for 10 deceased soldiers, £1 5s 0d Cash paid to Thomas Townsend for work done by his apprentice this quarter, £3 5s 0d Cash paid to Mary Harper for 400 lemons for the Company's use this quarter, £0 12s 0d Carried forward, £1,268 3s 5d **Interpretations** Many of the men paid for extra work were privates of the garrison. John Dobson, William Mumford and Edward Terry, who worked in the armourer's shop, and Mark Balls and Michael Read, who baked the garrison's bread and the biscuit for the *Fly* and the *Mercury*, all appear on the quarter's muster lists as soldiers. The Company used its soldiers as a pool of skilled and unskilled labour, paying them by the day, week or batch on top of their army wages. The payment for carrying urgent messages on alarms shows how the island's warning system worked on the ground. When signal guns fired, runners had to carry word between the batteries, lookouts and the Castle across steep country, and the men who did so were rewarded in cash. The sexton was paid for ten soldiers' graves in the quarter. The pay lists record several deaths by name, such as William Becket, John Holloway and William Dicks, and the graves show the steady toll of disease and accident on a garrison far from home. The *Baleine*, which exchanged salutes with the Castle in May and June 1764, is described here as one of the King's ships, so she was a vessel of the Royal Navy despite her French name, perhaps a prize taken in the recent war. Soldiers were paid to help fill her water casks, a heavy task on an island where water had to be carried down to the boats and ferried out to ships in the road. The 400 lemons bought from Mary Harper were perhaps for punch at the Company's table, where arrack was the chief drink, as well as for general use. Lemons were grown on the island, and buying them from a local woman shows the Company drawing some of its supplies from the settlers' own gardens.
390	386	1764 Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr. To Cash received £4202 17s 6¾d £4202 17s 6½d	Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster, entered on 16 July 1764, recorded a debit for the cash he had received. Cash received, £4,202 17s 6¾d

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		Margin Notes: 16th July	Total, £4,202 17s 6½d
391	387	1764 Per Contra Cr. Brot. over By Cash paid Robert Barclay Surgeon for his care in the Hospital of Nicholas Dahleen John Barton and Peter Clawson Seaman belonging to the Fly Cutter 92 days @ 7d p D. £2 13s 8d By Cash paid Do. for Do. of Erick Ashelind Seaman belong. to the Mercury Snow 57 days @ Do. £1 13s 3d By Cash paid Do. for Do. of Jonn. Chandler a discharged Sold. 45 days @ Do. £1 6s 3d By Cash paid Do. for Do. of John Warrington a Soldier for Bencoolen 13 days @ Do. £0 7s 7d By Cash paid Solomon Jacob Adjutant for the Subsistence of 19 discharged Soldiers 418 days @ 6d p day 3 Seamen 70 days @ 7½ p day and 1 Recruit for Bencoolen 16 days at 10d p day £15 5s 3d By Cash paid sundry Garrison Men for 490½ days Work in the Honorable Companys Stores this Quarter @ 1/ p day £24 10s 6d By Cash paid Do. for 216 days Work for grubing Furze and Spurge in the Pastures £10 16s 0d By Cash paid Do. for 31 days Do. in cleaning out the Cask £1 11s 0d By Cash paid Do. for 281 days Do. in carrying Wood to Burn Lime £14 1s 0d By Cash paid Do. for 116 days Do. in getting Limestone £5 16s 0d By Cash paid Do. for 102 days Do. in repairg. the Fortifications £5 2s 0d £1351 17s 11d By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants their several Salarys diet money &c. for the Quarter commencg. April 1st and ending June 30th 1764 £2850 19s 7½d £4202 17s 6½d St Helena 30 June 1764 Errors Excepted p Thos. Kirkpatrick Paymaster Counted and examined the Honoble. Companys Cash for the Month of June last which is as follows (vizt.) **Margin Notes:** 1764	The payments recorded on the credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster ended with the following entries. Brought forward Cash paid to Robert Barclay, surgeon, for his care in the hospital of Nicholas Dahleen, John Barton and Peter Clawson, seamen of the cutter *Fly*, for 92 days at 7d a day, £2 13s 8d. Cash paid to Robert Barclay for his care in the hospital of Erick Ashelin, seaman of the snow *Mercury*, for 57 days at 7d a day, £1 13s 3d. Cash paid to Robert Barclay for his care in the hospital of Jonathan Chandler, a discharged soldier, for 45 days at 7d a day, £1 6s 3d Cash paid to Robert Barclay for his care in the hospital of John Warrington, a soldier bound for Bencoolen, for 13 days at 7d a day, £0 7s 7d Cash paid to Solomon Jacob, adjutant, for the keep of 19 discharged soldiers for 418 days at 6d a day, 3 seamen for 70 days at 7½d a day and 1 recruit bound for Bencoolen for 16 days at [...] a day, £15 5s 3d Cash paid to various men of the garrison for 490½ days' work in the Company's stores this quarter at 1s 0d a day, £24 10s 6d Cash paid to various men of the garrison for 216 days' work clearing furze and spurge from the pastures, £10 16s 0d Cash paid to various men of the garrison for 31 days' work cleaning the Castle, £1 11s 0d Cash paid to various men of the garrison for 281 days' work carrying wood for burning lime, £14 1s 0d Cash paid to various men of the garrison for 116 days' work quarrying limestone, £5 16s 0d Cash paid to various men of the garrison for 102 days' work repairing the fortifications, £5 2s 0d Payments, subtotal as entered, £1,351 17s 11d Cash paid to the Company's officers and staff for their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1764, £2,850 19s 7½d Total, £4,202 17s 6½d Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, signed the account at St Helena on 30 June 1764, noting that it was subject to correction of any errors. The Council then counted and checked the Company's cash for June, with the following result. **Interpretations** Jonathan Chandler, the discharged soldier who died on 21 June 1764, had spent 45 days in the Company hospital before his death. Although no longer a soldier, he was treated at the Company's cost, buried with a volley of musketry and given a coffin from the stores. The surgeon's fee of 7d a day made hospital care a charge the paymaster recorded man by man. John Warrington, a soldier bound for Bencoolen, was perhaps the same man whose funeral the gunner recorded in June 1764 under the name James Warrington. St Helena served as a staging post for recruits on their way to the Company's settlement in Sumatra, and some did not survive the stop on the island. The adjutant was paid for feeding discharged soldiers while they waited for a ship to take them home. This covered the invalids whose passages the Company later paid to Captain O'Hara and Captain Bowland, and it shows that a discharged man remained a charge on the Company until he actually left the island. Furze and spurge were invasive shrubs that spread across the island's pastures after the native woodland was cleared, choking the grazing. Paying

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			soldiers to grub them out by the day was part of a long effort to keep the land fit for the Company's cattle and sheep. The heavy spending on carrying wood and quarrying limestone supplied the lime kiln, which produced the lime needed for mortar in repairs such as those planned for the Castle roof on 2 July 1764.
392	388	Cash Dr. 1764 June 1st To Balance remaining £8372 5s 4½d 5 To Exchange for 5 Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable as follows One set to Mrs. Susannah Baddison £300 0s 0d One Do. to Mrs. Lydia Woolstonecraft £117 0s 0d One Do. to Mrs. Elizabeth Bowland £100 0s 0d One Do. to Capt. Geoffry O'Hara £90 0s 0d One Do. to Do. £260 0s 0d £867 0s 0d 6 To Ship Princess Augusta received the Balance of her Acct. £7 6s 6d 10 To Ship Cruttenden received the Balance of her Account £20 14s 4d To Ship Falmouth Do. £11 10s 10d 11 To Exchange for two sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable as follows vizt. One Set to Mr. John White £299 9s 8½d One Do. to Mr. Argent Carr £150 0s 0d £449 9s 8½d 16 To Ship Houghton received the Balance of her Account £31 7s 0d 30th To James Powell received of him for Stores sold in the Quarter ending this day £1708 17s 0d To Plantation for Provisions sold £45 14s 0½d To Licences for 10 Public Houses £15 0s 0d £11529 4s 9½d **Margin Notes:** 16th July	The debit side of the Company's cash account for June 1764 recorded the money received into the island treasury during the month. 1 June 1764, balance brought forward, £8,372 5s 4½d 5 June 1764, cash received for 5 sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors: Susannah Baddison, 1 set, £300 0s 0d Lydia Wollstonecraft, 1 set, £117 0s 0d Elizabeth Bowland, 1 set, £100 0s 0d Captain Geoffry O'Hara, 1 set, £90 0s 0d Captain Geoffry O'Hara, 1 set, £260 0s 0d Bills of exchange, total as entered, £867 0s 0d 6 June 1764, cash received from the ship *Princess Augusta* in settlement of her account, £7 6s 6d. 10 June 1764, cash received from the ship *Cruttenden* in settlement of her account, £20 14s 4d. Cash received from the ship *Falmouth* in settlement of her account, £11 10s 10d. 11 June 1764, cash received for 2 sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors: John Whiter, 1 set, £299 9s 8½d Argent Carr, 1 set, £150 0s 0d Bills of exchange, total as entered, £449 9s 8½d 16 June 1764, cash received from the ship *Houghton* in settlement of her account, £31 7s 0d. 30 June 1764, cash received from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter ending that day, £1,708 17s 0d Cash received from the plantation for provisions sold, £45 14s 0½d Cash received for licences for 10 public houses, £15 0s 0d Total, £11,529 4s 9½d **Interpretations** The bills of exchange recorded here are the same ones the Council issued on 5 June 1764 and 11 June 1764 to Captain Baddison, Edward Bland Wollstonecraft, Captain Bowland, Captain O'Hara, Captain Kirkpatrick and Captain Howard. The cash book names the payees in England rather than the men who handed over the money, so the wives and agents appear here while the officers appear in the Council minutes. Read together, the two records show both ends of each remittance. The storekeeper's receipts for the quarter's sales were by far the largest item of new income, confirming the Company store as the island's main commercial enterprise. The sum paid in by James Powell on 30 June 1764 matches the closing date of the long storekeeper's account presented to the Council on 16 July 1764. The licence money came from ten public houses, matching the ten publicans who signed the petition of 2 July 1764 complaining about unlicensed sellers. The entry shows why those publicans pressed the Council to act: they were paying the Company for the right to sell drink, while others traded without paying anything.
393	389	Per Contra Cr. 1764 June 30 By Sundry accounts advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &c. in the Quarter ending this day £4202 17s 6½d By Balance remaining In Specie £6786 12s 3d	The credit side of the Company's cash account for June 1764 showed how the money in the treasury had been used and how the balance was held at the end of the month. 30 June 1764, advanced to the paymaster to pay salaries and other charges for the quarter ending that day, £4,202 17s 6½d Balance remaining:

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		In Cash Notes of no use £539 15s 0d £11529 4s 0½d John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 1764	In coin, £6,786 12s 3d In cash notes no longer in use, £539 15s 0d Total, £11,529 4s 0½d Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The sum advanced to the paymaster is the same figure charged to Thomas Kirkpatrick in his own account as paymaster, closed on 30 June 1764. The two records were designed to match: the treasury showed the money going out to the paymaster, and the paymaster's account showed it being spent on wages, salaries, subsistence and labour. This double entry let the Council trace every payment from the treasury to the person who finally received it. The cash notes no longer in use stood at £539 15s 0d, the same figure recorded in the balance of 31 May 1764. None had been cancelled or replaced during June, so this dead paper continued to be carried in the treasury balance month after month alongside the coin.
394	390	At a Consultation held on Monday the 23d Day of July 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 16 July 1764. Several Persons of late have taken upon them to set up Shops and have retailed Goods without any Authority and engrossed many useful Articles brought out by the Captains and Officers of the Store Ships retailing them again at an exorbitant Price much to the detriment of the Island in general, We to prevent those Practices in future have judged it necessary not to allow any Person to keep a Shop but those who should be duly authorized by Us and being sensible of the utility of these Shops if under proper Regulations and restrictions, We have agreed to Licence six persons to keep Shops to retail all kinds of Goods, & for the Liberty of so doing, we acquainted them, that they must pay forty Shillings annually to the Honorable Company, and to be conformable to such Rules, and Instructions we should give them for their Guidance. To make known our Resolutions herein we ordered the following Advertizement to be published vizt. Island St Helena 23 July 1764 Whereas several Persons have lately set up Shops without proper authority for so doing and charged exorbitantly for their Goods; This is therefore to give Notice to all Persons upon the said Island that they are hereby forbid to keep any Shop or retail Goods without being Licenced by the Governor and Council neither are those that are so licensed to charge any more for the Goods they vend than 30 p Cent upon all perishable Commodities and 20 p Cent upon all other Goods under the Penalty of forfeiting double the Price of the same And Whereas frequent complaints have been made by the Gentlemen of the Ships that the Washing here is extravagantly dear This is therefore to give Notice to all Persons upon the said Island whom it	Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Monday 23 July 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 16 July 1764. The Council noted that several people had recently opened shops and sold goods without any permission. They had bought up many useful articles brought to the island by the captains and officers of the store ships and resold them at extortionate prices, to the harm of the whole island. To stop this happening again, the Council decided that nobody would be allowed to keep a shop unless it had authorised them. The Council recognised that shops served a useful purpose if properly regulated. It therefore agreed to license six people to keep shops selling goods of every kind. Each licensee was to pay the Company 40s 0d a year for the privilege and to follow whatever rules and instructions the Council laid down. To make its decision known, the Council ordered the following notice to be published. The notice, dated at St Helena on 23 July 1764, stated that several people had lately opened shops without proper authority and had overcharged for their goods. Everyone on the island was therefore forbidden to keep a shop or sell goods by retail without a licence from the Governor and Council. Licensed shopkeepers were not to add more than 30 per cent to the cost of perishable goods, or more than 20 per cent to the cost of anything else. Anyone who broke these rules would forfeit double the price of the goods concerned. The notice went on to address complaints often made by officers of visiting ships that laundry on the island was far too expensive. Everyone who took in washing was accordingly ordered to keep their charges within a fixed limit. **Interpretations** The new shop licences extended to general trade the system of control already applied to the publicans. The complaints of James Powell and Matthew Purling on 2 July 1764, which described John Mitchland buying up whole stocks of mustard and playing cards to resell at inflated prices, were the kind of practice the order targeted. By limiting shops to six licensed keepers and capping their mark-up, the Council aimed to keep imported goods within reach of ordinary householders while still allowing retail trade to operate. The penalty of forfeiting double the price turned the price cap into a self-enforcing rule. A customer who had been overcharged had every reason to report the shopkeeper, and the forfeit made

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		may concern that they are hereby Ordered to Charge no more for the same **Margin Notes:** 23d July	overcharging more costly than it could ever be profitable. The annual fee gave the Company a small income and, more importantly, a licence it could withdraw, as it had done with Robert Ballard on 18 June 1764. The order on washing shows how much of the island's income came from serving passing ships. Officers and passengers of homeward Indiamen landed with months of soiled linen, and islanders, perhaps largely women and slaves, washed it for payment. Complaints from the ships threatened the island's reputation as a place of refreshment, so the Council regulated laundry charges as it did the price of goods.
395	391	than the following Prices (vizt.) 1/2 for a Ruffled Shirt or Shift 1/4 for a plain Do. or Do. 3/ a dozen for Table Cloths & Sheets 2/ Do. for small Things John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 30th day of July 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 23 July 1764 Yesterday arrived the Pigots Boat at Banks's half an hour past Nine in the Morning Do. arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Pigot from Bengal and brought us the following supply vizt. Invoice of Ship Pigot R.F Rice Fine No. 1 @ 30 30 Bags weighing 60 Fy. Mds. @ 24 p R. C.Rs. 109 S.F Sugar Fine 1 @ 10 10 Bags weighing 20 F. Mds. @ 8 p m. C.Rs. 160 P. Paddy 1 @ 15 Bags Weighing 22 Mds. 20 Srs. @ 10 p m. C.Rs. 14 As. 1 W.C. Wax Candles 1 @ 4 4 Chests weighing 8 Mds. @ 61 p m. C.Rs. 488 B.A Batavia Arrack 1 @ 2 2 Leaguers @ 175 p L. C.Rs. 378 C.Rs. 1148 As. 1 C.Rs. 1148 As. 1 Carried over **Margin Notes:** 1764	The notice on laundry set the following maximum charges: Ruffled shirt or shift, 6d each Plain shirt or shift, 4d each Tablecloths and sheets, 3s 0d a dozen Small items, 2s 0d a dozen Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order. The Governor, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Monday 30 July 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 23 July 1764. A boat from the *Pigot* landed at Banks's at 9.30 in the morning on 29 July 1764. The Company's ship *Pigot* herself arrived from Bengal the same day, bringing the following supplies. Values were given in current rupees and annas. Fine rice, 30 bags marked R.F. and numbered 1 to 30, weighing 60 factory maunds, at 24 per rupee, 109 rupees Fine sugar, 10 bags marked S.F. and numbered 1 to 10, weighing 20 factory maunds, at 8 per maund, 160 rupees Paddy, 15 bags marked P. and numbered 1 to 15, weighing 22 factory maunds 20 seers, at 10 [...] per maund, 14 rupees 1 anna Wax candles, 4 chests marked W.C. and numbered 1 to 4, weighing 8 factory maunds, at 61 per maund, 488 rupees Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers marked B.A. and numbered 1 to 2, at 175 per leaguer, 378 rupees Total, carried forward, 1,148 rupees 1 anna **Interpretations** The *Pigot*'s invoice was drawn up in Bengal and kept in the currency and weights of the Company's Calcutta establishment. The maund was the standard Indian weight for bulk goods, the factory maund being the version used in the Company's own warehouses, and a seer was one-fortieth of a maund. Values were given in current rupees, the money of account used in Bengal. St Helena, whose own books were kept in sterling, had to convert these figures before the goods could enter its stores. Batavia arrack was the spirit distilled at the Dutch port of Batavia in Java from rice and molasses, regarded as the finest arrack available. A leaguer was a very large cask used chiefly for arrack and wine in the Eastern trade. Wax candles, made from beeswax, burned more brightly and with less smoke than tallow candles and were used where good light mattered, such as the Council's chamber and the Governor's table. The laundry charges fixed a price for each kind of item, with ruffled shirts and shifts costing more than plain ones because of the time needed to wash and press the frills. Setting prices by the piece and by the dozen gave ships' officers a clear tariff they could check before handing over their linen.

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396	392	Brot. over Rs. 1148 As. 1 Ps. 0 Charges Merchandize 85 Gunny Bags Rs. 11 As. 7 Ps. 6 Twine and Packers Rs. 0 As. 4 Ps. 9 4 Chests Rs. 12 As. 11 Ps. 3 Peons Rs. 2 As. 3 Ps. 9 Mootears and Weighmen Rs. 5 As. 4 Ps. 0 Sloop hire Rs. 34 As. 10 Ps. 0 Boathire Rs. 2 As. 3 Ps. 3 Rs. 68 As. 13 Ps. 0 Current Rups. Rs. 1216 As. 14 Ps. 0 Errors Excepted p Richd. Barwell Sub Acct. George Bazett William Beale Serjeants and Thomas Eastwood Centinel this day petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison having served the Honoble. Company their contracted Times Granted Mr. David Alcock this day presented the following Petition vizt. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of the Island St Helena &ca. Council The humble Petition of David Alcock Sheweth That your Petitioner's contracted Time as a Writer will Expire in the Year 1765 when he with your leave and approbation intends to go to England there to apply to his Honorable Masters for their favour to be entertained at one of their other Settlements, having but very little Prospect in his Situation here, and he will ever pray St Helena (signed) David Alcock 30th July 1764 John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 30th July	The *Pigot*'s invoice continued with the costs incurred in Bengal for packing and shipping the goods. Values were given in current rupees, annas and pies. Brought forward, 1,148 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Charges on the goods: Gunny bags, 85, 11 rupees 7 annas 6 pies Twine and stitchers, 0 rupees 4 annas 9 pies Chests, 4, 12 rupees 11 annas 3 pies Peons, 2 rupees 3 annas 9 pies Clerks and weighmen, 5 rupees 4 annas 0 pies Sloop hire, 34 rupees 10 annas 0 pies Boat hire, 2 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Charges, total as entered, 68 rupees 13 annas 0 pies Total in current rupees, 1,216 rupees 14 annas 0 pies Richard Barwell, sub-accountant, signed the invoice, noting that it was subject to correction of any errors. George Bazett and William Beale, sergeants, and Thomas Eastwood, a private, asked to be discharged from the garrison on 30 July 1764, having served the Company for the full term of their contracts. The Council agreed to release them. David Alcock presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council on the same day. He explained that his contract as a writer would expire in 1765. When it did, he intended, with the Council's permission, to travel to England and ask the Company to employ him at one of its other settlements, since he saw very little prospect of advancement on St Helena. Alcock signed the petition at St Helena on 30 July 1764. The Governor, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** The charges show the cost of moving goods from the Company's warehouses in Bengal to a ship in the river. Gunny bags were coarse sacks woven from jute, the standard packing for rice and sugar. Peons were messengers and watchmen employed to guard goods in transit, while clerks and weighmen checked and recorded each load. Sloop and boat hire covered carrying the cargo down the Hooghly to where the *Pigot* lay at anchor, since large ships could not come up to Calcutta itself. David Alcock's petition shows the limits of a career on St Helena. As a writer, the lowest grade of the Company's civil service, he received £5 0s 0d a quarter in salary, as the salary list of 16 July 1764 records. The island offered little private trade and few senior posts, whereas service in India could lead to promotion and wealth. Asking to return to England in order to seek a posting elsewhere was the only route to a better future open to him. The three soldiers discharged had all completed their contracted terms, like Sergeant Thomas Ferris before them. George Bazett and William Beale both appear as sergeants on the garrison pay list for the quarter, and Thomas Eastwood as a private in the second company.
397	393	At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th day of August 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 30th July 1764. Friday the 3d died Rebecca Wife of Mr. Solomon Jacob Adjutant Saturday the 4th passed by a Ship at a great distance This day passed by His Majesty's Ship Liverpool.	Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Monday 6 August 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 30 July 1764. Rebecca, the wife of Solomon Jacob, the garrison's adjutant, died on Friday 3 August 1764. On Saturday 4 August 1764 a ship passed the island far out to sea. The Royal Navy ship *Liverpool* passed by on 6 August 1764. Purling reported that he had boarded the *Pigot* to muster her crew and search for deserters, but he

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		Mr. Matthew Purling reports that he has been on board the Ship Pigot to Muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows vizt. Muster Roll of Ship Pigott George Richardson Commr. Alexand. Stewart 1st Mate William Creighton 2d do John Close 3d do William Sampson 4th do Peter Douglas 5th do William Bellman 6th do George Bethune Surgeon Mark Ker Purser Robert May Carpenter John Phillips Gunner James Simmonds Boatn. William Thomson Sh. Steward George Brown Captains do John White Caulker Thomas Fowle Cooper William Dennes Armorer Edward Fuller Sailmaker James Gordon Captains Cook John Brown do Taylor Richd. McPherson John Stewart Midshipman Thomas Ker do Robert Confite do James Key do Chas. Nairne do John Hutchinson do John Haldane do William Bruce do Richard Hart do William Dixon do Richard Botham do Alexander Forbes do Mt. Alexander Mackney do John Rasford do John Grimes do Thomas Evans Carpr. Mate Barnaby Dunn do Alexander Murray Gunr. Mate Peter Mackay Boatsn. do Thomas Green Samuel Collins Caulkr. do Alexr. Bellmaine Coopr. do David Ireland Sh. Cook Chas. Bennet Butcher Francis Allen Poult. Alexr. Lawson Seaman Alexr. Webster William Wigmore William Thorpe William Freight John Mitchell James Wright James Todd William Burrel William Monk David Oswald Alexand. Imrie Francis Collie Cornl. Lowman John Gooseberry Lewis Willis John Craige **Margin Notes:** 6th August	found none. The ship's muster roll listed the following men: George Richardson, commander Alexander Stewart, first mate William Creighton, second mate John Clode, third mate William Sampson, fourth mate Peter Douglas, fifth mate William Bellman, sixth mate George Bethune, surgeon Mark Ker, purser Robert May, carpenter John Phillips, gunner James Simmonds, boatswain William Thomson, ship's steward George Brown, captain's steward John White, caulker Thomas Fowler, cooper William Bennes, armourer Edward Fuller, sailmaker James Gordon, captain's cook John Brown, captain's tailor Richard McPherson John Stewart, midshipman Thomas Ker, midshipman Robert Comfute, midshipman James Kee, midshipman Charles Naune, midshipman John Hutchinson, midshipman John Haldane, midshipman William Brice, midshipman Richard Hart, midshipman William Dixon, midshipman Richard Betham, midshipman Alexander Forbes, quartermaster Alexander Hackney, quartermaster John Crawford, quartermaster John Grimes, quartermaster Thomas Evans, carpenter's mate Barnaby Dunn, carpenter's mate Alexander Murray, gunner's mate Peter Mackay, boatswain's mate Thomas Green, boatswain's mate Samuel Collins, caulker's mate Alexander Belmaine, cooper's mate David Ireland, ship's cook Charles Bennet, butcher Francis Allen, poulterer Alexander Lawson, seaman Alexander Webster, seaman William Wigmore, seaman William Sharpe, seaman William Foresight, seaman John Mitchel, seaman James Wright, seaman James Peacock, seaman William Burril, seaman William Monk, seaman David Oswald, seaman Alexander Sinnie, seaman Francis Collie, seaman Cornelius Lowman, seaman John Goosebery, seaman Lewis Wallis, seaman John Craige, seaman
398	394	Chas. Loveridge James Clark Andrew Thomson William Keith	The *Pigot*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew, followed by her passengers. Charles Leveridge James Clark

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		Jas. Powell	Andrew Thomson
		John Nivott	William Keith
		Edward Brown	James Powell
		Joseph Young	John Ninott
		Thomas Lambert	Edward Brown
		Thomas Gall	Joseph Young
		John Field	Thomas Lambert
		John Cross	Thomas Gall
		Hugh Beth	John Field
		John McBean	John Cross
		Thomas Swan	Hugh Beth
		Thomas Panton	John McBean
		James Allen	Thomas Swan
		John Milburn	Thomas Panton
		William Robinson	James Allen
		John Pass	John Milburn
		Thomas Holland	William Robinson
		Benj. Hall	John Pape
		William Baker	Thomas Holland
		Antonio Barnardo	Benjamin Hall
		Antonio Joice	William Baker
		Manuel Rosaro	Antonio Barnardo
		Albert Barns	Antonio Joice
		John McIntosh	Manick Rosairo
		John Anderson	Albert Barns
		James Dow	John McIntosh
		John Thom	John Anderson
		Anthony Sheroy	James Dew
		Hugh Scott	John Thom
		James May	Anthony Sherdy
		Peter Gow	Hugh Scott
		Pigot	James May
		Peter Young	Peter Gow
		Alexand. Kennedy	Pigot
		Passengers	Peter Young
		The Honoble. Capt. Thos. Howe	Alexander Kenney
		Capt. Chas. Mash	Passengers:
		Captain John Deal	The Honourable Captain Thomas Howe
		Captain Carstairs	Captain Charles Nash
		Lieut. William Williams	Captain John Deal
		Quarter Master Meadows	Captain Carstairs
		Mr. Paul	Lieutenant William Williams
		Mr. Barwell	Quartermaster Meadows
		Mr. Boyar	Mr Paul
		Mr. Hall	Mr Barwell
		Two Russian Gentlemen	Mrs Bryar
		Mr. Dark	Mr Hall
		Thomas Goodall	Russian gentlemen, 2
		Samuel Hanway	Mr Park
		Robert Walker	Thomas Goodall
		13 Black Servants	Samuel Stanway
		2 White Children	Robert Walker
		Thomas Richards	Black servants, 13
		Thomas Hiller	White children, 3
		Joseph Swinfield	Thomas Richards
		John Petna	Thomas Miller
		John Pompion	Joseph Swinfield
		Edwd. Wain	John Patna
		Joseph Street	John Pompion
		John Smithers	Edward Vain
		Richard Segone	Joseph Street
		William Vinars	John Smithers
		John Tolson	Richard Sigoul
		Robert Wealy	William Viners
		John Heath	John Sisson
		Nathan Shaw	Robert Winly
		Danl. Montgomery	John Heath
		John Black	Nathaniel Sawer
		William Hugh	Daniel Montgomery
		Alexr. Moore	John Blish
		Jever Moore	William Hough
		Amb.	Alexander Moore
		Black August [...]	Sever Moore
		(signed) Geo. Richardson	[...]
		Mr. Matthew Purling applied to us to pay two hundred and fifty two pounds	Black Augustine George Richardson signed the roll.

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		Eighteen Shillings and two pence into the Honorable Company's Cash which Sum We have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Charles Hutchinson Esqr. or Order Ninety days after sight dated this day We this day enlisted Thomas Richards to serve the Honorable Company five Years as a Soldier he appearing to be a good Man, we gave him five pounds Bounty money and had the Articles of War read to him. **Margin Notes:** 6th August	Matthew Purling asked to pay £252 18s 2d into the Company's treasury. The Council accepted the money and gave him bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, dated the same day and payable to Charles Hutchinson or his nominee 90 days after being presented. The Council also enlisted Thomas Richards to serve the Company as a soldier for five years, since he appeared to be a sound recruit. He received a bounty of £5 0s 0d, and the Articles of War were read to him. **Interpretations** Thomas Richards, enlisted on 6 August 1764, appears among the *Pigot*'s passengers. As with Thomas Lyon and Thomas Durham, left behind by passing ships in June, the garrison recruited from men travelling through the island, offering a bounty to any who seemed fit for service. Reading the Articles of War to a new recruit was the formal step that placed him under military law. From that moment he could be tried and punished under the code governing the army, including flogging for disobedience and death for desertion, so the reading marked his passage from civilian to soldier. Purling's bill of exchange was made payable to Charles Hutchinson, the former Governor, who had left the island in May 1764. The payment was perhaps money owed to Hutchinson and collected by Purling on his behalf, sent after him to England through the Company's bills. Several of the crew bore Indian or Portuguese names, such as Manick Rosairo and Antonio Barnardo, and one was entered simply as Pigot, after the ship herself. East Indiamen commonly took on Asian and Luso-Indian seamen in Bengal to replace men lost on the outward voyage. A sailor recorded only by the ship's name was perhaps a boy or servant taken aboard in India whose own name the clerk did not know.
399	395	The Storekeeper delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship Pigot vizt. Account of Stores short received from the Ship Pigot Paddy 0 Mds. 1 Srs. 5 Chs. Sugar 0 Mds. 3 Srs. 7 Chs. Candles 0 Mds. 0 Srs. 13 Chs. short weight No. 1 1 Leagr. Arrack gages 137½ Gs. wants to fill 4 Gs. 2 1 Do. gages 142 Gs. wants to fill 5 Gs. 279½ Gs. 9 Gs. Galls. 270½ Recd. Aug. 6th 1764 (signed) Js. Powell Storekr. John Skottowe Purling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th day August 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the the 6th August 1764. Tuesday the 7th arrived the Glattons Boat at Banks's at 11 o'Clock at Night. Wednesday the 8th arrived the Speakers Boat at Banks's at 2 O'Clock in the Morng.	The storekeeper presented an account of stores that had arrived short from the ship *Pigot*. Paddy, 0 cwt 1 qr 5 lb short in weight Sugar, 0 cwt 3 qr 7 lb short in weight Candles, 0 cwt 0 qr 13 lb short in weight Arrack, leaguer No 1, gauged at 137½ gallons, 4 gallons short of full Arrack, leaguer No 2, gauged at 142 gallons, 5 gallons short of full Arrack, total gauged as entered, 279½ gallons Arrack, total shortfall as entered, 9 gallons Arrack, total received as entered, 270½ gallons J. Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account on 6 August 1764, and Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed beneath it. The Governor, Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick met in council at the Castle on Monday 13 August 1764. They read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 6 August 1764. A boat from the *Glatton* landed at Banks's at 11 o'clock at night on Tuesday 7 August 1764. A boat from the *Speaker* landed there at 2 o'clock in the morning on Wednesday 8 August 1764. The same day the Company's ship *Glatton* arrived from China and the *Speaker* from Bombay. The *Pigot* sailed for England on Thursday 9 August 1764. On the same day a Dutch ship from Batavia arrived, the *Elizabeth Dorothy*, commanded by Martin Pieters Moor. She was of 500 tons burden, carried 22 guns and 86 men, and was loaded with pepper bound for Amsterdam. The *Speaker* brought the following supplies to the island. **Interpretations**

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		Do. arrived the Honoble. Company's Ship Glatton from China, and the Speaker from Bombay. Thursday the 9th sailed the Honoble. Company's Ship Pigot for England Do. Arrived a Dutch Ship from Batavia called the Elizabeth Dorothy Capt. Martin Pieters Moor burthen 500 Tons, carrys 22 Guns & 86 Men Laden with Pepper & bound to Amsterdam The Speaker brought us the following supply vizt. **Margin Notes:** 1764	The Dutch ship's call shows that St Helena served foreign vessels as well as British ones. Ships of the Dutch East India Company homeward bound from Batavia with pepper could stop for water and fresh food, and the Council recorded each one's size, armament and crew. Such details allowed the island's defenders to judge the strength of any foreign ship in the road, a sensible precaution only a year after the end of a war in which the Dutch had been neutral but France and Spain had been enemies. The practice of sending a boat ahead of each arriving ship, recorded for the *Glatton* and the *Speaker*, let the Castle learn a ship's identity and business hours before she anchored. Boats landing at Banks's in the middle of the night were perhaps sent ahead so that the ship could enter the road at first light with her arrival already known.
400	396	Invoice of Ship Speaker Rice Beaten 135 St. Mds. @ 3 60 p Md. Rs. 118 Qrs. 0 Reas. 50 Batty 3 m. 2 @ 18 p Morah Rs. 55 Qrs. 1 Reas. 6 Chelloes blue Surat of 5 Co. vizt. No. 2 12.5.18 : 1.9 Surat 53 p Corge Rs. 415 Qrs. 0 Reas. 0 Charges Merchandize Gunny Pieces£ Rs. 47 Qrs. 1 Reas. 0 Lascars Sewing the Bags Rs. 6 Qrs. 0 Reas. 10 Hamallage on the Rice and Batty & Chelloes Rs. 2 Qrs. 0 Reas. 60 Boathire Rs. 2 Qrs. 2 Reas. 0 Rs. 57 Qrs. 3 Reas. 7 Bombay Castle Rupees Rs. 646 Qrs. 1 Reas. 96 Errors Excepted p J. Dalton Accnt. NB There was wanting in the Bale of Chelloes 6 pieces upon opening when landed from the Ship The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of July last were this day brought which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt. **Margin Notes:** 13th August [...]	The *Speaker*'s invoice, drawn up at Bombay, listed the goods she brought for the island. Values were given in Bombay rupees, quarters and reas. Beaten rice, 135 Surat maunds, at 3 rupees 0 quarters 60 reas per maund, 118 rupees 0 quarters 50 reas Batty, 3 morahs [...], at 18 per morah, 55 rupees 1 quarter 6 reas Blue Surat chelloes, bale No 2, 12 corges [...], at 55 per corge, 415 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Charges on the goods: Gunny cloth, 47 rupees 1 quarter 0 reas Lascars for sewing the bags, 6 rupees 0 quarters 10 reas Porterage on the rice, batty and chelloes, 2 rupees 0 quarters 60 reas Boat hire, 2 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Charges, total as entered, 57 rupees 3 quarters 7 reas Total, 646 rupees 1 quarter 96 reas J. Dalton, accountant at Bombay Castle, signed the invoice, noting that it was subject to correction of any errors. A note added that when the bale of chelloes was landed from the ship and opened, 6 pieces were missing. The monthly accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the stewards for July were presented that day. The Council examined and approved them, and they were recorded as follows. **Interpretations** The Bombay invoice used the currency and measures of the Company's western Indian presidency, different again from those of Bengal. The Bombay rupee was divided into four quarters, each of 100 reas, a system inherited from the Portuguese. Batty was the word used on the western coast for paddy, rice still in the husk, and a morah was a local measure of grain. A corge was a trade unit of 20 pieces of cloth. Beaten rice had been pounded to remove the husk and was ready to cook. Porterage and the wages of lascars sewing the bags show how the goods were handled at Bombay. Lascars were Indian seamen and labourers employed by the Company, and hamals, or porters, were paid a fee for carrying each load to the boats. These charges were added to the cost of the goods so that St Helena bore the full expense of its supplies from India. The missing pieces of chelloes, discovered only when the bale was opened on the island, were a loss that could not be traced to any one stage of the voyage. Recording the shortfall on the invoice itself gave the Council grounds to claim it back from the ship or from Bombay.
401	397	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of July 1764 Viz Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses	Matthew Bazett, the overseer, drew up this account of the East India Company's cattle and other livestock on St Helena for July 1764. It recorded the stock at the start of the month, the young born, the

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		Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Asses, Total Remaing 1: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 30, Yearlings 59, Heifers 20, Steers 23, Oxen 21, Total 289, Ewes 315, Weathers 161, Lambs 207, Rams 8, Total 691, Ewes 166, Weathers 56, Kids 74, Rams 9, Total 305, Sows 2, Shoats 1, Pigs 9, Boars 1, Total 13, Fowls 63, Ducks 20, Turkeys 16, Geese 26, Horses 8, Mares 5, Total 13, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 5, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 5, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 13, Rams 0, Total 13, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 13, Rams 0, Total 13, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 12, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 35, Yearlings 59, Heifers 20, Steers 23, Oxen 21, Total 294, Ewes 315, Weathers 161, Lambs 220, Rams 8, Total 704, Ewes 166, Weathers 56, Kids 87, Rams 9, Total 318, Sows 2, Shoats 1, Pigs 9, Boars 1, Total 13, Fowls 75, Ducks 20, Turkeys 16, Geese 26, Horses 8, Mares 5, Total 13, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 2, Steers 2, Oxen 0, Total 4, Ewes 4, Weathers 16, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 20, Ewes 0, Weathers 5, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 5, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 3, Ducks 6, Turkeys 1, Geese 6, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 3, Weathers 7, Lambs 8, Rams 0, Total 18, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 4, Ducks 0, Turkeys 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Remaing 31: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 35, Yearlings 59, Heifers 18, Steers 21, Oxen 21, Total 290, Ewes 308, Weathers 138, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 666, Ewes 166, Weathers 51, Kids 87, Rams 9, Total 313, Sows 2, Shoats 1, Pigs 9, Boars 1, Total 13, Fowls 68, Ducks 14, Turkeys 13, Geese 20, Horses 8, Mares 5, Total 13, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Yam Expended for the Slaves 33500 lb Do for Stock 7000 lb 40,500 lb 1 Man missing named Toney supposed to be drowned 1 Man dead named Harry Rich Errors Excepted (signed) Mattw Bazett overseer **Margin Notes:** 1764	animals slaughtered or lost, and what stood on the books at the month's end. Stock on hand, 1 July 1764 Cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 30 calves, 59 yearlings, 20 heifers, 23 steers, 21 oxen, total 239 Sheep: 315 ewes, 161 wethers, 207 lambs, 8 rams, total 691 Goats: 166 females, 56 wethers, 74 kids, 9 billies, total 305 Pigs: 2 sows, 1 weaned young pig, 9 piglets, 1 boar, total 13 Poultry: 63 chickens, 20 ducks, 16 turkeys, 26 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 5 mares, total 13 Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Born during the month Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 5 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 5 Sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 13 lambs, 0 rams, total 13 Goats: 0 females, 0 wethers, 13 kids, 0 billies, total 13 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 12 chickens, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Combined total before losses Cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 35 calves, 59 yearlings, 20 heifers, 23 steers, 21 oxen, total 244 Sheep: 315 ewes, 161 wethers, 220 lambs, 8 rams, total 704 Goats: 166 females, 56 wethers, 87 kids, 9 billies, total 318 Pigs: 2 sows, 1 weaned young pig, 9 piglets, 1 boar, total 13 Poultry: 75 chickens, 20 ducks, 16 turkeys, 26 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 5 mares, total 13 Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Slaughtered Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 2 heifers, 2 steers, 0 oxen, total 4 Sheep: 4 ewes, 16 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 20 Goats: 0 females, 5 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, total 5 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 3 chickens, 6 ducks, 1 turkey, 6 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Died Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 0 Sheep: 3 ewes, 7 wethers, 8 lambs, 0 rams, total 18 Goats: 0 females, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, total 0 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 4 chickens, 0 ducks, 2 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Stock on hand, 31 July 1764 Cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 35 calves, 59 yearlings, 18 heifers, 21 steers, 21 oxen, total 240 Sheep: 308 ewes, 138 wethers, 212 lambs, 8 rams, total 666 Goats: 166 females, 51 wethers, 87 kids, 9 billies, total 313 Pigs: 2 sows, 1 weaned young pig, 9 piglets, 1 boar, total 13 Poultry: 68 chickens, 14 ducks, 13 turkeys, 20 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 5 mares, total 13

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			Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Yams issued to feed the slaves: 33,500 Yams issued to feed the livestock: 7,000 Total yams issued: 40,500 Two men were also recorded. Toney had gone missing and was thought to have drowned, while Harry Rich had died. Bazett signed the account with the standard reservation that any clerical errors in it should not bind him. **Interpretations** The deaths of Toney and Harry Rich appeared at the foot of a livestock return rather than in any separate register of people. Set directly beneath the yam ration for the slaves, the entry suggests both men were probably Company slaves working under Bazett's charge. The overseer accounted for them in the same document as the animals he managed, which shows how the Company treated its slave labour as plantation stock to be reconciled month by month. A drowning on the island's steep coast or in its streams would leave no body, hence the cautious wording that Toney was only supposed to be dead. Yams were the staple food of the Company's slaves on St Helena, grown on the island's own ground and issued from the Company's stores. The figures show that roughly four-fifths of the month's yam issue went to feeding people and the remainder to the animals. The page gives no unit for the yam figures, so whether they counted individual roots or weight cannot be settled from this return alone. The closing reservation was a common commercial safeguard of the period, the forerunner of the modern "errors and omissions excepted". It allowed the overseer to submit a return full of hand-added totals without accepting liability for a slip in the arithmetic. Several totals on this page do not reconcile precisely with their columns, which is exactly the risk the formula guarded against. Several livestock terms need explanation. The heading "neat cattle" meant ordinary horned cattle as distinct from horses or other beasts. Wethers were castrated male sheep or goats, kept mainly for meat, and the heavy slaughter of 16 sheep wethers against only four ewes reflects that purpose. The single "shoat" was a young pig recently weaned, sitting between the suckling piglets and the adult sows. July fell in the island's southern-hemisphere winter. The month nonetheless brought 13 lambs, 13 kids and five calves, showing that breeding on St Helena's mild uplands continued through the cooler season. The loss of 18 sheep to natural causes in the same month, eight of them lambs, stood out against a cattle herd that lost none. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploaded files, so the earlier monthly returns in this series could not be consulted for comparison.
402	398	13th August Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of July 1764 Guns fired, 4pounder, 3pounder, 2pounder, 1pounder, Powder Expended 1st An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 212lb Arrived the Havannah returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 4th Powder for priming at the Alarm House from the 28th Apl: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 8 Do for priming in order to have returned the Salute of the Havannah: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz	Thomas Hall recorded the artillery stores used on St Helena during July 1764 and submitted his account on 13 August. The first part logged every occasion on which guns were fired, with the number of guns of each size and the powder used. 1 July, alarm fired: 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 1 July, arrival of *Havannah* and her salute answered: 9 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder 1 July, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder Priming powder used at the Alarm House from 28 [...]: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder 8 July, priming powder so that the salute of *Havannah* could be answered: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder

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		24 Do for Scaling the Guns at Sandy Bay: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 37lb 29th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 212lb Do arrived the Vigilt returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz Do for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb Do for Signals: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb Total: Guns fired 30, 4pounder 4, 3pounder 4, 2pounder 18, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 488lb 8oz Paper for making Cannon Cartridges 4 Qrs Spunge Staves for repairing the Spunges at Mundens Point 3 Spunge Staves Spunge Heads for Do at Do 4 Spunge Heads Rammer Heads for Do at Do 4 Rammer Heads Sheep Skins for Do at Do 4 Sheep Skins Trunk Nails for Do at Do 216 Trunk Nails Sheep Skins for repairing the Spunges at Sandy Bay 2 Sheep Skins Trunk Nails for Do at Do 160 Trunk Nails Ladles wore out and unserviceable at Do 2 Ladles Worms Do at Do 2 Worms Hand Spikes broke at Do 2 Hand Spikes Bitts broke at the Main Fort at 4 Bitts Do broke at Forks Cap 1 Bitt Tallow for the use of the Longboat 2lb Do for greasing Gun Carriages at Sandy Bay 4lb (signed) Thos Hall	24 July, powder for scaling the guns at Sandy Bay: 0 guns fired, 37 lb 0 oz of powder 29 July, alarm fired: 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 29 July, arrival of *Vig[...]* and her salute answered: 9 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder 29 July, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for refilling the cartridges at the Main Guard: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for signals: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 0 oz of powder Total: 30 guns fired, 4 four-pounders, 4 three-pounders, 18 two-pounders, 4 one-pounders, 88 lb 8 oz of powder The second part listed the other gunnery stores used up, repaired or written off during the month. Paper for making cannon cartridges: 4 quires Sponge staves for repairing the sponges at Munden's Point: 3 Sponge heads for repairing the sponges at Munden's Point: 4 Rammer heads for the guns at Munden's Point: 4 Sheepskins for the sponges at Munden's Point: 4 Trunk nails for the sponges at Munden's Point: 216 Sheepskins for repairing the sponges at Sandy Bay: 2 Trunk nails for the sponges at Sandy Bay: 160 Powder ladles at Sandy Bay, worn beyond use: 2 Worms at Sandy Bay, worn beyond use: 2 Handspikes broken at Sandy Bay: 2 Bits broken at the Main Fort: 4 Bits broken at Turk's Cap: 1 Tallow for the longboat: 2 lb Tallow for greasing the gun carriages at Sandy Bay: 4 lb **Interpretations** The powder column gave weights in pounds and ounces, so "1.8" meant 1 lb 8 oz. This reading is confirmed by the total of 88 lb 8 oz, which matches the sum of the entries exactly. The four numbered columns under the guns fired classed each gun by the weight of shot it threw, from four-pounders down to one-pounders. Their figures always add up to the number of guns fired in the same row. Salutes were answered entirely with two-pounders at 1 lb of powder a gun, while the alarms drew on a mix of sizes. The accounting reveals a rigid ritual of exchange with arriving shipping. Each vessel coming into the road saluted the island, and the garrison answered with nine guns. Separate priming powder was drawn even for the second salute to *Havannah* on 8 July, showing that every ounce had to be justified against a named occasion. The Company's storekeepers thereby prevented powder, a costly import, from leaking into private use. The two alarms on 1 July and 29 July were probably routine exercises of the island's warning system rather than real threats. Guns fired in sequence from the signal posts alerted the whole garrison, and the Alarm House drew its own priming powder for the purpose. Holding such drills at the start and close of the month kept the gunners practised. Scaling was the practice of firing a small charge through an unloaded gun to blow out rust and scale from the inside of the barrel. The 37 lb used for this at Sandy Bay made it the largest single charge on the account, well above either alarm. Several gunner's tools appear in the list of stores. A sponge was a sheepskin-covered head on a wooden

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			staff, pushed into the barrel after each shot to extinguish burning fragments before reloading. Trunk nails were short, broad-headed nails used to fasten the sheepskin to the sponge head, which explains why the nails were issued in hundreds alongside the skins. The ladle carried loose powder into the bore, the worm was a corkscrew-like tool for drawing out wadding or a failed charge, and handspikes were wooden levers for training heavy guns. Tallow, a hard animal fat, served as a general lubricant for carriages and boat gear. Munden's Point, Sandy Bay, the Main Fort and Turk's Cap were among the defended points on the island's coast. The stores consumed at each show that the maintenance of guns was spread across the outlying batteries as well as the principal fortifications at James Town.
403	399	1764 Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table viz in the Month of July 1764 viz Port Wine 16 Bottles £1 4s 0d Lisbon 23 Bottles £1 14s 6d Mountain 23 Bottles £1 14s 6d Beer 16 Bottles £0 4s 2d Arrack 68 Bottles £3 7s 6d Flour 226lb £1 8s 3d Beef 165½lb £3 4s 9½d Salt Pork 5½lb £0 12s 8½d Mutton 105¾lb £2 4s 0¾d Goat 70lb £1 6s 8d Butter 35½lb £1 15s 6d Geese 6 Geese £1 10s 0d Ducks 6 Ducks £0 9s 0d Turkey 1 Turkey £0 5s 0d Fowls 3 Fowls £0 4s 6d Candy 45lb £0 14s 8d £21 19s 9¼d Thomas Townsend Joseph Chamberlain and John Bazett this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &ca Council	The East India Company's official table on St Helena consumed the following provisions and drink during July 1764. 16 bottles of port wine, £1 4s 0d 23 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 14s 6d 23 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 14s 6d 16 bottles of beer, £0 4s 2d 68 bottles of arrack, £3 7s 6d 226 lb of flour, £1 8s 3d 165½ lb of beef, £3 4s 9½d 58 lb of salt pork, £0 12s 8½d 105¾ lb of mutton, £2 4s 0¾d 70 lb of goat meat, £1 6s 8d 35½ lb of butter, £1 15s 6d 6 geese, £1 10s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 3 chickens, £0 4s 6d 45 lb of sugar candy, £0 14s 8d Total, £21 19s 9¼d Thomas Townsend, Joseph Chamberlain and John Bazett laid a petition before Governor Skottowe and the Council. They pointed out that a plot of unused land lay across from the house where John Bruce was then living. The three men believed the ground would serve them well and asked leave to rent it so that they could build houses there. Their petition was dated at St Helena on 13 August 1764. Townsend and Bazett signed their names, while Chamberlain made his mark. **Interpretations** The poultry on the Company's table matched exactly the birds recorded as slaughtered in the July livestock return: 6 geese, 6 ducks, 1 turkey and 3 chickens. The Company's farm thereby supplied its own table directly, and the two accounts served as checks on each other. The butcher's meat was a different matter. Twenty sheep and five goats were killed that month, yet the table took only 105¾ lb of mutton and 70 lb of goat. Four cattle were also slaughtered, far more beef than the 165½ lb charged here. Most of the Company's meat therefore went elsewhere, probably to the garrison and to shipping in the road. Several of the drinks were imports that a modern reader would not recognise. Lisbon was a white wine shipped from Portugal, popular in England through much of the 18th century as a cheaper alternative to French wines. Mountain was a sweet wine from the hills around Malaga in southern Spain. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in Asia from palm sap, rice or sugar cane, and East India ships brought it to St Helena from Batavia and the Indian coast. Its heavy consumption here, far exceeding the port and wines, reflected the island's position on the route home from the East, where arrack was cheaper and more readily available than European spirits. Sugar candy

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		The humble Petition of Thomas Townsend Joseph Chamberlain and John Bazett Sheweth That whereas there is a piece of Wast Ground opposite the House that John Bruce at present Inhabitants and may be of service to your humble Petitioners, they therefore beg they may be permitted to have the same to erect houses upon St Helena And your Petitioners will ever pray signed Thos Townsend 13th August 1764. Jos his mark Chamberlain John Bazett	was large crystallised sugar, a common Asian trade good, used for sweetening and in confectionery. The Company's table was the common dining table at which the Governor, councillors and senior officials ate at Company expense. Its monthly account formed part of the official record sent to London, so the directors could see exactly what the island's government cost to feed. The petition shows how land on St Helena was held. Unused ground belonged to the Company, and settlers could not simply occupy it. They applied to the Governor and Council for a lease at a rent, and the grant was recorded in this register, giving the tenant a legal title that could later be enforced or revoked. Chamberlain's mark in place of a signature shows he could not write, which did not bar him from holding land or joining a legal application.
404	400	13th August Ordered the said Ground to be viewed There being no Pepper in the Honoble Companys Stores We sent Captn Dewar the following order viz To Captain James Dewar Commander of Ship Speaker Sir You are hereby ordered to send on Shore two Bags St Helena of the Honorable Companys Pepper for the use of this Island 13 Augt 1764 We are John Skottowe signed Sir Your most humble Servts Pirling John Skottowe Thos Kirkpatrick Pirling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Thursday the 16th day of August 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Pirling Captn Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 13th August 1764 Mr Matthew Pirling reports that he has been on board the Ships Glatton and Speaker to muster their Companys and Enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follows viz Muster Roll of Ship Glatton Richard Dewtos Commandr James Latner 1 James Lunthen 2 William Ross 3 John Horsely 4 Samuel Sh[...]er 5 Mates Woollall Fre[...] Purser Jeremiah Rusel Surgeon Ambrose Karthy Surg Mate John Mitchel Gunner William Foxen Carpr Henry Ridley Boatswain Ralph Day Thomas Tucker Thomas Woozencraft Lane Rosser Mids John Seaby John Jones William Wright John Naismith John Pearson 2d Mts John Duffus Alexander Mitchel John Abernathy Cooper	The Council ordered an inspection of the unused ground that Townsend, Chamberlain and Bazett had asked to rent. The Company's stores on the island held no pepper, so the Council sent an order to Captain James Dewar, commander of the *Speaker*. Dated at St Helena on 13 August 1764, it instructed him to land two bags of the Company's pepper for the island's use. Governor Skottowe signed it together with Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick. The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 16 August 1764. The Governor sat with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 13 August 1764, were read, approved and signed. Purling reported that he had gone aboard the *Glatton* and the *Speaker* to muster their crews and search for deserters. He found none. The muster roll of the *Glatton* was entered as follows. Richard Doveton, commander James Calnee, first mate James Dunthen, second mate William Ross, third mate John Horsely, fourth mate Samuel Stocker, fifth mate Woollall Freeth, purser Jeremiah Russel, surgeon Ambrose Karthy, surgeon's mate John Mitchel, gunner William Foster, carpenter Henry Ridley, boatswain Ralph Day, midshipman Thomas Tucker, midshipman Thomas Woozencraft, midshipman Lane Croston, midshipman John Seaby, quartermaster John Jones, quartermaster William Wright, quartermaster John Naismith, quartermaster John Pearson, quartermaster John Duffus Alexander Mitchel John Abernathy, cooper **Interpretations** The mustering of visiting crews was a standing check against desertion. Seamen on East India ships were bound to serve for the whole voyage, and St Helena offered a tempting place to slip away and find work or passage elsewhere. A councillor went aboard, called each man by name against the ship's roll and recorded the result. Entering the roll in the island's register gave the Council a record against which any man later found ashore could be identified and returned. The order to Captain Dewar shows the island drawing directly on the Company's homeward cargo. Pepper was among the principal goods the Company

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			shipped from its Asian factories to London. When the island's own stores ran short, the Governor and Council could requisition part of that cargo in passing, and the quantity taken would then be charged to the island's account. The inspection of the ground marked the usual first step before any lease was granted. Viewing the plot let the Council judge whether it was truly unused, whether building there would harm neighbours such as John Bruce, and what rent it could bear.
405	401	1764 Barnabas Walker Ships Stewd John Mallagan Caulker John Townsend Cooper John Fisher Do Mte William Roan Caulkr Do John Cozard Sailmaker Robert Cox Armorer Robert King Gunr Mate John Beecham Capt Steward Jos: Tollenbush Capt Cook William Watson Ships Cook John Hidgel Baker Joseph Graham Boats Mte Draper Clifford Do Andrew Beard Seaman Paul Oulson Alexander Carr Franklin Matthews Robert Hill William Hudson George Guan George Racket Charles Collins Alexander Hacket Richard Roberts John Robinson Alexander Johnson Thomas Ogilvie Andrew Hope Timothy Mahony David Stagg Edward Cobe John Rhodes Henry Cooke John Ferguson Edward Hopley William Lumley Gilbert Mann Thomas Clayton John Nesland Richard Bolton John Bowers James Biggs Nicholas Henly Thomas Harris Thomas Barry Thomas Hardcastle William Greenly Thomas McBean David Lane John Jones 2 Ebenezer Slade James Hanniford William Tripling John Holmes William Vincent Thomas Fry William Clark Capt Servt James Wally Do Benjamin Walker 2d Mte James Me[...] Surgeons William Todd Gunners William Healy Boats	The *Glatton*'s muster roll continued with the remainder of her crew. Barnabas Walker, ship's steward John Mallagan, caulker John Townsend, cooper John Fisher, cooper's mate William Roan, caulker's mate John Bozard, sailmaker Robert Cox, armourer Robert King, gunner's mate John Beecham, captain's steward Joseph Fellenbush, captain's cook William Watson, ship's cook John Hidgel, baker Joseph Graham, boatswain's mate Draper Clifford, boatswain's mate Andrew Beard, seaman Paul Olson Alexander Carr Franklin Matthews Robert Hill William Hudson George Gunn George Hacket Charles Collins Alexander Hacket Richard Roberts John Robinson Alexander Johnson Thomas Ogilvie Andrew Hope Timothy Mahony David Stagg Edward Cole John Hinds Henry Cake John Ferguson Edward Hopley William Lumley Gilbert Mann Thomas Clayton John Neyland Richard Bolton John Bower James Biggs Nicholas Henly Thomas Harris Thomas Barry Thomas Hardcastle William Greenly Thomas McBean David Lane John Jones, the second of that name Ebenezer Slade James Hanniford William Tripling John Holmes William Vincent Thomas Fry William Clark, captain's servant James Holly, captain's servant Benjamin Walker, second mate's servant James Hebbell, surgeon's servant William Todd, gunner's servant

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		Richard Nutt Carptr George Webster Seaman [...] (signed) Richd Dowton Muster Roll of Ship Speaker James Dewar Commandr John Lenox 1st Mate Charles Ward 2 Robert Scott 3 Charles Newland 4 Alexander Hodge 5th James Stevens 6th John Davis Purser Charles Richardson Surg Gilbert Turnbull Do Mte John Hayler Boatn John Baggott Carpr Robert Fothering Gunner William Watson Midsh Willoby Barry Mid Archd Turnbill Do Alexander Stranger John Johnson 2d Mte John Johnson Do James Arthur Do George Ward Do Charles Clark Boats Mte Charles Todd Carptrs Do James Scott Do William Reid Gunr Duncan McAlpin Cooper John Forsithe Do Mte Chris: Pearse Sailmak Hugh McPherson C[...] James Rick Ships Do William White Caulker William Brandon Mte Edward Pugh Armorer John D[...]er Cook John Smith Ships Cook William King Butch: James Ward Poulterer Thomas Moore Seaman Charles Lenox Do James Harley John Way John Buck	William Healy, boatswain's servant Richard Nattl, carpenter's servant George Webster, seaman [...] Richard Doveton signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Speaker* followed. James Dewar, commander John Lenox, first mate Charles Ward, second mate Robert Scott, third mate Charles Newland, fourth mate Alexander Hedge, fifth mate James Stevens, sixth mate John Davis, purser Charles Richardson, surgeon Gilbert Turnbull, surgeon's mate John Hayler, boatswain John Baggott, carpenter Robert Fothering, gunner William Watson, midshipman Willoby Barry, midshipman Archibald Turnbill, midshipman Alexander Stranger John Johnson, quartermaster John Johnson, quartermaster James Arthur, quartermaster George Ward, quartermaster Charles Clark, boatswain's mate Charles Todd, carpenter's mate James Scott, carpenter's mate William Reid, gunner's mate Duncan McAlpin, cooper John Forsythe, cooper's mate Christopher Pearse, sailmaker Hugh McPherson, captain's steward James Rich, ship's steward William White, caulker William Brandon, caulker's mate Edward Pugh, armourer John Dunmore, captain's cook John Smith, ship's cook William King, butcher James Ward, poulterer Thomas Moore, seaman Charles Lenox, seaman James Harley John Way John Buck John [...] **Interpretations** The presence of a butcher and a poulterer on the *Speaker* shows that an East India ship carried much of her fresh food alive. Cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry were penned on deck and slaughtered as the voyage went on, and these men were rated specifically to tend and kill them. Calls at St Helena allowed such stock to be replenished, which is one reason the Company's own farm figures moved with the shipping in the road. Both ships kept a captain's steward and cook alongside the ship's steward and cook. The commander of an East Indiaman ran his own table for officers and paying passengers, supplied largely at his own cost and profit, and his personal staff served that table rather than the crew. The distinction made the commander something close to a private host as well as a naval officer. The servants listed at the foot of the *Glatton*'s roll were boys or young men attached to individual officers such as the gunner, boatswain and carpenter. The arrangement worked as a form of apprenticeship, since the servant learned his master's trade at sea, while the officer drew the servant's wages. The *Glatton*'s six mates and the *Speaker*'s six reflected the large complements of the Company's ships, where a

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			strict hierarchy of mates allowed watches to be kept and trade to be managed on long voyages.
406	402	16th August John Robinson John Russel William Barlas Thomas Crichton Charles Gold Thomas Patterson John Blythe Boston Last David Bean George Law James Henderson David Duncan Alexander Sim Robert Key Robert Robinson John Maswell John Hart George Brown Cn Mc Vie John Monroe James Cahoon Edward Finly John Duncan John Forbes John Bean Daniel Robinson Phillip Berrill Thomas Brown Simson Greeves John Young James Patterson Andrew Hannah George Askin James Bruce William Robinson John Cummins James Bell Richard Hawker John Horton John Bridgewater George Council Edwd Shoesmith Hercules Collier Robert Brown William Reynolds Peter Thomas John Humphreys William Cropley James Oldfield Simon Burton Jos. Antonio Silvera George Smith Capt Servt John White Do John Smith 1st Mte Benj Jones Surg Do John Shifter Boats Do William Lane Carpr Richard Scully Gunr Cæsar Mosely 2 Mte Passengers Captain Charles Todd Mrs Todd 3 Children 4 Servants Lieut John Kendelath Lieut Robert Munro Lieut Peter Ogilvie Ensign McDonald Mrs Traverse Stonebuckle Masters Stuart & their Servts Nichopher Aboyainott Timothy Haslenoff	The *Speaker*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her crew. John Robinson John Russel William Barlow Thomas Crichton Charles Gold Thomas Patterson John Blythe Boston Last David Bean George Law James Henderson David Duncan Alexander Sim Robert Key Robert Robinson John Maxwell John Hart George Brown [...] McVice John Monroe James Cahoon Edward Finly John Duncan John Forbes John Bean Daniel Robinson Phillip Berrill Thomas Brown Simson Greeves John Young James Patterson Andrew Hannah George Askin James Bruce William Robinson John Cummins James Bell Richard Hawker John Horton John Bridgewater George Council Edward Shoesmith Hercules Collier Robert Brown William Reynolds Peter Thomas John Humphreys William Cropley James Oldfield Simon Burton Joseph Antonio Silvera George Smith, captain's servant John White, captain's servant John Smith, first mate's servant Henry Jones, surgeon's servant John Shifter, boatswain's servant William Lane, carpenter's servant Richard Scully, gunner's servant Caesar Mosely, second mate's servant The ship was also carrying passengers. Captain Charles Todd Mrs Todd 3 children 4 servants Lieutenant John Kendelath Lieutenant Robert Munro Lieutenant Peter Ogilvie Ensign McDonald Mrs Traverse Stonebuckle The Stuart boys and their servants [...] Rabajanott

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		(signed) James Dewar The Storekeeper this day brought in the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Speaker viz	Timothy Kastenoff James Dewar signed the roll. The storekeeper then laid before the Council an account of stores that had come ashore from the *Speaker* in smaller quantities than expected. **Interpretations** The passenger list shows the *Speaker* carrying a small party of army officers, from a captain down to an ensign, together with Captain Todd's wife, children and household servants. Officers returning from service in India commonly travelled home this way, paying the commander for cabin space and a place at his table. Recording passengers alongside the crew let the Council know exactly who was aboard and who might try to remain on the island without leave. The crew itself was far from wholly British. Joseph Antonio Silvera bore a Portuguese name, and East India ships often filled gaps in their crews at Asian ports with Portuguese, Indian and other seamen. Such men were entered on the roll in the same way as the rest, since the Council's concern was simply that every name listed should be found aboard. An account of stores received short set out the gap between what a ship's paperwork said she had delivered and what the storekeeper actually counted into the Company's warehouse. The difference could be charged against the commander, who was answerable for cargo carried in his ship. Such accounts protected the Company against pilferage on the voyage and against goods quietly sold in the road before landing.
407	403	1764 Account of Stores short received from Ship Speaker Rice short Weight 0cwt 3qrs 4lb Paddy Recd 45cwt 3qrs 0lb (signed) James Powell Storekeeper St Helena August 16th 1764 John Skottowe Pirling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th day August 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Pirling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 16th August 1764 Friday the 17th Arrived the Deptfords Boat at Banks's at 3 o'Clock in the Afternoon Do arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Deptford from Madrass and brought Us the following supplys viz Invoice of Ship Deptford S:H Long Cloth Superfine Bales No 1 - 1 10 ps @ Pags 12 each Pags 120 Fs 0 Cash 0 10 do @ Pags 10 Pags 100 Fs 0 Cash 0 10 do @ Pags 8 Pags 80 Fs 0 Cash 0 Pags 300 Fs 0 Cash 0 2 1 Long Cloth Superfine 30 ps @ Pags 5⅝ p po Pags 168 Fs 27 Cash 0 Carried over Pags 468 Fs 27 Cash 0	The storekeeper's account of shortfalls from the *Speaker* listed two items, measured in hundredweights, quarters and pounds. Rice delivered under its stated weight: 0 cwt 3 qr 4 lb Unhusked rice received: 45 cwt 3 qr 0 lb James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 16 August 1764. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick added their signatures. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 20 August 1764. The Governor sat with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The minutes of the previous meeting, dated 16 August 1764, were read, approved and signed. A boat from the *Deptford* reached Banks's at three in the afternoon on Friday 17 August. The Company's ship herself came in from Madras the same day, bringing supplies for the island. Her invoice ran as follows, with every bale marked for St Helena. Bale 1, superfine longcloth 10 pieces at 12 pagodas each, 120 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 10 pieces at 10 pagodas each, 100 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 10 pieces at 8 pagodas each, 80 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total for bale 1, 300 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Bale 2, superfine longcloth 30 pieces at 5⅝ pagodas each, 168 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash Carried forward, 468 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash **Interpretations** Longcloth was a plain-woven cotton cloth made on the Coromandel coast of south-east India and named for the unusual length of each piece. It was one of the staple textiles the Company bought at Madras, and the superfine grade was the most finely spun and closely woven. On St Helena it served for shirts, household linen and general clothing, since the

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			island produced no cloth of its own. The wide spread of prices within a single bale, from 12 pagodas down to 8, shows that even superfine cloth was graded piece by piece. The invoice was priced in the currency of Madras. The pagoda was a small gold coin, divided into 36 fanams, each of which was worth 80 cash. The second bale's figure bears this out: 30 pieces at 5⅝ pagodas came to 168¾ pagodas, and the three-quarters appears as 27 fanams. Pricing in the currency of origin allowed the Company to check the invoice against its Madras books before the goods were converted into sterling on the island's accounts. The rice figures were weighed in hundredweights, quarters and pounds. The first line recorded rice that fell nearly a whole quarter short of its declared weight, while the second recorded paddy, rice still in its husk. Rice was imported from India to feed the Company's slaves and garrison, and any shortfall in weight could be charged against the ship that carried it. The *Deptford*'s boat arrived at Banks's ahead of the ship herself. Banks's was one of the fortified landing points on the island's north coast, and a ship approaching from the east would send her boat in first to announce her arrival and exchange signals with the garrison before coming to anchor off James Town.
408	404	20th August Brought over Pags 468 Fs 27 Cash 0 3 to 4 2 Long Cloth Fine 60 ps @ Pags 67 Fs 31 p Corge Pags 203 Fs 21 Cash 0 Batavia Arrack 2 Leagrs of 300 Gallns at Pags 60 p Leagr Pags 120 Fs 0 Cash 0 Rice 26 Bags 180 Mercls @ Pags 48 p Garce Pags 21 Fs 21 Cash 48 Paddy 25 Do 150 Mds @ Pags 11 p Pag Pags 13 Fs 22 Cash 72 Pags 827 Fs 20 Cash 40 Charges Merchandize Packing 4 Bales @ Fs 2 ea Pags 8 Fs 0 Cash 0 Gunny Bags Pags 2 Fs 11 Cash 13 Tin Plates and Nails Pags 0 Fs 6 Cash 0 Weighing Cooley Pags 0 Fs 3 Cash 40 Boat hire 4 Boats Pags 0 Fs 32 Cash 0 Cooley hire on the above Pags 0 Fs 16 Cash 0 Tarpauling hire for three Boats at 4 Fanams Pags 0 Fs 12 Cash 0 Pags 12 Fs 8 Cash 53 Pagodas Pags 839 Fs 29 Cash 13 Errors Excepted Richd Fairfield Accompt Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of July last which is as follows viz	The *Deptford*'s invoice continued from the total of 468 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash brought forward. Brought forward, 468 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash Bales 3 and 4, fine longcloth, 60 pieces at 67 pagodas 31 fanams per score, 203 pagodas 21 fanams 0 cash Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers holding 300 gallons, at 60 pagodas per leaguer, 120 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Rice, 26 bags holding 180 marcals, at 48 pagodas per garce, 21 pagodas 21 fanams 48 cash Unhusked rice, 25 bags holding 150 marcals, at 11 marcals per pagoda, 13 pagodas 22 fanams 72 cash Value of goods, 827 pagodas 20 fanams 40 cash Charges on the goods Packing 4 bales at 2 pagodas each, 8 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Jute sacks, 2 pagodas 11 fanams 13 cash Tin plates and nails, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Labourers for weighing, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 40 cash Hire of 4 boats, 0 pagodas 32 fanams 0 cash Labourers to load the boats, 0 pagodas 16 fanams 0 cash Tarpaulins for 3 boats at 4 fanams each, 0 pagodas 12 fanams 0 cash Total charges, 12 pagodas 3 fanams 53 cash Total of the invoice, 839 pagodas 29 fanams 13 cash Richard Fairfield, the accountant, signed the invoice with the customary reservation against clerical slips. The Council next recorded that it had counted and checked the Company's cash for July. **Interpretations** Several Indian trade measures appear in the invoice. Longcloth was priced by the score, known in the Madras trade as a corge, so 60 pieces made three scores. The leaguer was the largest cask used for spirits, here holding 150 gallons apiece. Rice was measured by the marcal, a volume of grain used around Madras, while bulk rice was priced by the garce, a much larger unit of roughly 400 marcals. Pricing the paddy at 11 marcals to the pagoda rather than by the garce reflected its lower value, since the husk had still to be removed. Batavia arrack came from the Dutch trading centre on Java, where it was distilled from molasses and fermented rice. It was considered the finest

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			arrack in the eastern trade, and the Company bought it at Madras for re-export. The two leaguers probably went to replenish the island's stocks of the spirit, heavily used at the Company's table, which consumed 68 bottles in July 1764. The charges section shows how the full cost of goods sent to St Helena was built up at Madras before they ever left port. Packing, jute sacks, tin plates to seal the bales, the labourers who weighed and carried the cargo, and hired boats with tarpaulins to ferry it through the surf to the waiting ship all fell on the island's account. Coolies were hired Indian labourers, paid by the job.
409	405	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1764 July 1 To Balance remaining £7326 7s 3d 6 To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn on the Honoble the Court of Directors payable to Mr Elias Thackery for £26 0s 0d 7 To Ship Havannah received the Balance of her Accot £7 5s 0d £7359 12s 3d 1764 July 31st By Balance remaining In Specie £6819 17s 3d In Cash Notes of no use £539 15s 0d £7359 12s 3d £7359 12s 3d John Skottowe Pirling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 1764	The Council's count of the Company's cash for July 1764 set receipts against the balance held at the end of the month. Receipts 1 July 1764, balance in hand, £7,326 7s 3d 6 July 1764, premium on a set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors in favour of Elias Thackery, £26 0s 0d 7 July 1764, settlement of the balance of the *Havannah*'s account, £7 5s 0d Total, £7,359 12s 3d Balance held 31 July 1764, in coin, £6,819 17s 3d 31 July 1764, in cash notes out of circulation, £539 15s 0d Total, £7,359 12s 3d Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The £26 entry reveals how money moved between St Helena and London. Anyone on the island wishing to send funds home paid cash into the Company's treasury and received in return a set of bills of exchange payable by the directors in London. The Company charged a premium for this service, and it was that premium, not the sum remitted, that appeared here as income. The arrangement gave the island a supply of coin while sparing the Company the cost and risk of shipping specie out. Bills of exchange were issued in sets, usually of three identical copies, each sent home by a different ship. Whichever copy arrived first was paid and the rest became void, so a single loss at sea did not destroy the remittance. The split of the balance between coin and cash notes shows that the island's treasury held more than hard money. The notes, worth over £500, were described as unusable, perhaps because they had been paid back into the treasury and withdrawn from circulation rather than reissued. Counting them separately kept the Council from treating paper that could not be spent as part of its working funds. The monthly count itself was a standing control. The Governor and councillors personally examined the treasury and signed the result, making them jointly answerable to the directors for any shortfall.
410	406	27th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th day of August 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Pirling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 20 August 1764. Monday the 20th sailed the Dutch Ship for Amsterdam Thursday the 23 sailed the Honorable Companys Ships Glatton and Speaker for England.	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 27 August 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick in attendance. The minutes of the meeting held on 20 August 1764 were read, approved and signed. A Dutch ship left for Amsterdam on Monday 20 August. The Company's ships *Glatton* and *Speaker* sailed for England three days later. Alexander Groombridge, a corporal, completed the term of service he had signed up for with the Company. He applied on 21 August for release from the garrison, and the Council agreed. The Council ordered a public notice to be issued to everyone living on the island. Each household was to deliver a signed and accurate return of its family

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		On the 21st instant Alexander Groombridge Corporal having served the Honorable Company his contracted time petitioned for his discharge from the Garrison Granted Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz Island St Helena This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants of the said Island, that they are hereby required to send into the Secretarys Office on or before the twentieth of September next ensuing, an exact signed Account of their Familys Land and Cattle and to attend at the Castle on Thursday the first day of October to pay their Rents and Revenues due to the Honorable Company for the Year past Notice is hereby further given that the Honorable Companys stores will be shut from the 8th September to the 8th October next The Storekeeper brought in the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship Deptford viz	members, land and cattle to the Secretary's Office no later than 20 September. Householders were then to come to the Castle on 1 October to settle the rents and other dues owed to the Company for the past year. A second notice announced that the Company's stores would close from 8 September until 8 October. The storekeeper then presented an account of goods from the *Deptford* that had arrived short of their stated quantities. **Interpretations** The annual household return was the foundation of the Company's revenue on the island. Every landholder had to declare family, land and livestock in writing and sign the declaration, which gave the Secretary a checkable record against which rents and dues could be assessed. The signature made the settler personally answerable for any understatement. Tying the return to a fixed rent day at the Castle brought every householder before the island's government once a year, reinforcing that land was held from the Company rather than owned outright. Closing the stores for a full month shut off the settlers' main source of imported goods. The timing, immediately before the rent day, allowed the storekeeper to take stock and settle accounts without new sales complicating the books, while ensuring that debts to the Company were reckoned at a single fixed point. Soldiers in the Company's garrison enlisted for a fixed term, and Groombridge's release shows that the contract was honoured once served. A discharged soldier could stay on the island as a settler or seek passage home, and the Council's formal approval was needed because the garrison could not lose men without its sanction. The Dutch ship's call shows that foreign vessels were admitted to St Helena for water and fresh provisions. Recording the departure alongside those of the Company's own ships gave the directors a full picture of traffic through the road.
411	407	1764 viz Account of Stores short received from the Ship Deptford Rice 7cwt 0qrs 12lb Paddy 4cwt 1qrs 15lb Short weight No 2 One Bale Long Cloth cont 9 80 Ps short delivered No 1 One Leagr Arrack gages 150 Galls wants to fill 11 Galls 2 One Do Do 150 Galls Do 12 Galls 300 Galls 23 Galls 23 Galls Neat 277 Galls St Helena August 27th 1764 Er (signed) Js Powell Storekeepr John Skottowe Pirling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th September 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Pirling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approve and signed dated 27 August 1764. Mr Matthew Pirling Reports that he has been on board the	The storekeeper's account of goods from the *Deptford* that fell short of their invoiced quantities was entered as follows. Rice delivered underweight: 7 cwt 0 qr 12 lb Unhusked rice delivered underweight: 4 cwt 1 qr 15 lb Bale 2 of longcloth, invoiced at 30 pieces: 1 piece missing Leaguer 1 of arrack, measured at 150 gallons: 11 gallons short of full Leaguer 2 of arrack, measured at 150 gallons: 12 gallons short of full Total arrack measured, 300 gallons; total shortfall, 23 gallons Arrack actually received: 277 gallons James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 27 August 1764. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick countersigned it. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 September 1764, with the Governor, Purling and Captain Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 27 August 1764 were read, approved and signed. Purling reported that he had gone aboard the Company's ship *Deptford* to muster her crew and check for deserters. None were missing, and her muster roll was entered in the record. **Interpretations** The arrack figures show how liquid cargo was checked on landing. Each leaguer was gauged, measuring its full capacity, and the empty space at the top was then measured to find how much spirit had been lost. The loss of 23 gallons from 300 represented nearly 8 per cent of the consignment. Leakage and evaporation on a long voyage in wooden

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		Honorable Companys Ship Deptford to muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows viz	casks accounted for some shortfall, but losses on this scale also invited suspicion of tapping by the crew. At the invoice price of 60 pagodas a leaguer, the missing arrack was worth over 4 pagodas. The missing piece of longcloth from bale 2 was a clearer matter. A bale was packed, sealed and marked at Madras, so a shortfall on opening pointed either to an error in packing or to interference in transit. Recording it formally, with the signatures of the Governor and Council, created the evidence the Company needed to pursue the loss with its Madras factors or the ship's commander. The heavy shortfall in rice, over 7 hundredweight, followed the pattern already seen with the *Speaker* on 16 August 1764. Grain in bags lost weight as it dried out on the voyage and was prone to spillage and damage in the hold. Repeated shortfalls of this kind meant the island's actual supply of its staple food consistently fell below what the invoices promised.
412	408	3d September Muster Roll of Ship Deptford Captain Willm Tryon Mr Thomas Moore Chf Mte Mr William Hammett 2d Mr John Stewart 3d Mr James Duggen 4 Mr David Duncomb Surgeon Mr James Richards Purser William Spix Midsh Robert Cross Do James Wood Richard Kimber William Cornish Patrick Clugh Surg Mte John Heslop Gunr Thomas Lloyd Carpenter John Sisterson Boatn Andrew Melvin 2d Mte John Wallace Do Robt Ballantine Do James Frazer Do John Boullanger Baker Andrew Miller Sh Stew George Harris Caulker John Whitacre Cooper John Bates Armorer Richard Farmbrough Cap Cook William Gibbons Ships Cook George Pearson Capt Stew William Ravenhill Sailmaker James Noyes Taylor William Henry Caulkr Mte Rupert Condon Do John Morris Carpenters Do Wm Meston John Basham Carpr Mte Edward Smith Joiner Marten Judhope Boats Mte Robert Smith Caulkers Henry Dean Poulterer James Hesketh Carpr Mte Robert Hay Seaman Richard Kedall Frances Coulson Edward Richardson William Stent Alexander Henderson William Forster John Stent John Bruce Martin White John Cooke John Stevenson William Bell	The *Deptford*'s muster roll listed her officers and crew as follows. Captain William Tryon, commander Thomas Moore, chief mate William Hammett, second mate John Stewart, third mate James Biggen, fourth mate David Duncomb, surgeon James Richards, purser William Epes, midshipman Robert Cosps, midshipman James Wood Richard Rimber William Cornish Patrick Clugh, surgeon's mate John Heslop, gunner Thomas Lloyd, carpenter John Sisterson, boatswain Andrew Melvin, quartermaster John Wallace, quartermaster Robert Ballantine, quartermaster James Frazer, quartermaster John Boullanger, baker Ambrose Miller, ship's steward George Harris, caulker John Whitacre, cooper John Bates, armourer Richard Farnborough, captain's cook William Gibbons, ship's cook George Pearson, captain's steward William Ravenhill, sailmaker James Noyes, tailor William Henry, [...] mate Rupert London, cooper's mate John Morris, carpenter's mate William Meston John Basham, carpenter's mate Edward Smith, joiner Martin Judhope, boatswain's mate Robert Smith, caulker's mate Henry Dean, poulterer James Hirkettle, carpenter's mate Robert Hay, seaman Richard Kedall Francis Coulson Edward Richardson William Stent Alexander Henderson William Forster John Stent John Bruce Martin White John Cook John Stevenson William Bell

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		David Forston Rice Williams Alexr McBeth Henry Bygett Henry Brookes William Nichols John Booth John Beaton James Aarnie John Byam William Jobson James Walsh John Boyes John Melvin Julius Cæsar John Barwick Tunn Boy Charles Cooper Carpr Mte John McFarling Boats Matthias Flute Gunrs William Ham Stew Jos Potter 1st Officers Thomas Jones Do William Nash Surg Robert Jackson Seam John Halford Nathanl Tilley Isral Ezaro Francisco Monte Serang Geo Hendric Tindal Francisco Silva Jack Charle Huan Manuel Leonardo Anthoni Ambrose Desouz Jorigue De Rozar Andrew Fornes Joakin Forment Anthony Joan Josque De Cruz Francisco Bastien Peter Martin Domingo De Cruz Matthew Cruz John Twaits Alexandr Groombridge Josque William Richie Passengers The Honoble Geo Monson Capt Albert Jones Capt Chris Nesham Capt John Tate Lieut Prendergast Lieut Philips Lieut Leighton Lieut Crabb Ensign Sharper Ensign Thomas Surgeon Drew J Jones William Graham William Cooks William Rice John Robinson John Eccles John Taylor	David Forston Rice Williams Alexander McBeth Henry Bigett Henry Brooks William Nichols John Booth John Beston James Harnie John Byam William Jobson James Walsh John Boyes John Melvin Julius Caesar John Barwick Troon, boy Charles Cooper, carpenter's servant John McFarling, boatswain's servant Matthew Fluit, gunner's servant William Ham, steward's servant Joseph Potter, first officer's servant Thomas Jones, first officer's servant William Nash, surgeon's servant Robert Jackson, [...] John Halford Nathaniel Tilley Israel Lagare, serang Francisco Monte, serang George Hendric, tindal Francisco Silva Jack Charlie Juan Manuel Leonardo Anthoni Ambrose de Sousa Joriques de Rozar Andrew Forner Joakim Forment Anthony Joan Josque de Cruz Francisco Bastien Peter Martin Domingo de Cruz Matthew Cruz John Twaits Alexander Groombridge Josque William Rucker The ship was also carrying passengers. The Honourable George Monson Captain Albert Jones Captain Christopher Nesham Captain John Tate Lieutenant Prendergast Lieutenant Philips Lieutenant Leighton Lieutenant Crabb Ensign Sharpe Ensign Thomas Surgeon Drew J Jones William Graham William Coxe William Rice John Robinson John Eccles John Taylor **Interpretations** The roll shows a crew recruited well beyond Britain. The serangs and the tindal were the headmen of lascars, Asian seamen hired in Indian ports to fill out East India crews. A serang acted as a boatswain over the lascar gang, and a tindal as his deputy, relaying orders and keeping discipline among men who often shared no language with the English officers. The many Portuguese and Spanish names

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			beneath them, such as de Cruz, de Rozar and Silva, were probably Indo-Portuguese seamen from Goa or the Coromandel coast, who formed a large part of the Company's Asian maritime workforce. Alexander Groombridge appeared among the crew only days after the Council released him from the garrison on 21 August 1764. The discharged corporal had evidently signed on to the *Deptford* to work his way home, which spared him the cost of a passage and gave the ship a replacement hand. The passenger list was dominated by army officers, from four captains down to two ensigns, together with an army surgeon. The heading of the list with an "Honourable", a courtesy style given to the younger sons of peers, placed a man of rank at the top of the list, reflecting the social order observed even in shipboard records. Julius Caesar was a name typical of those given to slaves and servants of African or Asian origin in 18th-century British households. His place on the roll without any stated rank suggests he served as an ordinary hand.
413	409	1764 D McKenzie Nanthl Hinds William Hutchinson Ruben Tenks James Hamilton John Story William Drummer James Moore John Symenton Jas Shaw John Hutchinson Stephen Pryer John Jeffrie John Pebbly Robt Spence Thomas Robinson Gilbert Sinclair John O'Carrol William Richie John Osborn Hugh Becket John Smith Daniel Bumpstead Alexander Grazier Chas Shepperd William Winthorp John Thomas John Lysaght Mrs Smith and two Children Mrs Eccles Mrs Hamilton John Dennison Alexander Anderson William Brown Thomas Langford William Herbert Charles Denny Mrs Tate Mr William Mr Makon Mr Lowney Mr Aaron Nunus Mr David Gracier Miss Rebbeca Franco Miss Esther Franco Mary Attendant (signed) Wm Tryon Appointed Mr Matthew Pirling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick to inspect and take the Remains of the Honorable Companys Stores for the present Year as usual	The *Deptford*'s passenger list continued with the following names. D McKenzie Nathaniel Hinds William Hutchinson Reuben Jenks James Hamilton John Story William Drummer James Moore John Symenton James Shaw John Hutchinson Stephen Pryer John Jeffrie John Pebbly Robert Spence Thomas Robinson Gilbert Sinclair John O'Carrol William Richie John Osborn Hugh Becket John Smith Daniel Bumpstead Alexander Grazier Charles Sheppard William Winthrop John Thomas John Lysight Mrs Smith and her 2 children Mrs Eccles Mrs Hamilton John Dennison Alexander Anderson William Brown Thomas Langford William Herbert Charles Denny Mrs Tate Mrs Williams Mrs Mahon Mrs Lowney Aaron Nunes David Gracier Miss Rebecca Franco Miss Esther Franco Mary, their attendant William Tryon signed the roll. The Council appointed Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick to carry out the usual yearly stocktaking of the Company's stores.

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		We this day enlisted Stephen Pryer Corporal and John Osborn Centinel two of his Majesty's Soldiers to serve the Honorable Company five Years they being good Men We gave them each ten pounds bounty money. John Skottowe Pirling Thos Kirkpatrick	Stephen Pryer and John Osborn, two soldiers of the King's army, joined the Company's service the same day. Pryer took the rank of corporal and Osborn became a private, each signing on for five years. The Council judged them good men and paid each a bounty of £10 0s 0d. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Kirkpatrick signed the entry. **Interpretations** Both new recruits appear in the passenger list above, showing that the Council used passing ships as a recruiting ground for the garrison. Soldiers of the royal regiments returning from India could be persuaded to transfer to the Company's service on the spot, and the bounty of £10 was the inducement. For an ordinary soldier it represented many months' pay in a single sum. The island thereby gained trained men without the cost and delay of sending recruits out from England, and the choice of Pryer as a corporal shows the Council valued his experience. The stocktaking by two councillors fitted the annual cycle announced on 27 August 1764, when the Council ordered the stores closed from 8 September to 8 October. Closure allowed Purling and Kirkpatrick to count every item remaining without sales disturbing the figures, and their count formed the opening balance for the next year's store accounts sent to London. Aaron Nunes, David Gracier and the Franco sisters bore names typical of the Sephardic Jewish families of London. Such families were active in the trade between London and India, and their presence among the passengers shows that the Company's ships carried private merchants and their households as well as its own servants and soldiers.
414	410	10th September At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th day of September 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Pirling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 3 September 1764 viz Thursday the 6th sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Deptford for England The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of August were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz Sundrys expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month of August last viz Port Wine 13 Bottles £0 19s 6d Lisbon 43 Bottles £3 4s 6d Mountain 13 Bottles £0 19s 6d Beer 20 Bottles £0 5s 2½d Arrack 67 Bottles £3 12s 7d Beef 266½lb £5 10s 11¼d Salt Pork 7lb £0 17s 9½d	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 September 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick in attendance. The minutes of 3 September 1764 were read, approved and signed. The Company's ship *Deptford* left for England on Thursday 6 September. The August accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the steward came before the Council, which examined and approved them. The first recorded what the Company's table had consumed during the month. 13 bottles of port wine, £0 19s 6d 43 bottles of Lisbon wine, £3 4s 6d 13 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 19s 6d 20 bottles of beer, £0 5s 2½d 67 bottles of arrack, £3 12s 7d 266½ lb of beef, £5 10s 11¼d 7[...] lb of salt pork, £0 17s 9½d 155½ lb of mutton, £3 2s 6d 16 lb of goat meat, £0 5s 4d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 1 lamb, £0 10s 0d 5 geese, £1 5s 0d 6 ducks, £0 12s 0d 10 chickens, £0 15s 0d 48 lb of butter, £2 8s 0d 49½ lb of sugar candy, £0 16s 4d 238 lb of flour, £1 9s 9d Total, £26 18s 11¼d **Interpretations** The table's costs rose by nearly £5 over July 1764, when the account came to £21 19s 9¼d. The increase lay almost entirely in meat and wine. Beef climbed from 165½ lb to 266½ lb and mutton from 105¾ lb to 155½ lb, while Lisbon wine nearly doubled from 23 to 43 bottles. August brought an unusually busy road, with the *Glatton*, *Speaker* and *Deptford* all lying off James Town and carrying commanders and senior military passengers. The Company's table probably entertained some of these

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		Mutton 155½lb £3 2s 6d Goat 16lb £0 5s 4d Kid 1 Kid £0 5s 0d Lamb 1 Lamb £0 10s 0d Geese 5 Geese £1 5s 0d Ducks 6 Ducks £0 12s 0d Fowls 10 Fowls £0 15s 0d Butter 48lb £2 8s 0d Candy 49lb £0 16s 4d Flour 238lb £1 9s 9d £26 18s 11¼d	visitors, since hospitality to commanders and officers of rank formed part of the island government's duties. The goat account moved the other way, dropping from 70 lb in July to only 16 lb, though a kid and a lamb were added. The table was evidently drawing on beef and mutton in preference to goat while it had guests to feed. Prices held almost exactly steady between the two months. Port, Lisbon and Mountain wine were each charged at 1s 6d a bottle, flour at 1½d a pound and butter at 1s a pound in both accounts. Arrack alone rose slightly, from just under 1s a bottle in July to 1s 1d in August. The fixed rates show that the Company's table was charged at set store prices rather than at whatever the market in James Town happened to fetch.
415	411	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca in the Month of August 1764 viz Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Asses, Total Remaining 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 85, Yearlings 59, Heifers 18, Steers 21, Oxen 21, Total 290, Ewes 308, Weathers 138, Lambs 212, Rams 8, Total 666, Ewes 166, Weathers 51, Kids 87, Rams 9, Total 313, Sows 2, Shoats 1, Pigs 9, Boars 1, Total 13, Fowls 68, Ducks 14, Turkeys 13, Geese 20, Horses 8, Mares 5, Total 13, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 4, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 25, Rams 0, Total 25, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 10, Rams 0, Total 10, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 12, Ducks 4, Turkeys 12, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 1, Total 1, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 89, Yearlings 59, Heifers 18, Steers 21, Oxen 21, Total 294, Ewes 308, Weathers 138, Lambs 237, Rams 8, Total 691, Ewes 166, Weathers 51, Kids 97, Rams 9, Total 323, Sows 2, Shoats 1, Pigs 9, Boars 1, Total 13, Fowls 80, Ducks 18, Turkeys 25, Geese 20, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 3, Steers 3, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 4, Weathers 13, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 18, Ewes 0, Weathers 1, Kids 4, Rams 0, Total 5, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 10, Ducks 8, Turkeys 2, Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 4, Weathers 3, Lambs 5, Rams 1, Total 13, Ewes 3, Weathers 0, Kids 3, Rams 0, Total 6, Sows 1, Shoats 0, Pigs 2, Boars 0, Total 3, Fowls 4, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Sent on board the Ship Speaker: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0,	Matthew Bazett, the overseer, drew up the monthly account of the Company's cattle and other livestock for August 1764. Stock on hand, 1 August 1764 Cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 85 calves, 59 yearlings, 18 heifers, 21 steers, 21 oxen, total 290 Sheep: 308 ewes, 138 wethers, 212 lambs, 8 rams, total 666 Goats: 166 females, 51 wethers, 87 kids, 9 billies, total 313 Pigs: 2 sows, 1 weaned young pig, 9 piglets, 1 boar, total 13 Poultry: 68 chickens, 14 ducks, 13 turkeys, 20 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 5 mares, total 13 Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Born during the month Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 4 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 4 Sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 25 lambs, 0 rams, total 25 Goats: 0 females, 0 wethers, 10 kids, 0 billies, total 10 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 12 chickens, 4 ducks, 12 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 1 mare, total 1 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Combined total before losses Cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 89 calves, 59 yearlings, 18 heifers, 21 steers, 21 oxen, total 294 Sheep: 308 ewes, 138 wethers, 237 lambs, 8 rams, total 691 Goats: 166 females, 51 wethers, 97 kids, 9 billies, total 323 Pigs: 2 sows, 1 weaned young pig, 9 piglets, 1 boar, total 13 Poultry: 80 chickens, 18 ducks, 25 turkeys, 20 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Slaughtered Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 3 heifers, 3 steers, 0 oxen, total 6

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		Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 7, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 7, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining 31st: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 89, Yearlings 59, Heifers 15, Steers 18, Oxen 21, Total 288, Ewes 300, Weathers 115, Lambs 231, Rams 7, Total 653, Ewes 163, Weathers 50, Kids 90, Rams 9, Total 312, Sows 1, Shoats 1, Pigs 7, Boars 1, Total 10, Fowls 66, Ducks 10, Turkeys 23, Geese 16, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Yam Expended for the Slaves 29240 lb For Stock 4500 lb 33740 lb 1 Girl born named Isabella 1 Boy Dead named August Errors Excepted Matthew Bazett **Margin Notes:** 1764	Sheep: 4 ewes, 13 wethers, 1 lamb, 0 rams, total 18 Goats: 0 females, 1 wether, 4 kids, 0 billies, total 5 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 10 chickens, 8 ducks, 2 turkeys, 4 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Died Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 0 Sheep: 4 ewes, 3 wethers, 5 lambs, 1 ram, total 13 Goats: 3 females, 0 wethers, 3 kids, 0 billies, total 6 Pigs: 1 sow, 0 weaned young pigs, 2 piglets, 0 boars, total 3 Poultry: 4 chickens, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Sent aboard the *Speaker*: Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 0 Sheep: 0 ewes, 7 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 7 Goats: 0 females, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, total 0 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 0 chickens, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Stock on hand, 31 August 1764 Cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 89 calves, 59 yearlings, 15 heifers, 18 steers, 21 oxen, total 288 Sheep: 300 ewes, 115 wethers, 231 lambs, 7 rams, total 653 Goats: 163 females, 50 wethers, 90 kids, 9 billies, total 312 Pigs: 1 sow, 1 weaned young pig, 7 piglets, 1 boar, total 10 Poultry: 66 chickens, 10 ducks, 23 turkeys, 16 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Yams issued to feed the slaves: 29,240 Yams issued to feed the livestock: 4,500 Total yams issued: 33,740 A girl named Isabella was born during the month, and a boy named August died. Bazett signed the account with the usual reservation against clerical errors. **Interpretations** The birth of Isabella and the death of the boy August appeared in the livestock return in exactly the way the deaths of Toney and Harry Rich did in July 1764. Recording slave children alongside lambs and calves shows that the Company counted births among its slaves as an increase in its own property. A child born to a Company slave became a Company slave in turn, so the overseer reported the birth to the Council as he would any other addition to the stock under his charge. The seven wethers sent aboard the *Speaker* show the Company's farm supplying fresh meat to its own shipping. The ship sailed for England on 23 August 1764, and live sheep taken aboard would have been slaughtered on the voyage by her butcher, William King, whose name appeared on her muster roll. Wethers were the obvious choice, since they were kept for meat and their loss did not reduce the breeding flock. The yam issue fell sharply against July. The slaves received 29,240 against 33,500 the month before, and the livestock 4,500 against 7,000, a combined drop from 40,500 to 33,740. The *Deptford* landed rice and

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			paddy from Madras on 17 August 1764, and that grain probably replaced part of the yam ration during the second half of the month. The smaller issue to the animals perhaps reflected better winter grazing as the season advanced. Lambing quickened markedly, with 25 lambs born against 13 in July, while losses among the sheep continued at 13 after 18 the month before. The flock nonetheless shrank from 666 to 653, since slaughter, deaths and the wethers sent to the *Speaker* together outweighed the new lambs. The pigs fared worst proportionately, losing three of their 13 animals to disease or accident with no births to replace them. The poultry killed did not match the birds charged to the Company's table in August as closely as in July. The table took 5 geese, 6 ducks and 10 chickens, while the farm slaughtered 4 geese, 8 ducks, 10 chickens and 2 turkeys. The difference suggests the Company's birds also went to other uses during a month when several ships lay in the road.
416	412	10th September Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of August 1764 viz Guns fired, 4pounder, 3pounder, 2pounder, 1pounder, Powder Expended 1st An Alarm of a Ship that went by: Guns fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb 6th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb Arrived the Liverpool Ship of War returned the Salute: Guns fired 13, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 13, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 13lb Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb Powder for priming in order to have saluted the Departure of the Liverpool Ship of War: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 7 A Double Alarm at Turks Cap: Guns fired 3, 4pounder 3, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 6lb A Double Alarm: Guns fired 9, 4pounder 3, 3pounder 3, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 3, Powder Expended 18lb Arrived the Glatton and Speaker returned their Salutes: Guns fired 18, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 15, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 20lb 8oz Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb 9th An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb Arrived a Dutch Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 15, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 15, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 15lb Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 8oz Departed the Pigot returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 17 An Alarm: Guns fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb Arrived the Deptford returned the Salute: Guns fired 9, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 9, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 9lb Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz	Thomas Hall recorded the artillery stores used on St Helena during August 1764, logging each occasion on which guns were fired, the number of guns of each size and the powder used. 1 August, alarm for a ship passing the island: 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 6 August, alarm fired: 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 6 August, arrival of the warship *Liverpool* and her salute answered: 13 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 13 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 13 lb 0 oz of powder 6 August, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder 6 August, priming powder for the salute on the departure of the *Liverpool*: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder 7 August, double alarm at Turk's Cap: 3 guns fired, 3 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 6 lb 0 oz of powder 7 August, double alarm: 9 guns fired, 3 four-pounders, 3 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 3 one-pounders, 18 lb 0 oz of powder 7 August, arrival of the *Glatton* and *Speaker* and their salutes answered: 18 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 15 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 20 lb 8 oz of powder 7 August, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder 9 August, alarm fired: 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 9 August, arrival of a Dutch ship and her salute answered: 15 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 15 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 15 lb 0 oz of powder 9 August, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 8 oz of powder 9 August, departure of the *Pigot* and her salute answered: 9 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder 9 August, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 17 August, alarm fired: 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder 17 August, arrival of the *Deptford* and her salute answered: 9 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder 17 August, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder

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		18 Fired to salute Honbl. Monsons arrival on Shore: Guns fired 13, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 13, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 13lb Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 20 Departed the Dutch Ship returned the Salute: Guns fired 15, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 15, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 15lb Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 8oz 23 Departed the Glatton and Speaker returned their Salutes: Guns fired 18, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 1, 2pounder 17, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 18lb 8oz Powder for Priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb Powder for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb 8oz Do for Signals: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 3lb Total: Guns fired 146, 4pounder 16, 3pounder 13, 2pounder 106, 1pounder 11, Powder Expended 210lb 8oz Paper for making Cannon Cartridges and for the Armorer 6 Qrs Needles broke with sewing Cartridges 3 Needles Match burnt at the Main Fort 6lb Bitts broke at Do 2 Bitts Hand Spikes broke at Do 2 Hand Spikes Tompions broke at Do 2 Tompions Rammer Heads broke at Sandy Bay 2 Rammer Heads Tallow for the Use of the Carts and Fire Engines 6lb (signed) Thos Hall	18 August, salute for Colonel Monson on landing: 15 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 15 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 15 lb 0 oz of powder 18 August, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder 20 August, departure of the Dutch ship and her salute answered: 15 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 15 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 15 lb 0 oz of powder 20 August, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 8 oz of powder 23 August, departure of the *Glatton* and *Speaker* and their salutes answered: 18 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 17 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 18 lb 8 oz of powder 23 August, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for refilling the cartridges at the Main Guard: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for signals: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder Total: 148 guns fired, 16 four-pounders, 13 three-pounders, 108 two-pounders, 11 one-pounders, 210 lb 8 oz of powder The other gunnery stores used up or broken during the month were listed separately. Paper for cannon cartridges and for the armourer: 6 quires Needles broken while sewing cartridges: 3 Slow match burnt at the Main Fort: 6 lb Bits broken at the Main Fort: 2 Handspikes broken at the Main Fort: 2 Tompions broken at the Main Fort: 2 Rammer heads broken at Sandy Bay: 2 Tallow for the carts and fire engines: 6 lb Thomas Hall signed the account. **Interpretations** The month's firing dwarfed that of July 1764, when 30 guns used 88 lb 8 oz of powder. August saw 148 guns fired and over 210 lb of powder consumed. The difference came almost entirely from the traffic in the road, with a warship, a Dutch ship and four Company ships arriving or departing, each exchange demanding a salute and its priming powder. The salutes followed a clear scale of rank. The Company's own ships received nine guns each, while the royal warship *Liverpool* and the foreign Dutch ship received 13 and 15. Colonel Monson, who had arrived as a passenger on the *Deptford*, was honoured on landing with 15 guns, more than any Company commander. The island's powder was spent according to status, and the gunner's account shows exactly how that hierarchy was expressed. The alarm fired for a passing ship on 1 August shows how the signal system worked. Lookouts on the high ground sighted ships at sea long before they reached the road, and guns fired from the signal posts warned the garrison and James Town. The double alarms of 7 August, including one at Turk's Cap, signalled more than one sail, alerting the island to the approach of the *Glatton* and *Speaker* later that day. Several new stores appeared in the list. Slow match was a cord soaked in saltpetre that smouldered steadily, kept alight at the batteries so guns could be fired at once. Tompions were wooden plugs fitted into the muzzles of guns to keep out rain and sea spray. The mention of fire engines shows that James Town kept hand-pumped fire engines, which needed greasing like the carts.
417	413	1764 Mr Orlando Bagley Senr this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governr	Orlando Bagley senior petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council on 10 September 1764. He held a lease on nine acres in the island's West Division, and the term had now run out. Bagley asked the Council to renew it, and the Council agreed.

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		&ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Orlando Bagley Senr Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease for nine Acres of Land lying in the West Division of the said Island which being expired Your Petitioner humbly begs that your Worship and Council will grant him a Renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray St Helena (signed) Orlando Bagley Granted 10 Sept 1764 Mr Benjamin Mason this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Benjamin Mason Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease for four Acres of Land lying in the South Division of the said Island which being expired your Petitioner humbly begs that your Worship and Council will grant him a Renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (signed) Benjn Mason St Helena Granted 10th Septr 1764 John Skottowe Pirling Thos Kirkpatrick	**Interpretations** Land on St Helena was held from the Company on leases of fixed length rather than owned outright. When a term ended, the holding reverted to the Company unless the tenant applied for renewal, which gave the Council a regular opportunity to review who held land, on what terms and whether it was being used. The island was divided into administrative divisions, such as the West and South Divisions named here, which served to locate holdings and to organise rents, the annual household returns and the militia. Benjamin Mason laid a second petition before the Governor and Council the same day. His lease covered four acres in the South Division and had likewise expired. Mason asked for a renewal, which the Council granted. Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Mason's renewal was granted at once, whereas the request by Townsend, Chamberlain and Bazett for unused ground on 13 August 1764 was first sent for inspection. The contrast shows the difference between continuing a tenancy and creating a new one. An existing holding had already been surveyed and its rent fixed, so the Council could renew it on the petition alone, while fresh ground had to be viewed before any grant was made. The small size of Mason's four acres reflects how modest most settler holdings were on an island where cultivable land in the valleys and uplands was scarce.
418	414	17th Sept At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th day of September 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Pirling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 10th September 1764 We this day received the following Representation from several of the Inhabitants viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena Worshl Sir & Sirs We Inhabitants whose Names are hereunder subscribed beg leave to represent unto you that there is lately been two doors and a Window broke into the narrow alley leading out of this Valley up Ladder Hill to the great prejudice of Us who Ride that way as our Saftys are thereby rendered very precarious by the lights or any thing else coming suddenly out and our Horses often Violently Startled to the great danger of their Riders, We therefore Request that your Worship and Council will be pleased to take the same into your Consideration. We are Worshl Sir & Sirs, 17th September 1764. Your most obt and most humble Servants (signed) Richd Beale Senr Richd Goodwin Jona Dovetor Henry Bazett Richd Beale Junr Wm Wrangham F Wrangham	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 September 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick in attendance. The minutes of 10 September 1764 were read, approved and signed. A group of residents submitted a complaint to the Governor and Council, dated 17 September 1764. They reported that two doors and a window had recently been knocked through into the narrow lane that climbed out of the James Town valley up Ladder Hill. Anyone riding along that lane now faced real danger, since a light or anything else appearing suddenly from these openings could frighten a horse. The residents said their horses had often shied violently, putting the riders at serious risk. They asked the Council to look into the matter. The complaint bore the following signatures. Richard Beale senior Richard Goodwin Jonathan Doveton Henry Bazett Richard Beale junior William Wrangham F Wrangham Richard Bagley Benjamin Mason **Interpretations** The complaint shows that the Governor and Council acted as the island's only authority over roads and building. James Town had no separate borough or town corporation, so a householder who opened doors onto a public way could be challenged only through the Council. The residents therefore framed the matter as a threat to public safety, which placed it squarely within the Council's power to order the openings closed. The Ladder Hill lane was the main route from James Town up to the western heights and the country districts beyond. The signatories were landholders from those districts who rode in and out of town on business, among them Benjamin Mason, whose lease in the South Division the Council renewed on 10 September 1764. The narrow road,

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		Richd Bagley Benjn Mason	cut into a steep valley side, left a startled horse little room, which explains why sudden light or movement from a doorway posed a genuine hazard rather than a mere nuisance.
419	415	1764 It appearing to Us that the making of Doors and Windows in so narrow a passage must be very dangerous to People on Horseback and therefore a public Nusance We therefore ordered Mrs Elizabeth Kennedy and Robert Ballard the Persons who broke them out without having authority for so doing to stop them up again but told them they might break Doors &ca through the Walls of their Back Yards facing Ladder Hill which would be of no detriment to the Public, and as Convenient for themselves, which they promised they would do. Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of August last which is as follows viz	The Council considered the residents' complaint about the new openings onto the lane up Ladder Hill. It agreed that doors and windows in so narrow a passage posed a real danger to riders and amounted to a public nuisance. Mrs Elizabeth Kennedy and Robert Ballard had knocked them through without permission, and the Council ordered both to block them up again. It did, however, allow them to open doors or other access through the back walls of their yards facing Ladder Hill instead. That arrangement would cause the public no harm while serving the owners just as well, and Kennedy and Ballard agreed to it. The Council then recorded its count and examination of the Company's cash for August. **Interpretations** The finding that the openings were made without permission shows that householders in James Town could not alter the outward face of their buildings at will. Any change affecting a public way needed the Council's approval, and work done without it could be undone by order. The Council used that power here, yet it did so in a way that preserved the owners' use of their property, pointing them to a route onto open ground where no rider would be put at risk. Elizabeth Kennedy was named as a householder in her own right and answered to the Council directly. Her treatment on the same footing as Ballard shows that women who held property on the island bore the same obligations and received the same consideration from the island's government as men.
420	416	Cash Dr Per Contra Cr 1764 August 1st To Balance remaining £7359 12s 3d 6th To Exchange for a Set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Chas Hutchinson Esqr for £252 18s 2d 7th To Ship Pigot received the Balance of his Account £71 12s 10d 18th To Ship Speaker received the Balance of her Account £33 2s 0d 22 To Ship Glatton Do £14 13s 1d £7731 8s 4d 1764 August 23 By Balance remaining viz In Specie £7191 13s 4d In Cash £539 15s 0d £7731 8s 4d John Skottowe Pirling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 17th Sept	The Council's count of the Company's cash for August 1764 set receipts against the balance held at the end of the month. Receipts 1 August 1764, balance in hand, £7,359 12s 3d 6 August 1764, premium on a set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors in favour of Charles Hutchinson, £252 18s 2d 7 August 1764, settlement of the balance of the *Pigot*'s account, £71 12s 10d18 August 1764, settlement of the balance of the *Speaker*'s account, £33 2s 0d22 August 1764, settlement of the balance of the *Glatton*'s account, £14 13s 1d Total, £7,731 8s 4d Balance held 31 August 1764, in coin, £7,191 13s 4d 31 August 1764, in cash notes out of circulation, £539 15s 0d Total, £7,731 8s 4d Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The premium on the bills issued to Charles Hutchinson came to £252 18s 2d, nearly ten times the £26 0s 0d charged on the bills for Elias Thackery on 6 July 1764. Since the premium was a percentage of the sum remitted, Hutchinson must have paid a very large amount into the treasury in exchange for bills payable in London. The transaction added substantially to the island's supply of coin, which rose by over £370 during the month. The three ships' entries show the Company's ships settling their accounts with the island before sailing. Each commander drew fresh provisions, water and stores while in the road, such as the seven wethers sent aboard the *Speaker*, and paid the balance in cash before departure. The *Pigot* settled on 7 August, two days before she sailed, while the *Speaker*

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			and *Glatton* paid on 18 and 22 August, just ahead of their departure together on 23 August 1764. The cash notes stood at exactly £539 15s 0d, the same figure as at the end of July. Their unchanged value confirms that these notes were held out of use rather than paid out again, and the treasury continued to separate them from its working coin.
421	417	24 Sept At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th day of Septr 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Pirling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 17th Sept 1764. viz The Governor acquaints the Gentlemen of the Council that Robert Ballard came to him on Monday last after the Consultation was over, and presented him with the following Letter, and at the same time told him if he was obliged to stop up the Door he had made without having it tryed by a Jury (as he sets forth in his Letter) that he would go to England and make a Complaint to the Company of the Injustice done him Govr of St Helena To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Worship Sir A Complaint being lodged this day against me in Council for breaking a door way out of my own House upon my own Land into the high Road saying the said Door was a Nusance, I solemnly declare I made the Door way for the Convenience of my own Family without predjudice of Mankind I humbly beg Worl Sir that I may have the benefit of the Laws of England, and that it may be laid before the Country at the next Genl Quarter Sessions I am Worshipful Sir Your most humble & Obedient Servant (signed) Robt Ballard As the breaking out of Doors and Windows into a Public Road without leave, appears to us an Infringement upon the Honorable Companys priveledge as well as an Injury to the Community, Mrs Kennedy the other party concerned having readily complied with the order she received for stopping up her Door and Window, The difficultys & Objections which Ballard hath made thereto, We apprehend proceeds not from any real inconvenience it is to him, but from a litigious disposition for which he has	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 September 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick in attendance. The minutes of 17 September 1764 were read, approved and signed. The Governor informed the Council that Robert Ballard had called on him after the previous meeting on Monday 17 September. Ballard handed over a letter and declared that he would not block up his new door without a trial by jury. If forced to do so, he intended to travel to England and complain to the Company about the injustice done to him. In his letter to the Governor, Ballard referred to the complaint made against him in Council that day. He had been accused of creating a nuisance by opening a doorway from his own house, standing on his own land, onto the main road. Ballard insisted that he had made the doorway purely for his family's convenience and that it harmed nobody. He asked to be allowed the protection of English law and requested that the matter go before a jury at the next General Quarter Sessions. The Council held that opening doors and windows onto a public road without permission encroached on the Company's rights and harmed the community. It noted that Mrs Kennedy, the other householder concerned, had readily obeyed the order to block up her door and window. The Council attributed Ballard's objections not to any genuine hardship but to his fondness for litigation. **Interpretations** Ballard's appeal rested on the claim that English law, and with it trial by jury, extended to St Helena. The General Quarter Sessions was the island's court for criminal matters and public nuisances, sitting with a jury drawn from the inhabitants, much as county sessions did in England. By asking for his case to go there, Ballard sought to move the dispute out of the Council's hands and before his fellow settlers, who might well take a more sympathetic view of a man's right to alter his own house. The Council's answer turned on a different source of authority. It spoke of the Company's rights, meaning its position as proprietor of the island under royal charter, with control over land and public roads. In this view the road belonged to the Company, and the Council, acting as its government, could protect it by direct order without any trial. The dispute therefore set the settlers' claim to the liberties of English subjects against the Company's claim to govern as landlord. Ballard's threat to take his grievance to London shows the one real check on the Governor and Council. The directors heard appeals from the island, and a complaint of injustice could bring an official rebuke or reversal. The Council's careful record of Mrs Kennedy's ready compliance, set against Ballard's resistance, served to build its own case in anticipation of any such appeal. Ballard's stand also marked a reversal. At the meeting of 17 September 1764, both he and Mrs Kennedy had agreed to block up their openings and use their back yard walls instead.
422	418	24th Sept has been always remarkable, it being very evident that he may suit	The Council recorded that Robert Ballard had long been known for his readiness to go to law. In its view he could meet his household's needs just as well by fitting a door at the back of his yard, without

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		his Convenience full as well by putting a Door at the back part of his yard without incommoding the publick Road, & as this Affair is no case of property between Man and Man, We for these Reasons have taken Cognizance of it and ordered the Doors and Window to be stopped up without complying with his Request of having it tryed by a Jury, a decision by them we are of Opinion is improper and unnecessary as it is complained of to be a publick Nusance and really appears to be so It appears that the following stands indebted upon the Honorable Companys Books of Accounts viz George Gabriel Powell £4 11s 3d Ship Princess Amelia £13 17s 10½d £18 9s 1½d Mr George Gabriel Powell having left the Island in the Year 1744, and the Ship Princess Amelia was taken by the French in the Year 1746. We conclude from thence, that these Accounts must have been long settled, therefore ordered them to be wrote off to Account Current London We this Day Executed the renewal of John Skottowe the two following Leases viz One to Mr Orlando Bagley Senr for 9 Acres of Land lying in the West Pirling Division on Lemon Valley Head And one to Mr Benjamin Mason Thos Kirkpatrick in the South Division called Griffiths	obstructing the public road. The Council held that the matter was not a dispute over property between two private individuals. On that ground it took the case into its own hands and ordered the doors and window blocked up. It refused Ballard's demand for a jury, judging that such a trial was both unsuitable and unnecessary for an obstruction that had been reported as a public nuisance and plainly was one. **Interpretations** The Council's reasoning drew a firm line between two kinds of case. A quarrel over property between one settler and another belonged before a jury, in keeping with English practice. A nuisance to a public road, by contrast, was treated as a matter of government, which the Council as the Company's administration could settle by its own order. By placing Ballard's door in the second category, the Council kept control of the road without conceding that settlers could put its orders to a jury of their neighbours. **Speculations** Ballard had asked for his case to go before a jury at the General Quarter Sessions, the ordinary course for an Englishman accused of causing a nuisance. The Council refused. Its recorded reason was that the dispute was no question of property between private men but a public nuisance, making a jury improper and unnecessary. The distinction allowed the Council to deny the trial without denying that English law ran on the island, since it conceded jury trial for private disputes while reserving public roads to itself. The offer of a back door through the yard, which the Council described as equally convenient, reinforced its case that nothing of substance was being taken from Ballard. Two old debts still stood in the Company's books. George Gabriel Powell, £4 11s 3d The *Princess Amelia*, £13 17s 10½d Total, £18 9s 1½d Powell had left the island in 1744, and the French captured the *Princess Amelia* in 1746. The Council reasoned that both accounts must have been cleared long ago and ordered them transferred to the London current account. **Interpretations** Transferring the debts to the London current account moved them off the island's own books and onto the general account kept between St Helena and the directors at home. The island could not pursue a man who had left 20 years earlier or a ship lost to the enemy, but the Company in London could check its own records to see whether either sum had been paid there. The transfer thereby cleared the island's ledgers of balances it had no means of recovering while leaving the question open at the centre. The Council also completed the renewal of two leases on the same day. Orlando Bagley senior received a renewed lease on nine acres in the West Division at the head of Lemon Valley. Benjamin Mason received his renewal for land in the South Division known as Griffin's. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes.
423	419	1st October At a Consultation held on Monday the 1st Day of October 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Pirling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated 24th Septr 1764. Saturday the 29th passed by a Ship at a great distance	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 1 October 1764. Governor Skottowe presided, with Matthew Purling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick in attendance. The minutes of 24 September 1764 were read, approved and signed. A ship sailed past the island far out to sea on Saturday 29 September. The planters came to the Castle that day to pay the rents and dues owed to the Company for the past year, as the Council had ordered on 27 August 1764. The total due came to £575 11s 0d. Each holder's

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		Pursuant to an order in Consultation of the 27th of August last the Planters this day attended to pay their Rents and Revenues due to the Honoble Company for the Year past which amounts to £575 11s 0d - the Rent Roll is as follows viz Free Land, Lease Land, Rent Samuel Alexander: Free Land 34 Acres, Lease Land 37½ Acres, Rent £1 1s 6d John Alexander 15½ Acres at 1/ p A: Free Land 71¾ Acres, Lease Land 70¾ Acres, Rent £18 3s 6d George Alexander: Free Land 28 Acres, Lease Land 58 Acres, Rent £15 18s 0d Margaret Alcock 1½ at 20/ p Ann 20 Acres at 4/ p A 4/6: Free Land 40 Acres, Lease Land 60¾ Acres, Rent £7 14s 6d Onesiphorus Beales Orps 10/6: Free Land 10 Acres, Lease Land 15½ Acres, Rent £4 0s 0d Richard Beale Senr 5 @ 4 p A 5: Free Land 41¼ Acres, Lease Land 38½ Acres, Rent £11 13s 8½d John Bagley: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 36 Acres, Rent £9 0s 0d Richard Bagley 12 at 4/ p A 3 at 1/6 p A 44 2/ p A 12¾ @ 3/ p A Ground at 6/ p Ann for 3 Months 1/6: Free Land 126½ Acres, Lease Land 182¾ Acres, Rent £48 19s 9d Orlando Bagley Senr 4 at 1/6 p A 21 at 2/6 p A: Free Land 41½ Acres, Lease Land 84¼ Acres, Rent £19 16s 3d Matthew Bazett Sr 5¾ Acres at 1/ p A 10/: Free Land 142 Acres, Lease Land 58¾ Acres, Rent £21 2s 6d Henry Bazett 8 Acs at 4/ p A 4½ at 2/6 p A 5/: Free Land 112½ Acres, Lease Land 63½ Acres, Rent £21 5s 9d Orlando Bagley Junr 19 Acres at 1/6 p A: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 63 Acres, Rent £12 8s 6d Matthew Bazett Junr 6¾ Acres at 6/ p A: Free Land 16 Acres, Lease Land 36 Acres, Rent £8 7s 10½d William Burnhams Orps: Free Land 29 Acres, Lease Land 15 Acres, Rent £5 4s 0d William Beale: Free Land 38½ Acres, Lease Land 17½ Acres, Rent £6 5s 0d John Bland: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 15¾ Acres, Rent £3 18s 9d Robert Ballard 15/: Free Land 15½ Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £1 8s 6d Carried over: Free Land 746½ Acres, Lease Land 964¼ Acres, Rent £236 16s 1d	freehold and leasehold acreage and rent were entered in the rent roll, together with a small sum in an unheaded column beside some names. Samuel Alexander: 34 acres freehold, 37½ acres leasehold, rent £4 1s 6d John Alexander, including 15½ acres at 1s an acre: 71¾ acres freehold, 70¾ acres leasehold, rent £18 3s 6d George Alexander: 28 acres freehold, 58 acres leasehold, rent £15 18s 0d Margaret Alcock, including 1½ acres at 20s a year and 20 acres at 4s an acre: [...] £0 4s 6d, 40 acres freehold, 60¾ acres leasehold, rent £17 14s 6d The orphans of Onesiphorus Beale: [...] £0 10s 6d, 10 acres freehold, 13½ acres leasehold, rent £4 9s 0d Richard Beale senior, including 5 acres at 4s an acre: [...] £0 5s 0d, 41¼ acres freehold, 38½ acres leasehold, rent £11 13s 8½d John Bagley: 0 acres freehold, 36 acres leasehold, rent £9 0s 0d Richard Bagley, including 12 acres at 4s an acre, 3 acres at 1s 6d an acre, 44 acres at 2s an acre, 12¼ acres at 8s an acre and ground at 6s a year for 3 months: [...] £0 1s 6d, 126½ acres freehold, 182¼ acres leasehold, rent £48 19s 9d Orlando Bagley senior, including 7 acres at 1s 6d an acre and 21 acres at 2s 6d an acre: 41¼ acres freehold, 84¼ acres leasehold, rent £19 16s 3d Matthew Bazett senior, including 5¼ acres at 1s an acre: [...] £0 10s 0d, 142 acres freehold, 58½ acres leasehold, rent £21 2s 6d Henry Bazett, including 8 acres at 4s an acre and 4½ acres at 2s 6d an acre: [...] £0 5s 0d, 112½ acres freehold, 63½ acres leasehold, rent £21 5s 9d Orlando Bagley junior, including 1½ acres at 1s 6d an acre: 0 acres freehold, 63 acres leasehold, rent £12 8s 6d Matthew Bazett junior, including 6¾ acres at 6s an acre: 16 acres freehold, 36 acres leasehold, rent £8 7s 10½d The orphans of William Burnham: 29 acres freehold, 15 acres leasehold, rent £5 4s 0d William Beale: 38½ acres freehold, 17¼ acres leasehold, rent £6 5s 0d John Bland: 0 acres freehold, 16¾ acres leasehold, rent £3 18s 9d Robert Ballard: [...] £0 13s 0d, 15½ acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £1 8s 6d Carried forward: 746 acres freehold, 964¼ acres leasehold, rent £236 16s 1d **Interpretations** The roll divided each holding into freehold and leasehold land, yet rent was charged on both. Freehold on St Helena did not mean land free of all payment, as it largely did in England by this date. Early settlers had been granted land in perpetuity in return for a fixed annual charge, a form of quitrent owed to the Company as proprietor, while leasehold land was let for a term at rates set when each lease was granted. The two categories therefore differed in security of tenure rather than in freedom from rent. This arrangement kept every landholder, however secure his title, tied to the Company by an annual payment made in person at the Castle. The rates noted against particular parcels varied widely, from 1s to 8s an acre. The differences probably reflected the quality of the land, since sheltered valley ground suited to gardens and yams commanded far more than exposed upland pasture. Richard Bagley's short let of ground for only three months shows that the Company also rented land for brief periods where a settler needed it for a single crop or season. The holdings of the orphans of Onesiphorus Beale and William Burnham were entered in the dead

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			men's names. Their land passed intact to their children, and rent continued to be paid from the estate, perhaps by guardians, until the heirs came of age. The Company thereby lost neither the holding nor its income on the death of a tenant. The concentration of land among a few families stands out. The Bagleys, Beales, Bazetts and Alexanders between them held most of the acreage on this page, with Richard Bagley alone holding over 300 acres. The signatories to the complaint about the Ladder Hill lane on 17 September 1764 were largely drawn from these same families. Robert Ballard, by contrast, held only 15½ acres and paid £1 8s 6d, placing him among the smallest landholders on the roll.
424	420	1 October Free Land, Lease Land, Rent Brought over: Free Land 746½ Acres, Lease Land 964¼ Acres, Rent £236 16s 1d Thomas Colgraves Orps: Free Land 20¾ Acres, Lease Land 9¼ Acres, Rent £23 16s 9d John Dovetons Orps: Free Land 86½ Acres, Lease Land 8 Acres, Rent £6 6s 6d Jonathan Doveton 3/: Free Land 128¾ Acres, Lease Land 4 Acres, Rent £7 11s 9d Isaac Doveton: Free Land 77¼ Acres, Lease Land 9½ Acres, Rent £6 6s 3d Joseph Desfountains Orps: Free Land 20 Acres, Lease Land 71 Acres, Rent £18 15s 0d John Desfountein: Free Land 93¾ Acres, Lease Land 17 Acres, Rent £8 18s 3d Henry Easthope: Free Land 14 Acres, Lease Land 36 Acres, Rent £9 14s 0d James Easthope: Free Land 11 Acres, Lease Land 8 Acres, Rent £2 11s 0d Sarah Funge: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 4 Acres, Rent £1 0s 0d Michael Frost 15/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 15s 0d Richard Goodwin 10/6: Free Land 49 Acres, Lease Land 27 Acres, Rent £9 14s 6d Thomas Greentree 33½ at 4/ p A 5 at 1/6 p A 5/: Free Land 96½ Acres, Lease Land 72 Acres, Rent £20 10s 6d James Greentree: Free Land 48 Acres, Lease Land 65 Acres, Rent £16 3s 0d Ones Gurlings Orps 9 Acres at 1/6 p A: Free Land 23 Acres, Lease Land 9 Acres, Rent £1 16s 6d Thomas Harpers Orps: Free Land 19½ Acres, Lease Land 46½ Acres, Rent £12 13s 6d Thomas Hayes Orps: Free Land 30 Acres, Lease Land 4 Acres, Rent £2 10s 0d Margaret Harper: Free Land 10 Acres, Lease Land 20 Acres, Rent £7 0s 0d Thomas Harper 10/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 10s 0d Henry Harper 12: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 12s 0d John Jacks 16: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 16s 0d Elisha Isaacks: Free Land 25 Acres, Lease Land 5 Acres, Rent £2 10s 0d Gabriel Isaack: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 8 Acres, Rent £2 0s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick 39/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 14 Acres, Rent £5 9s 0d Isaac Knipe: Free Land 30 Acres, Lease Land 23½ Acres, Rent £7 7s 6d William Kennedys Orps 17/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 17s 0d Eleanor Leech 12/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 12s 0d Elizth Lamb: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 10 Acres, Rent £2 10s 0d	The rent roll continued from the total of 746 acres freehold, 964¼ acres leasehold and £236 16s 1d brought forward. Brought forward: 746 acres freehold, 964¼ acres leasehold, rent £236 16s 1d The orphans of Thomas Colgrave: 20¾ acres freehold, 9½ acres leasehold, rent £23 16s 9d The orphans of John Doveton: 86¾ acres freehold, 8 acres leasehold, rent £6 6s 6d Jonathan Doveton: [...] £0 3s 0d, 128¾ acres freehold, 4 acres leasehold, rent £7 11s 9d Isaac Doveton: 7¾ acres freehold, 9½ acres leasehold, rent £6 6s 3d The orphans of Joseph Desfountain: 20 acres freehold, 71 acres leasehold, rent £18 15s 0d John Desfountain: 9¾ acres freehold, 17 acres leasehold, rent £8 18s 3d Henry Easthope: 14 acres freehold, 36 acres leasehold, rent £9 14s 0d James Easthope: 11 acres freehold, 8 acres leasehold, rent £2 11s 0d Sarah Funge: 0 acres freehold, 4 acres leasehold, rent £1 0s 0d Michael Frost: [...] £0 15s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 15s 0d Richard Goodwin: [...] £0 10s 6d, 49 acres freehold, 27 acres leasehold, rent £9 14s 6d Thomas Greentree, including 33½ acres at 4s an acre and 5 acres at 1s 6d an acre: [...] £0 5s 0d, 96¾ acres freehold, 72 acres leasehold, rent £20 10s 6d James Greentree: 48 acres freehold, 65 acres leasehold, rent £16 3s 0d The orphans of Onesiphorus Gurling, including 9 acres at 1s 6d an acre: 23 acres freehold, 9 acres leasehold, rent £1 16s 6d The orphans of Thomas Harper: 19¾ acres freehold, 46½ acres leasehold, rent £12 13s 6d The orphans of Thomas Hayes: 30 acres freehold, 4 acres leasehold, rent £2 10s 0d Margaret Harper: 10 acres freehold, 20 acres leasehold, rent £7 0s 0d Thomas Harper: [...] £0 10s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 10s 0d Henry Harper: [...] £0 12s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 12s 0d John Jacks: [...] £0 16s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 16s 0d Elisha Isaack: 25 acres freehold, 5 acres leasehold, rent £2 10s 0d Gabriel Isaack: 0 acres freehold, 8 acres leasehold, rent £2 0s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick: [...] £0 3s 9d, 0 acres freehold, 14 acres leasehold, rent £6 9s 0d Isaac Knipe: 30 acres freehold, 23½ acres leasehold, rent £7 7s 6d The orphans of William Kennedy: [...] £0 17s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 17s 0d Eleanor Leech: [...] £0 12s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 12s 0d

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		Benj Mason: Free Land 42 Acres, Lease Land 42½ Acres, Rent £12 14s 6d Roderick Merchant 2/6: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 2s 6d William More 5/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 5s 0d Matthew Pirling 9¼ at 1/ p A 3 A at 4/ p A 24/: Free Land 205 Acres, Lease Land 108½ Acres, Rent £36 0s 6d James Powell Ground Rent at 3/ p Ann for 7 Mon 1/9: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 1s 9d John Price 15/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 15s 0d Benj Pledger 3 at 4/ p A: Free Land 5 Acres, Lease Land 18¾ Acres, Rent £4 15s 9d John Prichard 10/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 10s 0d James Prichard 7/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 7s 0d John Robinson 5/: Free Land 34 Acres, Lease Land 18 Acres, Rent £5 4s 0d William Seale 5½ Acres at 1/6 p A: Free Land 7 Acres, Lease Land 36 Acres, Rent £8 7s 9d Benj Seale: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 10¼ Acres, Rent £2 11s 3d John Seales Orps: Free Land 10 Acres, Lease Land 7½ Acres, Rent £2 7s 6d Nathan Sample: Free Land 25 Acres, Lease Land 8½ Acres, Rent £3 7s 6d John Shortly 3/: Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 3s 0d Carried over: Free Land 1877¼ Acres, Lease Land 1646½ Acres, Rent £493 14s 1d	Elizabeth Lamb: 0 acres freehold, 10 acres leasehold, rent £2 10s 0d Henry Mason: 42 acres freehold, 42½ acres leasehold, rent £12 14s 6d Roderick Merchant: [...] £0 2s 6d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 2s 6d William More: [...] £0 5s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 5s 0d Matthew Purling, including 9¼ acres at 1s an acre and 3 acres at 4s an acre: [...] £0 2s 4d, 205 acres freehold, 108½ acres leasehold, rent £36 0s 6d James Powell, ground rent at 3s a year for 7 months: [...] £0 1s 9d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 1s 9d John Price: [...] £0 15s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 15s 0d Benjamin Pledger, including 3 acres at 4s an acre: 5 acres freehold, 18¾ acres leasehold, rent £4 15s 9d John Prichard: [...] £0 10s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 10s 0d James Prichard: [...] £0 7s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 7s 0d John Robinson: [...] £0 5s 0d, 34 acres freehold, 13 acres leasehold, rent £5 4s 0d William Seale, including 8½ acres at 1s 6d an acre: 7 acres freehold, 36 acres leasehold, rent £8 7s 9d Benjamin Seale: 0 acres freehold, 10¾ acres leasehold, rent £2 11s 3d The orphans of John Seale: 10 acres freehold, 7½ acres leasehold, rent £2 7s 6d Nathan Sample: 25 acres freehold, 8½ acres leasehold, rent £3 7s 6d John Shortly: [...] £0 3s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 3s 0d Carried forward: 1,877¼ acres freehold, 1,646½ acres leasehold, rent £493 14s 1d **Interpretations** The unheaded column of small sums now makes its purpose clearer. For every person holding no land at all, such as Michael Frost, John Jacks or Eleanor Leech, the sum in that column equals the whole rent charged. These payments therefore did not arise from farmland but from some other obligation to the Company, perhaps ground rent on house plots in James Town. The entry for James Powell, the storekeeper, supports this reading, since he paid a ground rent at 3s a year, apportioned to 1s 9d for the seven months he had held the plot. Landholders such as Jonathan Doveton and Matthew Purling paid a similar small sum in addition to their farm rents, probably for a town plot alongside their country holdings. The Council's own members appeared on the roll as ordinary tenants. Matthew Purling held over 313 acres and paid £36 0s 6d, making him one of the largest landholders on the island, while Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick leased 14 acres. The men who fixed rents and heard petitions about land were themselves among its principal holders, which gave them a direct stake in the system they administered. Several women paid rent in their own names, among them Sarah Funge, Margaret Harper, Eleanor Leech and Elizabeth Lamb. Most probably held land or plots as widows who had taken over their husbands' tenancies. Their appearance on the roll alongside the orphans' estates shows that the Company allowed holdings to pass within a family rather than reverting on a tenant's death. The prorating of Powell's ground rent to seven months shows how precisely the Company calculated what was owed. A tenancy begun partway through the year paid only for the months actually held, a practice that required careful records of when each grant was made.

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425	421	Ground Rent, Free Land, Lease Land, Rent Brought over: Ground Rent £0 0s 0d, Free Land 1877¼ Acres, Lease Land 1646½ Acres, Rent £493 14s 1d James Torbet: Ground Rent £0 12s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 12s 0d John Twaits Orps: Ground Rent £0 0s 0d, Free Land 9 Acres, Lease Land 38½ Acres, Rent £10 1s 6d John Worralls Orps: Ground Rent £0 0s 0d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 42½ Acres, Rent £10 12s 6d Joshua Worralls Orps: Ground Rent £0 0s 0d, Free Land 31 Acres, Lease Land 33 Acres, Rent £9 16s 0d Francis Wrangham 6 A at a Pepper Corn p A: Ground Rent £0 0s 0d, Free Land 62 Acres, Lease Land 6 Acres, Rent £3 2s 0d William Wrangham: Ground Rent £1 6s 6d, Free Land 144 Acres, Lease Land 83 Acres, Rent £29 6s 6d Jane Willson: Ground Rent £0 2s 6d, Free Land 0 Acres, Lease Land 0 Acres, Rent £0 2s 6d Joseph Whaleys Orps: Ground Rent £0 0s 0d, Free Land 1½ Acres, Lease Land 18¼ Acres, Rent £4 12s 11d William Young: Ground Rent £0 5s 0d, Free Land 79½ Acres, Lease Land 25 Acres, Rent £10 9s 6d Stephen Young: Ground Rent £0 0s 0d, Free Land 20 Acres, Lease Land 8½ Acres, Rent £3 2s 6d Total: Ground Rent £0 0s 0d, Free Land 2204¼ Acres, Lease Land 1901 Acres, Rent £575 11s 0d Messrs Richard Bagley Francis Wrangham James Greentree Jonathan Doveton and Martha Scott this Day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Govr &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Richard Bagley Frans Wrangham James Greentree Jonathan Doveton, and Martha Scott Sheweth That there is a piece of Ground belonging to the Honoble Company lying behind the Houses of your Petitioners in this Valley which appears to be of no use to them but would be of the greatest benefit to your said Petitioners as the Yards to their Houses are extreemly small and inconvenient, neither have they any back Doors to them, these Reasons they flatter themselves will induce your Worship and Council to take the same into Consideration and grant them Leases for the same And your Petitioners will ever pray (signed) 1st Octr 1764 Richard Bagley Francis Wrangham James Greentree Jonath Doveton Marth Scott	The rent roll continued from the totals brought forward, with the small sums in the first column now identified as ground rent. Brought forward: 1,877¾ acres freehold, 1,646½ acres leasehold, rent £493 14s 1d James Torbet: ground rent £0 12s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 12s 0d The orphans of John Twaits: ground rent £0 0s 0d, 9 acres freehold, 38½ acres leasehold, rent £10 1s 6d The orphans of John Worrall: ground rent £0 0s 0d, 0 acres freehold, 42½ acres leasehold, rent £10 12s 6d The orphans of Joshua Worrall: ground rent £0 0s 0d, 31 acres freehold, 33 acres leasehold, rent £9 16s 0d Francis Wrangham, including 6 acres at a peppercorn an acre: ground rent £0 0s 0d, 62 acres freehold, 6 acres leasehold, rent £3 2s 0d William Wrangham: ground rent £1 6s 6d, 144 acres freehold, 83 acres leasehold, rent £29 6s 6d Jane Willson: ground rent £0 2s 6d, 0 acres freehold, 0 acres leasehold, rent £0 2s 6d The orphans of Joseph Whaley: ground rent £0 0s 0d, 1½ acres freehold, 18¼ acres leasehold, rent £4 12s 11d William Young: ground rent £0 5s 0d, 79½ acres freehold, 25 acres leasehold, rent £10 9s 6d Stephen Young: ground rent £0 0s 0d, 20 acres freehold, 8¾ acres leasehold, rent £3 2s 6d Total: 2,204¾ acres freehold, 1,901 acres leasehold, rent £575 11s 0d Richard Bagley, Francis Wrangham, James Greentree, Jonathan Doveton and Martha Scott presented a joint petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council on 1 October 1764. They pointed to a strip of Company ground lying behind their houses in the James Town valley. The land served the Company no purpose, but it would be of great value to the petitioners. Their yards were very small and awkward, and none of their houses had a back door. They asked the Council to consider their situation and grant them leases on the ground. All five signed the petition. **Interpretations** The heading of the first column settles the nature of the small sums entered against many names. They were ground rents, charged on house plots in James Town rather than on farmland, which explains why townspeople with no acreage at all paid only that sum. Landholders such as William Wrangham paid ground rent on a town plot in addition to rent on their country holdings. The island's total rent revenue of £575 11s 0d thereby combined two distinct sources, the farms of the interior and the building plots of the town. Francis Wrangham held six acres at a peppercorn an acre, a purely nominal rent. A peppercorn rent preserved the Company's title to the land and the tenant's acknowledgement of it while demanding no real payment. Such grants were usually made as a favour or in return for some service, and the entry shows the Company rewarding a settler through its control of land rather than in cash. The petition followed directly from the Ballard affair. On 17 September 1764 the Council told Ballard and Mrs Kennedy that they could open doors through their back yard walls instead of onto the lane up Ladder Hill. The petitioners, three of whom had signed the complaint against the openings, now faced the same need for rear access and sought to meet it lawfully by asking first. Their request for leases on the ground behind their houses was precisely the orderly route the Council had insisted upon in Ballard's case.

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426	422	1st October Mr Pirlings House being situated on the same Side of the Valley and part of the said Ground lying behind it, Requested that he might have that part for the same Conveniency Agreed to view the said Ground John Skottowe Pirling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th day of October 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Pirling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 1st October 1764. Lieut Solomon St Maurice this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Govr &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Solomon St Maurice Sheweth That there is a small piece of the Honorable Company's Waste Ground adjoining to the House of John Jacks in this Valley which your Petitioner is desirous of hiring to erect a House upon Your Petitioner therefore requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray St Helena signed Sol St Maurice 8th October 1764. Ordered the said Ground to be viewed. The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of September last, which were examined and approved and are as follow viz	Matthew Purling's house stood on the same side of the valley as the petitioners' homes, and part of the ground in question lay behind it. Purling asked to be granted that portion so that he too could enjoy the same convenience. The Council agreed to inspect the ground. Governor Skottowe, Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 8 October 1764. The Governor presided, with Purling and Captain Kirkpatrick in attendance. The minutes of 1 October 1764 were read, approved and signed. Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice petitioned the Governor and Council the same day. He pointed to a small plot of unused Company land next to John Jacks's house in the James Town valley. St Maurice wished to rent it in order to build a house there and asked the Council to grant him a lease. The Council ordered the ground to be inspected. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for September were then examined, approved and entered in the record. **Interpretations** Purling's request placed a sitting councillor in the position of petitioning the body on which he sat. The Council handled it by the same procedure it applied to everyone else, ordering the ground inspected before any grant was made. Recording the request openly in the minutes, rather than settling it privately, gave the directors in London a means of checking that members did not use their office to take the best land for themselves. Solomon St Maurice's petition shows garrison officers settling on the island as householders. His chosen plot lay beside the house of John Jacks, who paid a ground rent of 16s on the rent roll of 1 October 1764, placing the new house among the town plots rather than the country farms. Building a house of his own gave an officer a stake in the island beyond his military service and added to the rent the Company drew from James Town.
427	423	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle for the Month of September 1764 viz Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Poultry, Horses, Asses Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, Asses, Total Remaining 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 89, Yearlings 59, Heifers 15, Steers 18, Oxen 21, Total 288, Ewes 300, Weathers 115, Lambs 231, Rams 7, Total 653, Ewes 166, Weathers 47, Kids 90, Rams 9, Total 312, Sows 1, Shoats 1, Pigs 7, Boars 1, Total 10, Fowls 66, Ducks 10, Turkeys 23, Geese 16, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 6, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 7, Rams 0, Total 7, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 8, Rams 0, Total 8, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 12, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 95, Yearlings 59, Heifers 15, Steers 18, Oxen 21, Total 294, Ewes 300, Weathers 115, Lambs 238, Rams 7, Total 660, Ewes 166, Weathers 47, Kids 98, Rams 9, Total 320, Sows 1, Shoats 1, Pigs 7, Boars 1, Total 10, Fowls 66, Ducks 10, Turkeys 35, Geese 16, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 2, Weathers 6, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 3, Weathers 5, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 10, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0,	Matthew Bazett, the overseer, drew up the monthly account of the Company's cattle and other livestock for September 1764. Stock on hand, 1 September 1764 Cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 89 calves, 59 yearlings, 15 heifers, 18 steers, 21 oxen, total 288 Sheep: 300 ewes, 115 wethers, 231 lambs, 7 rams, total 653 Goats: 166 females, 47 wethers, 90 kids, 9 billies, total 312 Pigs: 1 sow, 1 weaned young pig, 7 piglets, 1 boar, total 10 Poultry: 66 chickens, 10 ducks, 23 turkeys, 16 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Born during the month Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 6 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 6 Sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 7 lambs, 0 rams, total 7 Goats: 0 females, 0 wethers, 8 kids, 0 billies, total 8 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 0 chickens, 0 ducks, 12 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Combined total before losses Cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 95 calves, 59 yearlings, 15 heifers, 18 steers, 21 oxen, total 294 Sheep: 300 ewes, 115 wethers, 238 lambs, 7 rams, total 660 Goats: 166 females, 47 wethers, 98 kids, 9 billies, total 320

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		Total 0, Fowls 10, Ducks 1, Turkeys 1, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Died: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 3, Weathers 2, Lambs 5, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 4, Weathers 0, Kids 3, Rams 0, Total 7, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Sent on board the Ship Deptford: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 10, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, Asses 0, Total 0 Remaining the 30th: Bulls 3, Cows 83, Calves 94, Yearlings 59, Heifers 13, Steers 18, Oxen 21, Total 291, Ewes 295, Weathers 97, Lambs 233, Rams 7, Total 632, Ewes 159, Weathers 42, Kids 93, Rams 9, Total 303, Sows 1, Shoats 1, Pigs 7, Boars 1, Total 10, Fowls 56, Ducks 9, Turkeys 34, Geese 15, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Species Changed: Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 69, Yearlings 36, Heifers 23, Steers 48, Oxen 21, Total 291, Ewes 330, Weathers 110, Lambs 185, Rams 7, Total 632, Ewes 169, Weathers 48, Kids 77, Rams 9, Total 303, Sows 2, Shoats 4, Pigs 3, Boars 1, Total 10, Fowls 56, Ducks 9, Turkeys 34, Geese 15, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, Asses 1, Total 2 Good Yam expended for Slaves 24000 lb Refuse Do for Stock 3400 lb 27,400 lb One Boy born named Frank One Woman dead named Betty Charles Errors Excepted Matthw Bazett **Margin Notes:** 8th October	Pigs: 1 sow, 1 weaned young pig, 7 piglets, 1 boar, total 10 Poultry: 66 chickens, 10 ducks, 35 turkeys, 16 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Slaughtered Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 2 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 2 Sheep: 2 ewes, 6 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 8 Goats: 3 females, 5 wethers, 2 kids, 0 billies, total 10 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 10 chickens, 1 duck, 1 turkey, 1 goose Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Died Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 1 Sheep: 3 ewes, 2 wethers, 5 lambs, 0 rams, total 10 Goats: 4 females, 0 wethers, 3 kids, 0 billies, total 7 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 0 chickens, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Sent aboard the *Deptford*: Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 0 Sheep: 0 ewes, 10 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 10 Goats: 0 females, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, total 0 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 weaned young pigs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Poultry: 0 chickens, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Horses: 0 geldings and stallions, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 males, 0 females, total 0 Stock on hand, 30 September 1764 Cattle: 3 bulls, 83 cows, 94 calves, 59 yearlings, 13 heifers, 18 steers, 21 oxen, total 291 Sheep: 295 ewes, 97 wethers, 233 lambs, 7 rams, total 632 Goats: 159 females, 42 wethers, 93 kids, 9 billies, total 303 Pigs: 1 sow, 1 weaned young pig, 7 piglets, 1 boar, total 10 Poultry: 56 chickens, 9 ducks, 34 turkeys, 15 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Stock regraded by age, 30 September 1764 Cattle: 4 bulls, 90 cows, 69 calves, 36 yearlings, 23 heifers, 48 steers, 21 oxen, total 291 Sheep: 330 ewes, 110 wethers, 185 lambs, 7 rams, total 632 Goats: 169 females, 48 wethers, 77 kids, 9 billies, total 303 Pigs: 2 sows, 4 weaned young pigs, 3 piglets, 1 boar, total 10 Poultry: 56 chickens, 9 ducks, 34 turkeys, 15 geese Horses: 8 geldings and stallions, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 male, 1 female, total 2 Sound yams issued to feed the slaves: 24,000 Rejected yams issued to feed the livestock: 3,400 Total yams issued: 27,400 A boy named Frank was born during the month, and a woman named Betty Charles died. Bazett signed the account with the usual reservation against clerical errors. **Interpretations**

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			The final set of figures regraded the whole stock by age without changing any totals. Through the year young animals were simply added to the calves, lambs, kids and piglets, so these classes swelled while the adult classes shrank through slaughter and death. At the end of September, as the Company's accounting year closed, the overseer moved each animal into its proper class. Calves became yearlings, yearlings became heifers or steers, and lambs and kids joined the breeding or meat stock. The regrading coincided with the stocktaking ordered in September 1764 and gave the directors an accurate picture of the herd's structure at the start of the new year. For the first time the yam issue distinguished sound yams, given to the slaves, from rejected ones, given to the animals. The slaves thereby received the edible crop while the livestock took whatever was damaged or rotten. The total issue fell again, to 27,400 against 33,740 in August and 40,500 in July 1764. The rice and paddy landed from the *Deptford* on 17 August 1764 probably continued to stand in for part of the yam ration, while late winter may also have reduced the harvest of sound roots. The ten wethers sent aboard the *Deptford*, following the seven sent to the *Speaker* in August, continued to deplete the flock's meat stock. Wethers had fallen from 161 at the start of July to 97 by the end of September, since they bore the brunt of slaughter, ships' supplies and deaths while no new wethers came in until the lambs were regraded. The birth of Frank and the death of Betty Charles were entered in the same way as the slave births and deaths in July and August 1764. Betty Charles was the first adult woman recorded in these returns, and her surname suggests that some of the Company's slaves bore family names as well as given names.
428	424	8th October Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of September 1764 Guns fired, 4pounder, 3pounder, 2pounder, 1pounder, Powder Expended 5th Fired to salute Colonel Monsons going on board: Guns fired 13, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 13, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 13lb Powder for priming: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 2lb Powder for priming in order to have returned the Salute of the Deptford: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 1lb 8oz 29th An Alarm for a Ship that went by: Guns fired 6, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 12lb Powder damaged by the Sea at Sandy Bay: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 6lb Do for replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 0lb 8oz Do for Signals: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 0lb 8oz Do Sold: Guns fired 0, 4pounder 0, 3pounder 0, 2pounder 0, 1pounder 0, Powder Expended 42lb Total: Guns fired 19, 4pounder 2, 3pounder 2, 2pounder 13, 1pounder 2, Powder Expended 77lb 8oz Paper for the Use of the Castle 1 Qr Do for making Cannon Cartridges 5 Qrs Needles Broke with sewing Cartridges 2 Needles Gun Carriages wore out and unserviceable 5 Gun Carriages	Thomas Hall recorded the artillery stores used on St Helena during September 1764, logging each occasion on which guns were fired, the number of guns of each size and the powder used. 5 September, salute for Colonel Monson on going aboard ship: 13 guns fired, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 13 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 13 lb 0 oz of powder 5 September, priming powder: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder Priming powder so that the salute of the *Deptford* could be answered: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 8 oz of powder 29 September, alarm for a ship passing the island: 6 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder Powder spoilt by the sea at Sandy Bay: 0 guns fired, 6 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for refilling the cartridges at the Main Guard: 0 guns fired, 0 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for signals: 0 guns fired, 0 lb 8 oz of powder Powder sold: 0 guns fired, 42 lb 0 oz of powder Total: 19 guns fired, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 13 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 77 lb 8 oz of powder The other gunnery stores used up or broken during the month were listed separately. Paper for use at the Castle: 1 quire Paper for making cannon cartridges: 5 quires Needles broken while sewing cartridges: 2 Gun carriages worn out beyond use: 5 Small-cask hoops for repairing the powder barrels: 69 Bits broken at the Main Fort: 2 Half-minute sandglasses worn out beyond use: 1 Hammers broken beyond use: 1 Knives broken beyond use: 1

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		Firkin Hoops for repairing the Powder Barrels 695 Firkin Hoops Bitts broke at the Main Fort 2 Bitts Half Minute Glasses wore out and unserviceable 1 Half Minute Glass Hammers Broke and Unserviceable 1 Hammer Knives Do and Do 1 Knife Three Inch White Rope wore out in Gun Falls 40 fms (signed) Thos Hall	Three-inch white rope worn out in the gun tackles: 40 fathoms Thomas Hall signed the account. **Interpretations** The largest single item of powder was not fired at all but sold. The 42 lb entered as sold shows the Company's magazine acting as the island's only lawful source of gunpowder, supplying settlers or visiting ships at a price. Recording the sale in the gunner's account kept every ounce leaving the magazine under the same control, whether it went into a gun or into private hands. Firing fell away sharply after the crowded road of August 1764, when 148 guns were discharged. September saw only 19, since the last of the ships left early in the month. Colonel Monson received 13 guns on going aboard on 5 September, two fewer than the 15 fired for his landing on 18 August 1764, and the *Deptford* carrying him sailed the following day. Several items belonged to the working gear of the batteries. Half-minute sandglasses measured short, fixed intervals, allowing salute guns to be fired at an even, dignified pace. Gun tackles were the rope and pulley systems used to haul heavy guns back into position after recoil, and the rope was measured by its circumference, so three-inch rope was a substantial line. Hoops from firkins, small casks, were reused to bind the powder barrels, whose staves had to stay tight to keep damp out of the powder. The 6 lb spoilt by the sea at Sandy Bay shows how exposed the outlying batteries were to salt spray. The loss of five gun carriages in one month was a significant charge. The wooden carriages rotted and cracked under the island's damp, salt-laden air far sooner than the iron guns they carried.
429	425	1764 Sundry expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month of September 1764 viz Port Wine 8 Bottles £0 12s 0d Lisbon 16 Bottles £1 4s 0d Mountain 10 Bottles £0 10s 6d Beer 6 Bottles £0 1s 6¾d Arrack 61 Bottles £3 8s 7½d Beef 276lb £5 11s 8d Flour 208lb £1 5s 4d Salt Beef 1 Pce £0 2s 9¾d Do Pork 4 Pce £0 10s 2d Mutton 148½lb £3 1s 5¼d Kids 2 Kids £0 10s 0d Goat 24½lb £0 8s 2d Butter	The Company's official table consumed the following provisions and drink during September 1764. 8 bottles of port wine, £0 12s 0d 16 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 4s 0d 10 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 16s 6d 6 bottles of beer, £0 1s 6¾d 61 bottles of arrack, £3 8s 7½d 276 lb of beef, £5 11s 8d 208 lb of flour, £1 5s 4d 1 piece of salt beef, £0 2s 9¾d 4 pieces of salt pork, £0 10s 2d 148½ lb of mutton, £3 1s 5¼d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 24½ lb of goat meat, £0 8s 2d 37 lb of butter, £1 17s 0d 43 lb of sugar candy, £0 14s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 1 duck, £0 1s 6d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 10 chickens, £0 15s 0d Total, £21 12s 9¼d The Council completed two leases the same day. Joseph Chamberlain, a carpenter, received a plot in James's Valley measuring 60 feet along the front and 79 feet deep. Thomas Townsend, a mason, received a neighbouring plot in the same valley, 60 feet wide and 67 feet deep. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Purling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The table's costs fell back to £21 12s 9¼d, almost exactly the July 1764 level of £21 19s 9¼d, after the August peak of £26 18s 11¼d. The drop came mainly from the wine. Lisbon fell from 43 bottles to 16, and port and Mountain declined too, once the *Glatton*, *Speaker* and *Deptford* had sailed and their commanders and passengers had gone. Beef consumption, by contrast, stayed high at 276 lb, perhaps because the heifers slaughtered on the

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		37lb £1 17s 0d Candy 43lb £0 14s 0d Goose 1 Goose £0 5s 0d Duck 1 Duck £0 1s 6d Turkey 1 Turkey £0 5s 0d Fowls 10 Fowls £0 15s 0d £21 12s 9¼d We this day Executed the two following Leases viz One to Joseph Chamberlain Carpenter for a piece of Ground in James's Valley containing 60 feet in front & 79 feet in Depth And one to Thomas Townsend Mason for a piece of Ground in James's Valley containing 60 feet in front & 67 feet in depth John Skottowe Pirling Thos Kirkpatrick	Company's farm had to be eaten whether guests were present or not. Salt meat appeared for the first time, counted by the piece rather than weighed. Salted beef and pork were packed in casks in standard pieces for ship use, and their presence suggests the table drew on ships' stores left on the island to supplement fresh meat as the farm's wethers ran low. The two leases completed the process begun on 13 August 1764, when Townsend, Chamberlain and John Bazett petitioned for unused ground opposite John Bruce's house and the Council ordered it inspected. Measuring each plot precisely in feet, rather than in acres as for farmland, marked them as town building plots, on which the holders would pay ground rent. Both men were building tradesmen, a carpenter and a mason, and they were probably intending to put up houses with their own skills on the land granted.
430	426	Book cover	
431	427	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and DateSt Helena Records 1763–1764 Dimensions (height × width × depth) cm47 cm (h), 32 cm (w), 7 cm (d) No. written pages421 pgs. No. blank pagesNo blank pages. Spine and coverGood condition. Inside pagesGood conditionPages are not numberedFoxing are present Additional comments Time taken to photograph (hours)4 hrs.	