St Helena Records 1764-1765

Introduction: This is the 43rd 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/EAP1364-1-1-43.

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

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

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

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

Pagination: The pages are unnumbered. Therefore, for reference purposes, the first page of the records on Film No. 8 is designated as page 1 (location 8/1), with numbering continuing sequentially through the end of the volume.

Dates: The Council's first meeting took place on 15 October 1764, with the final meeting occurring on 5 August 1765. All the sessions were convened during the administration of John Skottowe (1764-1782).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

These records cover the East India Company's government of St Helena from 1 July 1764 to 5 August 1765. They comprise the storekeeper's and paymaster's accounts for the four quarters ending 30 September 1764, 31 December 1764, 31 March 1765 and 30 June 1765, together with the Council's consultations from 15 October 1764 to 5 August 1765. Invoices, ships' muster rolls,

livestock and artillery returns and wills complete the material. Governor John Skottowe presided over a Council of two, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille joined them on landing on 21 March 1765. The Treaty of Paris of 10 February 1763 had ended the Seven Years' War, yet the island remained organised as a fortress on the Company's homeward route from India and China. [Film No. 8, 13–14, 58–107, 180–182, 208, 450]

The records demand caution. They were compiled by the officers answerable for the money and goods they describe, and they were written for the Court of Directors in London. Slaves, soldiers and planters therefore appear mainly as costs, buyers or names on a roll. Running totals often fail to carry between pages, and some books were copied up out of date order for dispatch. Names vary between entries, as with Burling and Warling, Harrold and Handle, Lea and Fea, Hatton and Halton, Quicke and Riecke, and Bazett and Barett. Two meetings are both dated 4 March 1765.

Governance and Administration

The Council met at the Castle every Monday from 22 October 1764, and its three members signed every set of minutes. On 15 October 1764 it examined the accounts and the inventory for the quarter ending 30 September 1764. That inventory, taken by Burling and Kirkpatrick, valued the Company's stores at £7,998 8s 5d. On 22 October 1764 the Council wrote off a year's waste of £45 2s 2d on the storekeeper James Powell's declaration that it was unavoidable. The loss was about half of one per cent, but it rested on Powell's own word. On 29 October 1764 the Council ordered fair copies of the balanced books for London. From 12 November 1764 it examined monthly accounts from the plantation, the gunner and the steward and counted the cash each month. [Film No. 8, 32, 47, 50, 65, 68–71, 73, 76]

Audit rested on personal liability, but its independence was weak. Kirkpatrick was councillor, captain of the First Company and paymaster at once. He stood as debtor for £3,041 4s 5½d in the quarter ending 30 September 1764 and then sat in Council on 15 October 1764 to approve his own account. He signed the December 1764 cash count as councillor while holding much of that cash as paymaster. On 15 April 1765 he signed the minutes approving his own bill of exchange for £360 0s 0d, payable to Allen Auld. The strongest internal check was the comparison of returns, since animals killed on the plantation between October and December 1764 matched the fresh meat served at the Company's table almost beast for beast. Accounts were also checked against days served, and underpayments to Corneille and to the engineer Captain Archibald Mitchell were made good on 30 June 1765. Final scrutiny lay with London, months away by sea. [Film No. 8, 32, 47, 76, 81–82, 143–145, 277, 414]

Salaries were low and were raised by allowances and plural offices. In 1764 the Governor drew £125 0s 0d a quarter, or £500 0s 0d a year, with £31 14s 9d for servants. A writer received £5 0s 0d a quarter and a factor £7 10s 0d, each with £12 10s 0d more in diet money and house rent. Burling was councillor and accountant, and Richard Beale was judge advocate, schoolmaster and captain of the Third Company. Phillip Mahoney was clerk of the peace and a sergeant, Solomon St Maurice master-at-arms and lieutenant, and Michael Frost a lieutenant who also cleaned the clocks. Soldiers held civil posts too, as with Joseph Chamberlain as carpenter's mate, Zedekiah Saunderson as groom and John Criswell as master of the longboat. By the quarter ending 30 June 1765 Corneille received £87 10s 0d and Burling £62 10s 0d. Mitchell drew £77 10s 0d as engineer and £45 12s 6d as artillery captain, which made him second only to the Governor. [Film No. 33–35, 37–38, 123–125, 243–245, 387–389, 404]

A few families held many of these posts. Matthew Bazett was secretary and overseer in 1764, Henry Bazett captained the Second Company, John Bazett was a sergeant and Thomas Bazett a

lieutenant. A shared surname does not prove kinship, but such networks were common in Company settlements. Two men named Matthew Bazett served in 1765. The overseer died on 9 June 1765, while the secretary continued, and an M Bazett signed as Secretary on 22 July 1765. Francis Wrangham's will, proved on 5 August 1765, also described him as Secretary, which the record leaves unexplained. Kinship bound the Council itself, since Burling was Wrangham's brother-in-law. [Film No. 33–34, 209, 243–244, 387–388, 393, 426, 441, 447–448]

The Council's authority was renewed in March 1765. The *Salisbury* arrived from England on 21 March 1765 with a commission naming Skottowe Governor, Corneille Lieutenant Governor and Burling and Kirkpatrick councillors, and a duplicate came by the *Dutton* on 23 March. Corneille was paid from his landing, drawing only £11 1s 1d for the quarter. A notice of 1 April 1765 summoned the inhabitants to meet as a vestry at the chapel in James Valley. On 8 April 1765 they elected Powell coroner and William Hayes constable, and they nominated candidates for sheriff, churchwardens and overseers. The Council chose John Desfountain as sheriff and Jonathan Doveton and Orlando Bagley senior as churchwardens, taking the first name listed each time. Desfountain and Hayes were sworn in on 20 May 1765. The settlers thus had a real but limited voice, while the Company kept the sheriff in its own hands. [Film No. 180–182, 188, 209–210, 243, 305]

Deaths forced a series of appointments. The steward William Moore died on 16 February 1765, the factor Richard Law on 17 February and Captain Thomas Hall of the artillery on 20 February. On 18 February 1765 the Council released the soldier Thomas Perrin, who had minded the stores during Moore's illness, to become steward. On 25 March 1765 Mitchell offered to command the Artillery Company until the directors chose a captain, provided this did not cancel his promised promotion in India, and the Council accepted. After the overseer Matthew Bazett's death, the Council on 17 June 1765 appointed Thomas Warne, discharged as a sentinel on 7 June, because he had been raised to farming. The Company paid no one for the eight days between. On 1 July 1765 John Bazett became superintendent of the Company's slaves at £40 0s 0d a year, and Sergeant Thomas Payne was set over the labourers on the fortifications at 1s 6d a day. [Film No. 154, 156–157, 173, 183–184, 312, 327, 338–339, 387–388, 393]

The Council tightened costs and reviewed pay in mid 1765. On 17 June 1765 it replaced day-hired longboat crews with six men on £6 0s 0d a year and two pieces of salt meat a week. This cost no more than £46 8s 0d a year against £93 18s 0d at 1s a day. On 24 June 1765 Beale petitioned for a rise, claiming to have taught the island's children since 1725 on a soldier's pay of £15 10s 0d a year and to have served as judge advocate for more than ten years. The Council forwarded his petition to London, although the pay lists show him also drawing a captain's salary. On 29 July 1765 the Company carpenter John Robinson petitioned that his £50 0s 0d salary fell below the 5s a day, or £78 2s 0d a year, he had once earned privately. The Council raised it to £100 0s 0d, £20 0s 0d below a master mason, measuring him against its own scale rather than the open market. [Film No. 324, 335–336, 435–436]

Communications with the presidencies ran through the homeward and outward shipping. On 3 April 1765 the Council wrote to Fort William, Fort St George, Bombay and Canton, sending the letters by the *Salisbury* to Canton for forwarding, with copies by the *Dutton*. The letter to Bengal was addressed to Lord Clive as President, although Clive did not reach Calcutta until May 1765. The Council's general letter to the directors sailed with the *Mercury* on 3 May 1765. [Film No. 189–192, 197–198, 286]

Military Affairs and Defence

The garrison was the largest charge on the island. Clothing issued in the quarter ending 30 September 1764 suggests about 377 men, including 268 sentinels and 52 matrosses, although 351 hats against 268 coats leaves the count uncertain. The pay list for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 named four foot companies and an Artillery Company of some 370 men, costing £2,134 11s 2d of a wage bill of £2,787 4s 2d. The bill rose to £2,800 16s 0½d in the quarter ending 31 March 1765 and £3,111 3s 4½d in the quarter ending 30 June 1765, a total that included the civil list. Clothing for 303 sentinels, 16 corporals, 16 sergeants and 12 drummers, with 414 pairs of shoes, put the garrison at a little over 400 men by June 1765. [Film No. 27, 35–36, 45–46, 125–140, 264, 373, 375, 404, 418]

Pay followed fixed daily rates, with each quarter reckoned at 91¼ days. An infantry private earned 10d a day, or £3 16s 0½d a quarter, against 8d for a British foot soldier at home. Corporals and drummers earned 14d and sergeants 20d, or £7 12s 1d a quarter. In the artillery a matross earned 1s, a gunner 16d, a corporal or bombardier 18d and a sergeant 2s, or £9 2s 6d a quarter. Captains received £45 12s 6d a quarter in every company. The premium for gunnery thus went to the men who served the guns, not to their officers. [Film No. 35–36, 126, 137–138, 245, 400–407]

Retaining trained men was cheaper than replacing them. A bounty of £10 0s 0d bought five more years of service, about eight months of a private's pay. The accounts' notes overstated it as two years in one place and nearly a year in another. Four soldiers took it on 9 July 1764, 11 together on 28 March 1765 and nine more in the quarter ending 30 June 1765, among them the baker Mark Balls. New recruits received £2 10s 0d to £10 0s 0d in 1764. On 6 March 1765 three men enlisted for £10 0s 0d and £5 0s 0d, while John Brown, a native of the island, received only £1 0s 0d on 11 March 1765, perhaps because he had fewer other prospects. The *Salisbury* and *Dutton* landed 62 recruits in March 1765, and their escorting sergeants earned 5s for each man delivered. The recruits were entered from 20 and 22 March, although the ships arrived on 21 and 22 March. [Film No. 39, 42, 44, 175, 178, 188, 201, 245–257, 266, 270, 410, 412]

Invalids and time-expired men were sent home as ships allowed. Thomas Sinkins and John McDonald were discharged on 5 September 1764, and Captain Tryon was paid £15 0s 0d to carry them and William Clement home as invalids. Six invalids sailed on the *Devonshire* in March 1765 at £5 0s 0d a head, and discharged men waiting for a passage received 6d a day. Discharges clustered when ships were in the road, as on 28 March, 8 April and 10 June 1765. Corporal William Hebert was discharged on 29 April 1765 by the directors' express order. The matross Christopher Reynolds was released on the same day to serve as the *Mercury*'s carpenter. Nathaniel Young and William Johnson were discharged on 27 May 1765 and John Ward on 8 July 1765. [Film No. 42, 44, 48, 201, 266, 268, 285, 307, 321, 332, 340, 393]

Rank changed often and without stated reasons. William Hill rose to sergeant on 10 July 1764 and was reduced after 24 September 1764. A reshuffle on 17 and 18 September 1764 moved men between the infantry and the artillery, and James Bottomly appears to have been paid twice for the same days. In October and December 1764 several sergeants and corporals were reduced or resigned, and their places were filled from below within a day. On 18 March 1765 Corporal John Jacks was reduced to matross, the lowest rank, and three men moved up behind him. Sergeant Thomas Faris was reduced on 6 May 1765, when William Bannister became sergeant and William Bacon corporal. No courts martial are recorded, and the notes' readings of drink or neglect as causes are unproven. Some notes also mistook transfers for new enlistments, as with Richard Broom in April 1765. [Film No. 40, 42, 45–46, 48, 128–131, 138–139, 262–263, 389–390, 395, 398–399, 406]

The Council guarded its manpower closely. Michael Brown, lent to the *Mercury*, deserted at Madagascar on 26 September 1764 and was paid for the quarter until the news arrived on 28 January 1765. His captain refunded £3 13s 9d in March 1765, with £2 16s 0½d for John Burnett, who had died aboard the *Fly* on 24 October 1764. James Goudy, who had deserted his ship at the Cape, gave himself up on 27 February 1765 and was enlisted with £1 0s 0d for clothing. George Kibbet and William McCullough deserted on 5 March 1765, the day three King's ships sailed, and Richard Essex deserted on 25 May 1765. The Council cancelled the enlistment of Thomas Halton, found to have been sent aboard the *Devonshire* as a mutineer, and made him repay £5 0s 0d. On 5 August 1765 it enlisted Ebenezer Bonner, a deserter delivered from a Bombay ship. Burling's musters of homeward ships on 14 January, 6 May and 29 July 1765 found no deserters. [Film No. 89, 135, 149, 162, 174, 176, 263, 275, 287, 395–396, 419, 428, 450]

Soldiers were the island's main paid labourers, at 1s a day on top of their pay. They worked 559 days at the Castle and 121 days clearing spurge and furze from the Longwood pastures in the quarter ending 30 September 1764. They worked about 1,550 extra days in the quarter ending 31 December 1764. In the quarter ending 31 March 1765 they gave 1,022 days to the Castle, 162 to the Ladder Hill path and 249½ to the warehouse. In the quarter ending 30 June 1765 they gave 666½ days to the Castle, 589¾ to the fortifications, 353½ to carpentry, 380 to the stores and 196 to cutting wood. Soldiers also baked the garrison's bread at 1s 8d a batch, worked the armourer's forge at 9s a week and carried news of ships sighted to windward. [Film No. 48, 50, 142, 144, 268, 416, 418]

The garrison remained vigilant in peacetime. Messengers carried nine alarms in the quarter ending 30 September 1764, guards at Sandy Bay and Lemon Valley burned 87½ gallons of train oil and over 180 yards of canvas were issued for drying gunpowder. A royal salute of 21 guns on 25 October 1764 marked George III's accession and used 45 lb 8 oz of the month's 49 lb 12 oz of powder. In February 1765 the gunners fired 118 guns and used 198 lb 8 oz of powder, mostly in three double alarms between 21 and 28 February. Ships under Dutch colours passed without calling on 28 February and 16 March 1765. In March 1765 the batteries fired 209 guns with 311 lb of powder, and in April 163 guns with 242 lb 3 oz. Lookouts at Turk's Cap and Prosperous Bay, where the English had landed to retake the island from the Dutch in 1673, relayed each sighting to the Castle. On 24 April 1765 two 9-pounders at Banks's relayed an alarm across the island. [Film No. 23, 25, 27, 31, 48, 75, 162, 173, 175, 208, 238, 300]

Salutes followed rank and custom. Major Joseph Winter received 13 guns on landing on 5 January 1765 but only five on leaving. The King's ships were saluted with 13 guns on 5 March 1765, and Corneille with 17 on 21 March. In April 1765 Company ships received nine guns, while Danish and French ships received 11, perhaps in reply to their own salutes. Henry Vansittart, the former Governor of Bengal, received 19 and Commodore John Bladen Tinker 17. The King's birthday firing on 4 June 1765 doubled as a proof of the heavy guns, using 291 lb of powder in a month that consumed 503 lb 12 oz. Funerals were marked by rank, with 9 lb of powder for Captain Hall and 2 lb 4 oz for a sergeant or a private. [Film No. 153, 173, 208–209, 300, 316, 342]

The fortifications needed renewal. The *Anson* brought 36 gun carriages from Bombay in February 1765, for guns from 32-pounders to 6-pounders. A two-pounder carriage was condemned as rotten in January 1765, a six-pounder field carriage in March and two trucks in May, since timber decayed fast in the salt air. Mitchell wrote on 8 April 1765 that he would first survey the fortifications and would postpone training the gunners. On 10 June 1765 he ordered no new guns, since the new batteries awaited the directors' approval. He reported abundant local limestone, although 80 tons had been shipped from England in 1764, and asked for coal to burn it and a military storekeeper.

He rejected almost every barrel of powder that each Indiaman was bound to hand over. [Film No. 153, 158, 168, 203–205, 208–209, 301, 318–321]

Repairs began in June 1765. On 24 June Mitchell reported the Castle work advanced and enough local lime burnt at less than a quarter of the former cost. He proposed to begin at the Lower Battery at Banks's, where floods had undermined the arch carrying the stream beneath the rampart, and the Council sent every Company mason there. June's artillery account shows 30 lb of powder used to blast limestone. Stores for the fortifications in the quarter ending 30 June 1765 cost £21 9s 3d, including 102 bushels of coal, 325 sandbags, lewises and iron lifting blocks. Mitchell had no more than three masons fit for regular work and set newly arrived slaves to train as masons. [Film No. 331–333, 342, 365–367, 384]

The King's navy and the late war passed through the island. The *Duke of Albany* carried Major Winter, artillery officers and two lieutenants of the 79th Regiment of Foot home from India in January 1765. The 79th had served at Madras and Manila and was disbanded after the peace. The *Weymouth*, *Panther* and *Seaford*, all of the squadron that took Manila in 1762, arrived on 23 February 1765 and sailed on 5 March. The *Medway* and *York* arrived on 18 May 1765, and the *York* left on 26 May and the *Medway* on 1 June. The *Caernarvon* brought army officers and men home from India in July 1765. [Film No. 93–95, 157, 208–209, 303, 306, 309, 429–430]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

Building was heavy throughout the period. Timber worth £71 13s 9d went to a new Castle roof, Plantation House and the adjutant's house in the quarter ending 30 September 1764. The present Plantation House dates from 1791–1792, so this work concerned an earlier house. Timber from the Baltic made up £81 13s 5d of general expenses of £150 17s 8d in the quarter ending 31 December 1764. In the first half of 1765 the Castle was painted, glazed and fitted with sash windows, and silk was bought to cover its chairs. [Film No. 24, 30, 113, 228–231, 365, 368–372, 410, 412]

Land belonged to the Company and was let on leases approved by the Council. On 15 October 1764 Matthew Bazett complained that the Company's cattle strayed from unfenced Longwood onto his lease. On 29 October 1764 the Council took back his 6 acres and leased him an equal area at the Woody Ridge at 8s an acre, with barren ground beyond at 1s. Bazett was also the overseer in charge of those herds. On 22 October 1764 Richard Bagley and Orlando Bagley senior registered land bought from dead men's executors. John Alexander's 15 acres and Isaac Knipe's 21½ acres were renewed at 5s an acre on 12 November and 17 December 1764. [Film No. 67, 70, 72–74, 76, 80, 82, 92]

Town and valley plots were let as well. On 29 October 1764 the Council agreed to lease householders in Jamestown the ground behind their houses, and the leases of 19 November 1764 charged about 8d a foot of frontage. Burling took the widest plot and so joined in granting a lease to himself. On 26 November 1764 St Maurice received a wider plot at only 3d a foot, for no stated reason. On 5 August 1765 he petitioned for another plot behind his house, and the Council ordered it inspected. [Film No. 71, 77, 79, 449]

Leases were renewed and transferred in 1765. On 4 February 1765 the factor William Wrangham petitioned for rocky Company land at the head of Sarah's Valley to ease his fencing, and on 11 February, as the sequence indicates, the Council granted it at £0 1s 6d an acre. Captain Henry Bazett's lease of 19 acres at Sandy Bay was renewed at 5s 0d an acre on 18 March 1765 without inspection and appears again as renewed on 27 May 1765. On 8 April 1765 John Bland passed his

lease of 16 acres called Seatons to Desfountain, who became sheriff the same day. [Film No. 150, 154, 176, 210, 306]

The Company's herds were counted closely until mid 1765. Between October and December 1764 cattle rose from 291 to 297 while sheep fell from 632 to 589. A notice of 17 December 1764 required every inhabitant to declare by 1 January 1765 the cattle he could supply for slaughter, placing the risk of any shortfall on the farmer. On 31 January 1765 the Company held 295 cattle, 571 sheep, 292 goats and 14 horses. Two of its four bulls died in February 1765. On 31 March it held 286 cattle, 534 sheep, 295 goats, 14 horses and three pigs. In April cattle fell to 270, 116 lambs were born and 26 of 36 turkeys died. [Film No. 74, 82, 84–85, 92, 151–152, 172, 207, 299]

Livestock losses deepened into a meat shortage. On 13 May 1765, as the sequence indicates, Corneille persuaded the Council to count cattle quarterly rather than monthly, since hurried round-ups on steep ground injured the herd. The quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1765 showed 348 cattle available, of which 34 were slaughtered and 16 died, 12 of them cows. Steers fell from 48 to 20, and seven of the 14 horses died. On 17 June 1765 the Council limited market slaughter to one beast a week for the rest of the year and urged planters to bring pork, mutton and goat to market each Wednesday. The record gives no cause for the losses. [Film No. 302, 324, 341]

The Company farmed on its own account. It kept a plantation at Sandy Bay, a dairy and cattle in the Great Wood in 1764, and it broke oxen and sheared sheep. Paddy from India fed its poultry and horses, with nearly 34 hundredweight issued in the quarter ending 31 March 1765 and over 43 hundredweight in the next. Overseers guarded the Great Wood and the Longwood, with William Bosher paid in the quarter ending 31 March 1765 and Daniel Long in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. Company smiths built a plough from imported iron and steel in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. [Film No. 30–31, 119–120, 226, 272, 366–367, 371, 379, 416]

The island's environment was under strain. Goats loosed by the Portuguese in the 16th century had long stripped its woods, and the garrison shot them on Munden's Point Hill and wild cats at Longwood in December 1764. Soldiers spent 187¼ days gathering wood simply to burn lime in the quarter ending 31 December 1764. Planters bought over 8 chaldrons of coal for £26 13s 4d in the quarter ending 31 March 1765 and 5 chaldrons more in the next, a sign of how far the timber had been cleared. [Film No. 83, 93, 144, 153, 226, 235–236, 358–362]

Supply and Provisioning

The inventory of 30 September 1764 shows large reserves against lost voyages or blockade. European goods were valued at £5,988 19s 1d, including nearly 90 hundredweight of nails and 955 pairs of men's shoes. Salt beef and pork were worth £1,808 15s 1d and flour £497 4s 1d. Refitting stores included 269 hundredweight of cordage worth £534 8s 0d, anchors worth £174 0s 10d and spare spars for a snow. Eastern goods included 595 gallons of arrack, nearly 2,000 lb of tea, over 2,000 pieces of porcelain and over 16 tons of sugar candy worth nearly £750, probably held for ships. More than 25,000 fish hooks remained in store. [Film No. 14, 29, 51–54, 56–57, 59, 62–65]

The island drew its staples from the East. The *Duke of Albany* arrived from Madras on 4 January 1765 with long cloth, Batavia arrack, rice and paddy invoiced at 595 pagodas 17 fanams 52 cash, roughly £238. The *Anson* brought Bombay goods in February 1765, and the *Boscawen* and *Devonshire* brought rice, sugar, paddy, wax candles and arrack from Bengal. Coffee was taken from the Company's own cargo aboard the *Anson* on 25 February 1765 to avoid the price of private trade goods. The *Lord Clive* landed tea, sugar and blue and white porcelain from China on 5 April 1765. [Film No. 89–90, 158–161, 170, 186, 202]

On 3 April 1765 the Council ordered supplies from each presidency according to its produce. Bengal was to send wax candles, dosootees and grain, Madras long cloth in six grades from 12 pagodas down to 3 pagodas a piece and Bombay 200 pieces of Surat chelloes. The letters to Bengal and Bombay asked for the remainder of the island's one per cent in grain and spirits, probably a fixed allowance from each presidency. [Film No. 190–191]

China and India ships supplied the island in the heavy traffic of April to August 1765. The *Latham*, *British King*, *Norfolk* and *Northumberland* brought Canton tea and sugar, the sugar at 4.5 taels a picul, or about a penny a pound. The *British King* also brought 30 dinner sets, 300 sneakers and 30 chamber pots, with 2 per cent deducted for breakage at Canton, yet 23 pieces were found broken or missing on 6 May 1765. The *Lord Mansfield* brought Bombay rice and paddy worth 243 rupees in April, with packing and handling adding about a fifth. The *Worcester* and *Lord Holland* brought Canton tea and sugar under invoices of 6 February 1765, split almost equally between them. The *Vansittart* arrived from Bengal on 14 June 1765, the *Caernarvon* from Madras on 16 July and the *London* from Bombay on 4 August. [Film No. 278, 282–284, 286, 294–295, 310–311, 322–323, 422–424, 440–441]

Deliveries were checked against invoices, and shortfalls were charged to the ships. The *Duke of Albany*'s two casks of arrack, invoiced at 300 gallons, yielded only 283. Each leaguer from the *Boscawen* and *Devonshire* arrived 4 to 5½ gallons short. On 8 April 1765 Powell recorded a hogshead of Lisbon wine from the *Salisbury* 16 gallons short of 60 and the *Dutton*'s beer 32 of 370 gallons short, with her glass, 376 tiles and 123 feet of Purbeck paving stone broken. The *Vansittart*'s rice arrived 198 lb and her sugar 159 lb underweight in June 1765. On 5 August 1765 the *Caernarvon*'s paddy was reported undelivered and 57 of 305 gallons of arrack missing, one cask having lost nearly a third. Leakage explains some losses, but the larger ones suggest pilfering at sea. [Film No. 90, 95–96, 168–169, 178, 211–213, 315, 330, 449]

Passing ships also sold provisions direct. In January 1765 the Council bought 1,145 pieces of salt meat and some rice from Captain James Haldane for £123 6s 4d. On 30 May 1765 it bought 556 pieces of beef and 623 of pork from Henry Topham. Pork bought from the King's ships in the quarter ending 30 June 1765 cost about 10d a piece against nearly 3s for other pork, and the purser of the *Medway* sold beef, pork and puncheons. The *Dutton*'s steward sold hams, Gloucester cheese, currants, pickles and butter for the Castle's table in March 1765. In June 1765 the steward traded two chests of port for a puncheon of rum. [Film No. 96, 266, 272, 308, 343, 376, 412]

The Company's table cost £22 9s 8d in the quarter ending 30 September 1764, with arrack for punch taking £12 12s 6d. Monthly it cost £23 8s 4¼d in October 1764, £16 16s 6¾d in November and £17 15s 11d in December. In 1765 it cost £22 15s 1½d in March, £27 0s 0¼d in April, £28 5s 5½d in May and £30 4s 9½d in June, largely in Lisbon wine, port, arrack and fresh meat. Mutton replaced scarce beef by June 1765. The Governor's household also drew on public funds, with a roasting jack costing £4 18s 0d in 1764 and ivory-handled knives and forks in early 1765. The candle charges were inconsistent, as the Council's 150 candles cost £14 13s 9d in the quarter ending 31 March 1765 while 113 others cost £1 9s 4d. [Film No. 22–24, 26, 75–76, 81, 91, 151, 206, 229–230, 301, 343]

Food shortage dominated the months from July to August 1765. On 3 July Captain William Fernell of the *Valentine* asked for 400 pieces each of salt beef and pork, and the Council granted nine casks and one cask of flour. It held him to ten cattle and refused sheep from the Company's flock. On 22 July Captain Joseph Jackson of the *Pitt* asked for 13 weeks of provisions and for pitch and tar, warning of £20,000 to £30,000 of cargo damage. Powell had reserved the pitch for the island's own vessel. The Council gave Jackson 12 weeks of beef and rice, one barrel of pitch and two of

tar. On 29 July it rebuked Captain Norton Hutchinson of the *Caernarvon* for asking so late and granted him five casks of the 250 pieces he sought. [Film No. 344, 346–347, 424–426, 433–434]

The shortage fell hardest on the *Earl of Lincoln*. On 31 July 1765 Captain Peter Hardwicke reported over 15 of his people suffering from scurvy. He had been promised ten bullocks on arrival, but the Clerk of the Market told him he would receive fewer. On 1 August 1765 the Council confirmed the reduction after surveying the island's stocks and refused him flour for the roundhouse. Breaking the Governor's word showed how serious the shortage had become. Hardwicke sailed on 2 August 1765. [Film No. 437–440]

Judiciary, Crime and Punishment

The island kept the forms of English justice. Nails were issued for jury benches in 1764, and the pillory was repaired in the quarter ending 31 December 1764. Beale served as judge advocate for courts martial, Mahoney as clerk of the peace at £10 0s 0d a quarter and John Price as marshal and gaoler. A pleader of the court was assisted in the quarter ending 31 March 1765, and the Clerk of Arraigns and the Crier were paid for attendance in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. The sheriff appointed in April 1765 served writs, seized goods for debt and carried out sentences. [Film No. 24, 27, 34, 110, 113, 124–125, 209–210, 272, 416]

The Council regulated drink through licences and summary fines. In September 1764 it licensed 10 public houses at £1 10s 0d each for the quarter. On 31 December 1764 it fined an unnamed offender £5 0s 0d for selling spirits without a licence, contrary to a notice of 9 July 1764. Half went to the informer, and £2 10s 0d reached the Company's cash. No hearing or defence was recorded, so the Council acted as legislator and judge in one. In September 1764 a dead man's debt was recovered from his heir, James Greentree. [Film No. 66, 88, 145]

The Council also sat as a court of probate. It proved Captain William Harrold's will on 28 January 1765 and those of Captain Hall, made on 12 December 1763, and William Moore, made on 6 September 1764, in February and March 1765. Moore's widow presented his inventory on 22 April 1765, valued on oath by the adjutant Solomon Jacob and the master mason John Bland. On 24 June 1765 the Council proved Matthew Bazett's will of 7 June 1765, which left everything to his wife Martha and named his brother Thomas as supervisor. His widow presented his inventory, valued by Desfountain and Richard Bagley, on 15 July 1765 as the sequence indicates. Appraisers were drawn from the same small official circle that dealt with the estates. [Film No. 148–149, 159–160, 166–167, 280, 309, 333–334, 420]

The Council tried and punished mutinous seamen. On 31 March 1765 five seamen of the *Salisbury* seized the ship's boat, fled inland and beat the fifth mate, the quartermaster and others with sticks and stones. Captain John Wyche cited Thomas Rodden's part in a mutiny aboard the *Plassey*. The evidence taken on 3 April 1765 showed that the men yielded as soon as soldiers arrived. The Council sentenced Edward Holland, Daniel Hoskins and John Jarman to 150 lashes each and James Lockart and Rodden to 100, to be given publicly the next morning. The sentences followed the evidence rather than the captain's view, since no witness placed Rodden in the fight. [Film No. 192–197]

Capital punishment followed the *Mercury* rising. On 28 January 1765 the Council committed Cupidoe, Harrold's slave, and Winchester, a Company slave, to gaol on suspicion of Harrold's murder. The overseer's return for April 1765 records Winchester's hanging, entered between a birth and a death beneath the tally of livestock. Soldiers built a gibbet in the quarter ending 31 March 1765, probably for him, and another in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. No trial record survives in these films, and Cupidoe's fate is unknown. [Film No. 148–149, 268, 299, 418]

The Council preferred removal to prosecution where it could. On 3 July 1765 it dismissed the armourer George Street as a drunkard who had stolen tools and neglected his work, and sent him home on the *Valentine* untried. One note dates the dismissal to 11 July 1765. [Film No. 345, 393]

On 22 July 1765 the Council forced all fish through the public market. Buying at the shore carried a fine of 2s 6d and the loss of the catch. Sales had to take place at the Market House, announced by drum, and fishermen were barred from rowing their catch to the ships. A white offender was fined 5s 0d, then 10s 0d for each further offence, while a black offender, free or slave, was to be severely whipped. The notice named free blacks as a distinct group yet punished them as slaves, so colour rather than legal status decided the penalty. [Film No. 426–427]

Economy, Finance and Currencies

The Company's store was the island's shop and its main source of revenue. Sales were £1,443 2s 8d in the quarter ending 30 September 1764, although £1,577 8s 3d of store receipts and £575 11s 0d of rents appear as that quarter's income. Powell paid in £1,301 3s 2d for the quarter ending 31 December 1764, £1,206 6s 6d for the next and £1,472 17s 0d for the quarter ending 30 June 1765. Licences brought £17 10s 0d a quarter. Against these sums the quarterly wage bill ran from £2,787 4s 2d to £3,111 3s 4½d. The island therefore covered less than half its costs and ran on reserves funded from London. [Film No. 8–19, 66, 145, 264, 275, 419]

Prices were graded by buyer and by goods. Company servants paid 10 per cent above cost, planters 25 per cent on cloth, shoes and stockings and 40 per cent on food and general goods, and ships 40 per cent. Two hundred fish hooks cost servants 10s 6d and planters 13s 6d in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. Goods issued for public use were charged near cost, but the rule was inconsistent, since sugar candy was issued at almost its selling price in 1764. Servants bought £1,211 16s 6d in the quarter ending 31 December 1764, £1,096 5s 2d in the next and £1,325 0s 0d in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. Their purchases of 3,941 pieces of pork in late 1764 and 3,107 in mid 1765 point to garrison rations as well as household buying. [Film No. 97, 105–106, 108–113, 215, 223, 350–357, 358–362]

The treasury's balance can be traced month by month. It stood at £6,952 14s 11½d on 30 September 1764 and did not change in October or November. It fell to £5,320 14s 4½d on 31 December 1764 and rose to £5,935 16s 4½d by 31 January 1765. It stood at £5,868 19s 8d on 31 March and £7,737 1s 5d on 30 April 1765, when no payments were entered. May's receipts and balance reached £9,249 1s 7d, yet the June account opened at £9,849 1s 7d, a discrepancy of £600 left unexplained. The balance closed at £7,101 13s 1d on 30 June 1765. Every balance included £539 15s 0d in cash notes marked as of no use, so the spendable reserve was always smaller than it appeared. [Film No. 66, 78, 86, 145, 155, 179, 276, 304, 325–326, 419]

The paymaster's accounts balanced but did not always reconcile. Of £3,041 4s 5½d issued in the quarter ending 30 September 1764, salaries and allowances took £2,819 5s 4½d. Kirkpatrick was charged with £3,099 7s 1d on 30 September 1764 but accounted for £2,968 18s 3d, a gap of about £130 without explanation. He accounted for £4,177 4s 4d in the quarter ending 31 March 1765, including £645 8s 7d for the crews of the *Mercury* and *Fly*, and £4,368 17s 7¼d in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. Several running totals shifted between leaves, and the June coin figure falls 5s short of the stated balance. [Film No. 33–34, 47–53, 141–145, 265–274, 408–419]

The island handled many currencies. It held 53,960 Irish halfpence worth £112 8s 4d on 30 September 1764, since no coin was struck locally until the Company's St Helena halfpenny of 1821. On 24 December 1764 the Council rerated the fanam, a small south Indian coin, reducing double

fanams to 4d and singles to 2d, and lost £2 0s 0d on the 420 in its chest. In rating foreign coin it used a power that in England belonged to the Crown. Invoices came in Madras pagodas, fanams and cash, Bombay rupees, quarters and reas, Bengal current rupees, annas and pies and Canton taels, mace and candareens. Weights came in piculs, catties, bazaar and factory maunds, Surat maunds, mercals and morahs. [Film No. 53, 87–90, 145, 158–159, 170, 186, 278, 282, 422–424, 440]

Bills of exchange carried private money home and supplied the treasury with coin. On 14 January 1765 the Council sold six sets for £604 11s 1d, including one remitted by Burling and Bazett to Mary Darval for £101 13s 4d. Richard Collins paid in £1,150 0s 0d on 2 March 1765, dated 4 March in the minutes. On 21 March officers of the *Devonshire* bought bills worth £965 0s 0d, including £150 0s 0d for Captain Andrew Quicke. Burling remitted £75 13s 6d and £200 0s 0d and the chaplain John Thackeray £100 0s 0d in March 1765. A chest of treasure landed from the *Salisbury* realised £1,002 13s 5d on 27 March 1765, and on 5 April the Council shipped a chest to Canton to buy tea. [Film No. 95, 165, 168, 180–181, 198, 275]

Remittances continued through 1765. On 8 April bills of £800 0s 0d and £310 0s 0d were issued, to payees read variously as Peter Rice or Peter Dore and Thomas Clift or Thomas Cliff. On 15 April Kirkpatrick received £360 0s 0d for Allen Auld and David Alcock £100 0s 0d, entered in the cash account under Edward Alcock. Captain Peter Lea paid in £298 0s 0d on 6 May, and on 11 May Captain Peter Pigou remitted £605 1s 6d and his fifth mate John James £70 0s 0d. On 20 May Edward Young remitted £445 0s 0d and Captain Francis Dupont £32 0s 0d. On 27 May Captain Henry Bazett sent £75 0s 0d to James Renwick, while Roger Tiler remitted £102 4s 0d and Tinker £351 0s 0d. The Governor remitted £230 0s 0d to Robert Wood on 3 July 1765. On 5 August 1765 Kirkpatrick sent £147 0s 0d to Nicholas Pearce and Jeffery Jackson, chief mate of the *Pitt*, remitted £219 0s 0d. These sums reflect the private trade that officers were allowed, and the bills were payable 90 days after presentation. [Film No. 213, 277, 295, 297–298, 304–305, 307, 344–345, 450]

The Council also acted as banker to the navy. On 2 March 1765 it advanced £465 6s 9d to Captain Collins of the *Weymouth* and his purser against bills on the Navy Board and the Victualling Board payable in 30 days. [Film No. 168, 276]

Trade and Shipping

The island lived by the traffic of the Company's ships. The *Deptford* settled her account on 4 September 1764. The *Duke of Albany*'s boat reached Banks's at 9 am on 4 January 1765, and the ship stayed 17 days before sailing for England on 21 January. The *Anson* from Bombay and the *Boscawen* from Bengal arrived on 21 and 22 February 1765 and sailed on 6 March. The *Devonshire* stayed from 10 to 26 March. The *Salisbury* and *Dutton* arrived on 21 and 22 March and, their ten working days under charter expired, were ordered to sail for China on 3 and 5 April. They left on 9 April 1765. The *Lord Clive* arrived on 28 March and left on 7 April. [Film No. 66, 89, 93–96, 157, 175, 189, 197, 208, 214, 300]

The traffic peaked from April to August 1765. The *Pocock* sailed on 21 April. The *Latham* arrived from China on 20 April, the *Lord Mansfield* from Bombay on 24 April, the *British King* on 28 April, the *Norfolk* on 29 April and the *Northumberland* on 1 May. The *Lord Mansfield* and *Latham* sailed on 7 May, and the *British King*, *Norfolk* and *Northumberland* on 13 May. The *British King*'s passage from Canton had taken just over four months. Each ship sent a boat ahead to Banks's, and the Council recorded the landing times to the quarter hour. The *Pitt* arrived from Bencoolen on 18 July, the *Earl of Lincoln* from China on 21 July and the *London* from Bombay on 4 August 1765. [Film No. 278, 281, 284, 286, 296, 298, 421, 440]

Foreign ships called or passed as rivals. The Danish *Prince Frederick* arrived from China on 27 March 1765, a ship of 1,300 tons with 30 guns and 170 men, and the *Crown Prince* followed on 31 March, both bound for Copenhagen. Much Danish tea was smuggled into Britain to avoid duty. The French *Penthièvre* arrived from Mauritius on 15 April 1765, of about 700 tons with 20 guns and 160 men, and left on 17 April. The Swedish *Stockholm Slott* of 900 tons, 30 guns and 160 men called between 20 and 26 April on her way to Gothenburg. The Council recorded their strength as intelligence barely two years after the peace. [Film No. 185, 189, 203, 214, 278, 281]

Muster rolls show the make-up of the Company's crews. Ships carried surgeons, pursers, sailmakers, armourers, coopers, butchers and poulterers, and the *Duke of Albany*'s officers were largely Scots. The *Lord Clive*, *British King*, *Caernarvon* and *Pitt* carried men with Asian, Portuguese, Spanish or Scandinavian names or single names, taken on in the East to replace losses. One man was entered under an alias. None of the *Salisbury*'s crew would stay on the island, so Wyche took the matross John Slater as armourer in April 1765. [Film No. 93–94, 163–165, 177, 187–188, 199, 292, 429, 433]

The island kept its own vessels. In 1764 it had the snows *Groom* and *Lapwing* and the cutter *Fly*. The *Mercury* and *Fly* sailed for Madagascar on about 17 May 1764 and returned on 24 January 1765. Their refits in the quarter ending 31 March 1765 cost £73 10s 3d for the *Fly*, including a 70-foot mast, and £105 14s 10d for the *Mercury*, including a new anchor. On 22 April 1765 Captain Lea complained that his crew had been charged three months' absence pay too much in London, and the Council referred the matter to the directors. The *Fly*'s crew were paid off in late April 1765. By 30 June she had been re-rigged as a schooner by craftsmen from the *Royal George*, since the island had no dockyard. The *Mercury* sailed for England on 3 May 1765. On 29 July 1765 the Council bought Hardwicke's longboat for £35 0s 0d after its own was smashed while serving a King's ship. [Film No. 23, 32, 239–242, 279, 286, 408, 414, 436]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

The Company fed and clothed its slaves from the store. Their stores cost £168 17s 7d in the quarter ending 30 September 1764, £272 16s 2d in the next, £255 16s 9d in the quarter ending 31 March 1765 and £507 15s 6d in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. Salt meat and rice dominated, with 10,108 lb of rice in the quarter ending 31 December 1764 and nearly 5½ tons in the next. Flour was almost withheld, with 30 lb in the quarter ending 31 December 1764 and 24 lb in the next against 765 lb for the Company's table. By mid 1765 flour went only to the sick. Arrack was issued for drams and at Christmas, a cheap inducement to compliance. [Film No. 29–30, 114, 116–117, 232, 234, 376–378]

Yams formed the slaves' staple, drawn from the same crop that fed the livestock. The issue fell from 25,000 in October 1764 to 20,000 lb in November and 19,000 lb in December. It stood at 25,000 lb in January 1765, 18,000 lb in February, 19,000 lb in March and 9,000 in April, with 45,940 in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. No headcount allowed a ration per person to be calculated. [Film No. 74, 82, 92, 152, 172, 207, 299, 341]

Provision marked divisions among the slaves. Only 28 craftsmen received shoes in the quarter ending 30 September 1764, and 32 pairs went only to skilled tradesmen in the quarter ending 31 March 1765. Most slaves presumably went barefoot. Boat crews received sailors' clothing, and fishermen received hooks and lines. In the quarter ending 30 June 1765 seamen's slops worth £184 17s 2d clothed them, including 354 checked shirts, 135 jackets and breeches and 209 Dutch caps. Longcloth for women in childbirth and for the Governor's servants was charged to the slaves'

account, so the Governor's household servants were Company slaves. [Film No. 29–30, 117, 234–235, 376–377]

Slave lives appear mainly at the foot of the livestock returns. Islington died in October 1764, Caesar and Cato in November and a boy named Jack in December, while a girl named Sarah was born in November. A girl, Sary Bracket, and a boy, Frank, died in January 1765, Leo in February and a girl named Massey in March. In the quarter ending 30 June 1765 a boy named Joe was born, and Winchester, Wycomb, Samuel Moore, Ruth and Hager died. Moore's will of 6 September 1764 left his slaves to his widow with his furniture and house. [Film No. 74, 82, 92, 152, 167, 172, 207, 299, 341]

The Company bought slaves in Madagascar. The *Mercury* and *Fly* sailed on 17 May 1764 and landed 16 men and two boys on 24 January 1765 with rice and paddy. The newcomers were renamed after English towns, such as Winchester, London and Oxford. Commissions were paid on 18 slaves. Captain Fea, probably Captain Lea of the *Fly*, took £1 0s 0d a head, Merryweather and Adam Sheriff 6s 8d and Harrold's estate 20s. The surgeon Thomas Hamilton earned 5s for each slave kept alive, so everyone in command had a cash stake in delivery. [Film No. 146, 152, 408, 410]

The *Mercury* voyage produced a rising. At about 2 am on 29 November 1764, after leaving Managar Harbour on 21 November, slaves stabbed Captain Harrold in his darkened cabin, and the crew fired, killing two and wounding three. Harrold died on 10 December 1764. Questioned through an interpreter, first by appeal and then by threats, the slaves named Cupidoe, Harrold's own slave, as the instigator. He had supplied a file brought from St Helena and promised to sail them home. The officers' account needs careful reading, since its authors had fired on the slaves and were confirmed in command on 28 January 1765, the day it was presented. Yet the moved pistols, the darkened cabin and the smuggled file point to a planned rising with inside help, a recurring danger soon after a ship left the coast. [Film No. 146–149]

The Company also used the island as a staging post for African slaves. On 26 May 1765 the *Royal George* arrived from Cabinda on the Angolan coast with 236 slaves, comprising 125 men, 45 women, 38 boys, 25 girls and three young children. On the directors' orders the Council decided on 27 May to send 150 to Fort Marlborough in Sumatra, and it dispatched them on 1 July once they had recovered. The other 86 stayed on the island. Captain Skottowe, whose relation to the Governor is not stated, received 15s a head on all 236 and 7s 6d on the 86 kept. Mr Tolme received 5s and 2s 6d on the same numbers and the surgeon 10s for each of the 86. These commissions totalled £322 5s 0d, nearly £3 15s 0d for each slave kept, and payment on purchase rewarded buying in bulk. New slaves slept on a wooden platform under one lamp with 77 blankets. [Film No. 306, 337–338, 376–377, 412, 414]

Free men of colour and other servants appear in passing. A separate account for the Malays covered tea, sugar, soap and arrack as well as rice and beef, perhaps for free servants from the Company's eastern settlements. Nockquedah Cocketteen, Cockalum or Bechullen received £2 12s 6d a quarter in allowance and rent from late 1764 to mid 1765. His first name was perhaps the title nakhoda, the master of an Indian Ocean trading vessel, suggesting a pilot or interpreter for the Madagascar voyages. A seaman named Sabbo was paid off from the *Fly* on 9 April 1765 with a balance of wages, marking him as free. Ships carried black servants and slaves, such as Juba and Damon on the *Anson*, three unnamed boys on the *Boscawen* and Flora, Florella and Nuga on the *Caernarvon*. [Film No. 50, 142, 163, 165, 200, 270, 378, 416, 430]

Wrangham's will of 21 November 1758, proved on 5 August 1765, freed two old slave women, Meg and Suckey, out of compassion and forbade their sale. Their freedom depended on the

Council's consent. If a bye-law barred them from staying as free women, his nephews were to pay £10 0s 0d each for their passage elsewhere, so freedom might have meant exile. [Film No. 446]

Social Order, Religion and Education

Goods sold reveal a settled community of families and marked distinctions of rank. The store sold 320 yards of silver lace for £43 15s 8d in the quarter ending 30 September 1764, probably for officers' uniforms. Planters bought children's shoes, hats and stockings, women's and girls' shoes, silver wire buttons, ivory combs and whalebone for stays. Chinese porcelain was cheap enough for modest households, and window glass and china appeared in January 1765. Tea reached every level, from 115 lb for the garrison to 77 lb for the slaves in the quarter ending 30 September 1764. Two Russian gentlemen were lodged at the Company's expense in 1764. [Film No. 16–17, 26, 28, 48, 98–99, 102–103, 108, 217–219, 354]

Fish supplemented a closely controlled meat supply. Buyers took more than 1,100 hooks in the quarter ending 30 September 1764 and 3,500 between October and December 1764. They took about 2,750 in the quarter ending 31 March 1765 and about 1,900 in the next, with nearly 400 lines and deep-sea tackle for fishing offshore. [Film No. 29, 102, 217–219, 224, 226, 356–362]

Religion and schooling rested on few men. William Lee was paid as chaplain only to 23 August 1764 while John Thackeray drew a full quarter, an overlap the record does not explain. Thackeray drew £40 0s 0d a quarter by 1765, and long cloth was issued for chapel surplices in late 1764. Beale drew only £3 8s 3d a quarter as schoolmaster. The civil list for the quarter ending 30 June 1765 also names William Wrangham as teacher at £30 0s 0d, perhaps a misreading. The store held Bibles, prayer books, primers, hornbooks and spelling books, but sales were few, which suggests a small school. [Film No. 33–34, 52, 102, 113, 222, 243–245, 387–388]

Care of the sick was modest until mid 1765. The hospital drew £7 1s 6d of stores in the quarter ending 30 September 1764 and £8 12s 3d in the quarter ending 31 March 1765, chiefly a light diet without salt meat. The surgeon Robert Barclay was paid by the patient-day for supplies, which gave him a stake in the numbers treated. On 13 May 1765 the Council found the hospital badly short and issued 30 blankets and cloth for mattresses, pillows and smocks, with the mattresses stuffed with Company wool. Hospital stores rose to £44 0s 2d in the quarter ending 30 June 1765, and the adjutant was paid £10 12s 6d for feeding the sick. [Film No. 32–33, 121, 142, 237–238, 302, 380–382, 416]

The minutes recorded the deaths of free inhabitants by name, while slave deaths appeared only in the livestock returns. Elizabeth Price died on 1 November 1764 and Mary Merchant on 15 December 1764. Giles Blanke died on 25 January 1765, and six deaths were noted between 11 and 20 February 1765. Ann Kirkpatrick died on 22 May 1765, Mary Seale, an innkeeper's daughter, on 24 May and Charles Bazett on 30 May. Elizabeth Harper died on 23 June, John Marsh on 3 July, the innkeeper's son Charles Merchant on 8 July and Eleanor Chamberlain on 14 July 1765. Margaret Langhorn, an orphan, died on 23 July and the soldier William Johnson on 28 July. The cluster of mid 1765 suggests an infection brought by ships, but no cause was recorded. [Film No. 72, 84, 146, 152, 154, 157, 306, 309, 312, 327, 340, 345, 349, 421, 428]

Widows depended on the Council's goodwill. Captain Hall's will of 12 December 1763 left everything to his widow Mary. On 11 May 1765 she pleaded age, ill health and distance from home and, with no pension scheme to draw on, asked only for a recommendation to the directors. Moore reserved half the rent of his house in James Valley for his daughter Mary in England. [Film No. 159–160, 166–167, 296–297]

Wrangham's will set out a careful plan for his estate. His goods were to be sold by public auction within six months and his land and leases let, with the rents paying for his nephew Edwin Alcock's education in England. Edwin would inherit at 21 only if he stayed dutiful and obedient. A legacy to his goddaughter would pass to her husband if she married, reflecting the law of married women's property. Expected money from Richard Goodwin's estate awaited the death of a life tenant. The codicil of 11 December 1764 cut two legacies and spread mourning rings across Burling's family and other kin, including a legacy to his godson Simon Whaley, Robinson's apprentice. [Film No. 442–448]

Personalities

Governor John Skottowe's character shows in his measures rather than in his words. Within a fortnight in December 1764 his Council regulated cattle, rerated the fanam and fined unlicensed drink. In 1765 it tried mutineers, proved wills, drew bills on London and rationed meat to homeward ships, and Skottowe himself remitted £230 0s 0d in July 1765. [Film No. 84–88, 195–197, 344–345, 437–439]

Thomas Kirkpatrick held more power than anyone but the Governor. He sat in Council, commanded the First Company and served as paymaster, holding over £3,000 of Company cash at a time and then certifying its count. His daughter Ann died on 22 May 1765. [Film No. 8, 123, 125, 141–145, 306]

Captain Archibald Mitchell dominated the record of 1765. He came as engineer, took command of the artillery and framed each plan as a proposal for the Council's approval, even when he had already burnt the lime. He challenged the directors' shipment of limestone, rejected bad powder and argued for new offices. In April 1765 he asked for a boat, crew, horse and servant, and the Council granted the boat, bought as a six-oared yawl for £12 0s 0d, and a horse bought for £25 0s 0d. [Film No. 184, 204–205, 285, 319–320, 331, 412]

Others appear briefly but vividly. Richard Beale, captain, judge advocate and schoolmaster, pleaded poverty after 40 years of teaching. Thomas Hamilton, surgeon of the *Mercury*, tended the *Fly*'s sick crew without any agreement for payment and was awarded £12 0s 0d on 15 April 1765. Captain Peter Lea pressed his crew's absence pay complaint and remitted £298 0s 0d, perhaps profits of private trade. Captain Joseph Jackson and Captain Peter Hardwicke argued their ships' needs with force in July 1765. [Film No. 214–215, 279, 295, 335–336, 425, 437–438]

Conclusion

Between July 1764 and August 1765 St Helena functioned as a fortress, a farm, a shop and a bank for the Company's shipping. A garrison of 370 to 400 men cost roughly three-quarters of the wage bill and supplied most of the island's paid labour. A handful of officers held civil, military and judicial power together and audited one another. The store tied the island to India, China, the Baltic and Britain, and bills of exchange carried officers' private fortunes home. Local revenue never covered more than half the island's costs. [Film No. 8–57, 140, 264, 304, 418]

The same months show the limits of that system. A shortage of cattle in mid 1765 forced the Council to ration beef to homeward ships and to break the Governor's word to a captain with scurvy. Slaves bought in Madagascar and Angola sustained the Company's farms and building works, one was hanged after the *Mercury* rising and most of the Angolan cargo went on to Sumatra. The accounts reveal what the Company owned and paid for far more fully than the lives of the people it governed or owned. [Film No. 146–149, 299, 306, 341, 437–439]

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

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Document Name and Date St. HELENA RECORDS 1764 - 1765 Photographer PETER Date photographed 10 JAN 2022 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
4		Blank page	
5		Blank page	
6		Vol. XLV. 15 Octr 1764 to 5 Augt 1765. Captain Archibald Mitchell (who served in the Royal Artillery as Fireworker & Lieutenant, from 1758 to 1765) sent out to report on the fortifications - In his Letters see 25 March, 8 April, 10 June & 26 June. Mutiny of Slaves on board the Mercury. 28 Jany 1765	
7		Blank page	
8	1	Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th day of October 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Govr Mr Matthew Wrling Captain Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 8th October 1764; The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing July 1st and ending September 30, 1764 Collection of Goods sold and delivered out of the Honorable Stores from the 1st July to the 30th Septr 1764 viz Beef & Pork viz 2901lb Beef £290 2s 0d 2962 Do Pork £29 12s 0d £319 14s 0d Sugar & Candy viz 3028lb Sugar £44 3s 2d 1368 Candy £34 4s 0d £78 7s 2d Flour 2318 Flour £16 17s 9d 224. 2. 26 do Baked £209 15s 0d £226 12s 9d Carried over £624 13s 11d	Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th day of October 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Govr Mr Matthew Warling Captain Thos Kirkpatrick } of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 8th October 1764; The Storekeeper brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing July 1st and ending September 30, 1764 Collection of Goods sold and delivered out of the Honorable Stores from the 1st July to the 30th Septr 1764 viz Beef & Pork viz 2901 lb Beef £290 2s 0d 2962 lb Pork £29 12s 0d £319 14s 0d Sugar & Candy viz 3028 lb Sugar £44 3s 2d 1368 Candy £34 4s 0d £78 7s 2d Flour 2318 lb Flour £16 17s 9d 224. 2. 26 do Baked £209 15s 0d £226 12s 9d Carried over £624 13s 11d
9	2	15th October Brought over £624 18s 11d Rice & Paddy 3. 1. 14 Rice £3 7s 0d 36. 3. 2 Paddy £9 9s 0d £12 16s 0d Sope 405lb £14 15s 4d Salt viz 13¾ Bushels £2 6s 4d 55¾ Cape Salt £1 15s 0d	15th October Brought over £624 18s 11d Rice & Paddy 3. 1. 14 Rice £3 7s 0d 36. 3. 2 Paddy £9 9s 0d £12 16s 0d Sope 406lb £14 15s 4d Salt viz 13¾ Bushels £2 6s 4d 558½ Cape Salt £1 15s 0d £4 1s 4d Candles 199½lb £21 12s 3d Tea 455lb Congou £34 2s 6d 30 Singlo £2 5s 0d 291 Bohea £13 6s 9d £49 14s 3d Blankets 32 £8 16s 0d Starch 95½ £1 9s 9d

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		£4 1s 4d Candles 199½ £21 12s 3d Tea 455lb Congou £34 2s 6d 30 Singlo £2 5s 0d 291 Bohea £13 6s 9d £49 14s 3d Blankets 32 £8 16s 0d Starch 95½ £1 19s 9d Buckrm 21½ Yds £1 1s 9d Challoes 28½ Pieces £14 3s 2d Desootees 7 7ps £3 16s 3d Cordage 358¾ [...] £7 1s 9d Ticking 20 Yds £2 13s 4d Flannel 15¾ Yds £1 1s 0d Coffee 28lb £1 5s 8d Arrack 24 Gallons £6 0s 0d Kersey 25½ Yds £1 19s 3d Pepper 26lb £0 14s 7d Pease 3½ Bushels £1 13s 0d Serge &ca 19½ Scarlet Serge 13 Do Grey Do £6 5s 11d 41 Yds Fustian £3 5s 6½d 23½ Blue Serge £8 14s 4d Shirts viz £5 16s 6½d £24 2s 4d 46 Yds Brown Holland 3½ Irish Linnen £4 13s 11d 55 Centinels Shirts £5 3s 6d £13 10s 5d Carried over £23 7s 10d £827 13s 2d	Buckr'dm 21½ Yds £1 1s 9d Challoes 28½ Pieces £14 3s 2d Desootees 7 Ps £3 16s 3d Cordage 358¾ lb £7 1s 9d Ticking 20 Yds £2 13s 4d Flannel 15¾ Yds £1 1s 0d Coffee 28lb £1 5s 8d Arrack 24 Gallons £6 0s 0d Kersey 25½ Yds £1 19s 8d Pepper 26lb £0 14s 7d Pease 3½ Bushels £1 13s 0d Serge &ca 19⅝ Scarlet Serge £6 5s 11d 13 Fr. Grey Do £3 5s 6½d 47 Yd Fustian £6 14s 4d 23⅝ Blue Serge £5 16s 6½d £24 2s 4d Shirts viz 46 Yds Brown Holland £4 13s 11d 3 Ps Irish Linnen £5 3s 6d 55 Centinels Shirts £13 10s 5d £23 7s 10d Carried over £827 13s 2d
10	3	1764 Brought over £827 13s 2d Shoes viz 17 Prs Mens fine Shoes £5 3s 5d 11 Prs Mens Pumps £2 19s 7d 2 Prs Chan [...] do £0 15s 4d 32 Prs Mens ordinary Shoes £7 14s 0d 16 Prs Boys do £2 14s 8d 11 Prs Girls do £1 4s 8½d 18 Prs Womens Calf do £2 2s 10½d	1764 Brought over £827 13s 2d Shoes viz 17 Prs Mens fine Shoes £5 3s 5d 11 Prs Mens Pumps £2 19s 7d 2 Prs Chan do £0 15s 4d 32 Prs Mens ordinary Shoes £7 14s 0d 16 Prs Boys do £2 14s 8d 11 Prs Girls do £1 4s 8½d 15 Prs Womens Calf do £2 2s 10½d 8 Prs do Spanish do £1 14s 0d 12 Prs do Calimanco do £2 11s 0d £26 4s 6d Pewter 2 Chamber Pots £1 5s 8d 1 Quart Pot £0 3s 1d 2 Basons £0 3s 5d £1 12s 2d Hosiers Ware viz 16 prs Mens worst Stockings £3 3s 4d

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		8 Prs do Spanish do £1 14s 0d 12 Prs do Calimanco do £2 11s 0d £26 4s 6d Pewter 8 Chamber Pots £1 5s 8d 1 Quart Pot £0 3s 1d 2 Basons £0 3s 5d £1 12s 2d Hosiers Ware viz 16 prs Mens worst Stockings £3 3s 4d 3 prs Mens knit do £0 10s 0d 29 prs do thread do £4 10s 7½d 5 prs Womens do £0 15s 7½d 6 prs Boys do £0 13s 0d 1 pr Girls do £0 2s 3½d 2 prs India Cotton £0 11s 7½d £10 6s 1d Nails 10¼ 2 £0 7s 10¾d 21 3 £0 16s 7½d 8 4 £0 5s 2d 76 6 £2 4s 4d 75½ 10 £1 17s 7d 7 20 £0 2s 9d 14 40 £0 6s 3d 1¼ Glazing Brads £0 2s 4¾d 8 Barrack £0 3s 0d 4 Coopers Rivets £0 2s 1d £6 [...]s 5d Carried over £872 3s 4d	3 prs Mens knit do £0 10s 0d 29 prs do thread do £4 10s 7½d 5 prs Womens do £0 15s 7½d 6 prs Boys do £0 13s 0d 1 pr Girls do £0 2s 3½d 2 prs India Cotton £0 11s 7½d £10 6s 1d Nails 10¼ [lb] - 2[d] £0 7s 10¾d 21 [lb] - 3[d] £0 16s 7½d 8 [lb] - 4[d] £0 5s 2d 76 [lb] - 6[d] £2 4s 4d 75½ [lb] - 10[d] £1 17s 9d 7 [lb] - 20[d] £0 2s 9d 14 [lb] - 40[d] £0 5s 3d 1¼ [lb] Glazing Brads £0 2s 4¾d 8 [lb] Barrack £0 3s 0d 4 [lb] Coopers Rivets £0 2s 1d £6 7s 3d Carried over £872 3s 4d Units in square brackets are not written in the manuscript and have been supplied: the nail sizes are penny sizes (2d, 3d etc.), and the quantities are probably in pounds weight, judging by the unit prices.
11	4	15th October Brought over £872 3s 4d Haberdashery viz 131 Skns Silk £3 5s 6d 106 Skns Mohair £2 8s 9d 4½ Whalebone £1 8s 1½d 4 Yds Tabby £1 17s 2d ¾ doz Yellow Metal Brst Buttons £0 0s 5¼d 7½ doz Gilt Coat do £1 5s 0d 4 prs Holland Tape £0 2s 9d 16 doz Mohr Brt Buttons £0 5s 4d 6½ doz Silver Wire Bt do £1 0s 10¾d	15th October Brought over £872 3s 4d Haberdashery viz 131 Skns Silk £3 5s 6d 106 Skns Mohair £2 8s 9d 4½ [lb] Whalebone £1 0s 8½d 4 Yds Tabby £1 17s 2d ¾ doz Yellow Metal Brst Buttons £0 0s 3¼d 7½ doz Gilt Coat do £1 5s 0d 4 prs Holland Tape £0 2s 9d 16 doz Mohr Brst Buttons £0 5s 4d 6½ doz Silver Wire Brst do £1 0s 10¾d 2¾ doz do Coat do £0 13s 10½d 1 Gr. Shirt Buttons £0 2s 5d 2 Cockades £0 0s 9d 10 doz Mohair Ct Butns £0 7s 6d 9 doz Gilt Brst do £0 15s 2½d 1 pc White Buckram £0 17s 0d 1 pc Gallun £0 5s 8½d 6½ doz Silver Coat Buttons £1 11s 1¼d 12 doz do Brst do £1 7s 0d 3 ps Carnation Tape £0 1s 10d £17 11s 2d

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		23¼ doz do Coat do £0 13s 10½d 1 Gr Shirt Buttons £0 2s 5d 2 Cockades £0 0s 9d 10 doz Mohair Ct Butns £0 7s 6d 9 doz Gilt Bt do £0 15s 2½d 1 pr White Buckram £0 17s 0d 1 pr Galluns £0 5s 8½d 6½ doz Silver Coat Buttons £1 11s 1¼d 12 doz do Bt do £1 7s 0d 3 prs Carnation Tape £0 1s 10d £17 11s 2d Paint 23lb Indico £2 4s 1d 26 Blue Smalts £1 19s 6½d 155 W Lead mixd £3 4s 7d 24½ V Red mixd £0 11s 8½d 29 Whiting £0 6s 2¼d 11 Barls Blacking £0 6s 7¾d ½ Umber £0 0s 1¾d 2½ Red Lead £0 0s 6¾d ½ Verdigrease £0 2s 1¼d 2½ Sky Blue £0 5s 1¼d ½ Yellow Oaker dry £0 0s 1¼d ½ Chocolate Color £0 0s 3¾d 1¾ White Copperass £0 0s 8¾d 10 V Red dry £0 2s 3¾d 66 Stone Color £1 14s 4d £10 18s 6d Carried over £900 13s 0d	Paint 23 [lb] Indico £2 4s 1d 26 [lb] Blue Smalts £1 19s 6½d 155 [lb] W. Lead mixd £3 4s 7d 24½ [lb] Do Red mixd £0 11s 8½d 29½ [lb] Whiting £0 6s 3¼d 11 Barl Blacking £0 6s 7¾d ½ [lb] Umber £0 0s 1¼d 2½ [lb] Red Lead £0 0s 6¾d ½ [lb] Verdigrease £0 2s 1¼d 2½ [lb] Sky Blue £0 5s 1¼d ½ [lb] Yellow Oaker dry £0 0s 1¼d ½ [lb] Chocolate Color £0 0s 3¾d 1¾ [lb] White Copperas £0 0s 8¼d 10 [lb] Do Red dry £0 2s 3¾d 66 [lb] Stone Color £1 14s 4d £10 18s 6d Carried over £900 13s 0d Units in square brackets are not written in the manuscript and have been supplied; the paint and whalebone quantities are probably in pounds weight, judging by the unit prices.
12	5	1764 [...] Brot over £ 900 . 13 Iron 56lb [1] . 12 . 10 Iron Pots 2 of 1 Gallon 4 . 9 Shalloon viz 20¼ Yds Scarlet 2 . 14 . 5 77 Yds Colored 7 . 16 . 7 10 . 10 Ironmongers Ware viz 1 Iron rim Lock No 2 1 . 9¾ 17 Prs Dovetail Hinges 7 . 5¾ 1 Sail Needle 1¼	The storekeeper's account of goods sold from the Company's stores between 1 July and 30 September 1764 continued with iron, cloth and hardware. Brought forward, £900 13s 0d Iron, 56 lb, £0 12s 10d 2 iron pots holding 1 gallon each, £0 4s 9d Shalloon: 20¼ yards of scarlet shalloon, £2 14s 5d 77 yards of coloured shalloon, £7 16s 7d Shalloon total, £10 10s 0d Hardware: 1 iron-rimmed lock no. 2, £0 19s 6¼d 17 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 7s 5¼d 1 sail needle, £0 0s 1¼d 7 small frying pans, £0 19s 3d 6 helves, £0 3s 9½d 2 spades, £0 6s 0d 1 garden rake, £0 2s 7d 6 pickaxes, £1 0s 1½d 1 lathing hammer, £0 1s 6¼d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		7 Small Frying Pans 19 . 3 6 Helves 3 . 0½ 2 Spades 6 . 0 1 Garden Rake 2 . 7 6 Pickaxes 1 . 1½ 1 Lathing hammer 1 . 6¾ 2 Spring Rat Traps 3 . 4 10 Chest Locks 1 . 11 . 3 9 Stock Locks 1 . 7 3 Splinter Locks 1 . 6¾ 4 Pad do 6 . 8 9 Scythe Stones 1 . 6¼ 3 Rag do 10½ 4 Hand Hatchets 7 . 9 2 Plaisterers Trowels 3 . 8 4 Prs Iron H Hinges 7 . 4 2 Prs Steel Yards 15 . 1½ 3 Gimblets 6¾ 1 Claw Hammer 1 . 7¼ 1 Scythe 6 . 1½ ½ Groce Wood Screws 2½ 2 Chafing Dishes 14 . 7½ 2 Garden Hoes 2 . 11½ 3 Bricklayers Trowels 3 . 6½ 1 Pruning Saw 1 . 6 1 Plaisterers Sieve 9 . 5¾ 1 Spl Lock 6¼ 2 Bal Cup Locks 3 . ½ 1 Iron rim Lock with brass knobs 5 . 7¾ 1 Pr H Hinges with rising joints 3 . 6¼ 12 . 2 . 7 Carried over £ 924 . 8 . 2	2 spring rat traps, £0 3s 4d 10 chest locks, £1 11s 3d 9 stock locks, £1 7s 0d 3 splinter locks, £0 1s 6¾d 4 padlocks, £0 6s 8d 9 scythe stones, £0 1s 6¼d 3 rag stones, £0 0s 10½d 4 hand hatchets, £0 7s 9d 2 plasterers' trowels, £0 3s 8d 4 pairs of iron H hinges, £0 7s 4d 2 pairs of steelyards, £0 15s 1½d 3 gimlets, £0 0s 6¾d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 7¼d 1 scythe, £0 6s 1¾d ½ dozen wood screws, £0 0s 2¼d 2 chafing dishes, £0 14s 7½d 2 garden hoes, £0 2s 1½d 2 bricklayers' trowels, £0 3s 6½d 1 pruning saw, £0 1s 8d 1 plasterers' sieve, £0 9s 8¼d 1 spring lock, £0 0s 6¼d 2 [...] cupboard locks, £0 3s 0½d 1 iron-rimmed lock with brass knobs, £0 5s 7¾d 1 pair of H hinges with rising joints, £0 3s 6¼d Hardware total, £12 2s 7d Carried forward, £924 8s 2d **Interpretations** Shalloon was a light twilled woollen cloth, named after the French cloth town of Chalons. Tailors used it chiefly to line coats and military uniforms. Scarlet shalloon sold at roughly 2s 8d a yard, while the coloured sort fetched about 2s. The scarlet cloth probably went into the linings of the red coats worn by the island's garrison. Several of the hardware lines named tools and fittings now little known. A helve was the wooden handle of an axe or hatchet, supplied separately so a worn or broken handle could be replaced. Stock locks were heavy locks set in a wooden case for outer doors, while rim locks were fixed to the face of a door rather than sunk into it. Hinges with rising joints lifted a door as it opened, letting it clear an uneven floor and swing shut under its own weight. A steelyard was a balance beam with a sliding weight, used for weighing goods without a full set of weights. Scythe stones and rag stones were coarse whetstones for sharpening blades. A chafing dish held burning charcoal beneath food to keep it warm at table. A lathing hammer drove the nails fixing thin wooden laths to walls ready for plastering. The account recorded goods sold rather than issued free. The Company thus recovered the cost of imported manufactures from the settlers and soldiers who bought them. On a small island far from any other market, the storehouse served in practice as the general shop for tools, locks and household ironwork.
13	6	15th October Brought over £ 924 . 3 . 2 Longcloth viz 4½ ps A 27 . 16 . 6 1 ps D 3 . 19 . 8 5 ps E 17 . 14 . 9 4½ ps H 12 . 6 . 3	The storekeeper's account of goods sold from the Company's stores in the quarter ending 30 September 1764 went on to Indian cotton cloth, tinware, wooden goods and twine. Brought forward, £924 3s 2d Longcloth: 4½ pieces of longcloth, grade A, £27 16s 6d 1 piece of longcloth, grade D, £3 19s 8d 6 pieces of longcloth, grade E, £17 14s 9d 4½ pieces of longcloth, grade H, £12 6s 3d 8 pieces of longcloth, grade I, £12 4s 0d 3 pieces of longcloth, grade K, £3 4s 9d

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		8 ps I 12 . 4 3 ps K 3 . 4 . 9 4 ps L 21 . 11 . 4 3 ps M 12 . 11 2 ps N 7 . 5 . 4 6 ps O 16 . 7 4 ps P 6 . 14 . 3 1 ps No 2 3 . 16 . 1 1 ps 6 1 . 10 . 10 ½ ps 7 6 147 . 6 . 9 Tin Ware viz 2lb Solder 1 . 11 6 Quart Saucepans 2 . 9¼ 1 Lamp 1 . 1¾ 2 Lanthorn Leaves 3½ 1 Watering Pot 3 . 6½ 9 . 10 Turners Ware viz 7 Punch Ladles 4 . 4½ 10 Shoe Brushes 6 . 3 4 Small Hair Sieves 2 . 2½ 2 Hair Brooms 4 . 3½ 1 Tray 3 . 1¼ 2 Laborers Baskets 1 . 8 1 Wood Ladle 4¼ 4 Paint Brushes 1 . 11 3 Scrubbing Brushes 7 . 3¾ 1 Flasket 2 . 10¼ 1 Birch Broom 4½ 1 . 16 . 9 Twine viz 30 Sks Twine 18 . 9 4½ Cotton Wick 11 . 3 1 . 10 Carried over £ 1075 . 5 . 6	4 pieces of longcloth, grade L, £21 11s 4d 5 pieces of longcloth, grade M, £12 11s 0d 2 pieces of longcloth, grade N, £7 5s 4d 6 pieces of longcloth, grade O, £16 7s 0d 4 pieces of longcloth, grade P, £6 14s 3d 1 piece of longcloth, no. 2, £3 16s 1d 1 piece of longcloth, no. 6, £1 10s 10d ½ piece of longcloth, no. 7, £0 6s 0d Longcloth total, £147 6s 9d Tinware: 2 lb of solder, £0 1s 11d 6 quart saucepans, £0 2s 9¼d 1 lamp, £0 1s 1¾d 2 lantern leaves, £0 0s 3½d 1 watering can, £0 3s 6½d Tinware total, £0 9s 10d Wooden goods and brushes: 7 punch ladles, £0 4s 4½d 10 shoe brushes, £0 6s 3d 4 small hair sieves, £0 2s 2½d 2 hair brooms, £0 4s 5½d 1 tray, £0 3s 1¼d 2 labourers' baskets, £0 1s 8d 1 wooden ladle, £0 0s 4¼d 4 paint brushes, £0 1s 11d 3 scrubbing brushes, £0 7s 3¾d 1 flasket, £0 2s 10¼d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 4½d Wooden goods and brushes total, £1 16s 9d Twine: 30 skeins of twine, £0 18s 9d 4½ lb of cotton wick, £1 11s 3d Twine total, £1 10s 0d Carried forward, £1,075 5s 6d **Interpretations** Longcloth was a plain white cotton cloth woven in India and sold in unusually long pieces, hence its name. The Company shipped it in bulk from its Indian settlements, and it served for shirts, shifts, sheets and linings. The letters and numbers were sorting marks given to each assortment according to fineness and length. Prices per piece did not rise or fall in simple step with the letters, ranging from about £1 1s 7d for grade K to over £6 for grade A. Buyers on the island would have chosen by the mark, knowing from experience which sort suited which use. Longcloth made up almost the whole value of this page, which showed how heavily the island relied on eastern goods landed from homeward-bound Company ships. Lantern leaves were thin translucent plates of horn fitted into the sides of a lantern in place of glass. Horn resisted breakage and shed a soft light, which suited a garrison and a farming population working outdoors at night. A flasket was a long, shallow two-handled basket, used for carrying washing or produce. Punch ladles served the bowls of punch commonly made from arrack, the Indian spirit that had appeared among the store's sales earlier in the same account. The clerk gave no unit for the cotton wick. The quantity was probably in pounds weight, since wick for candles and lamps was sold by weight. The corrected line should read £0 11s 3d rather than £1 11s 3d, giving the twine total of £1 10s 0d that the clerk recorded.
14	7	1764 Brought over £ 1075 . 5 . 6 Deals 30 Double 6 . 8 . 3 18 Single 1 . 13 1 Balk 9 . 9	The storekeeper's account of goods sold from the Company's stores in the quarter ending 30 September 1764 went on to Indian cotton cloth, tinware, wooden goods and twine. Brought forward, £924 3s 2d Longcloth: 4½ pieces of longcloth, grade A, £27 16s 6d 1 piece of longcloth, grade D, £3 19s 8d 6 pieces of longcloth, grade E, £17 14s 9d 4½ pieces of longcloth, grade H, £12 6s 3d

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		4 Wainscot Boards 1 . 9 . 9 10 . 9 Hooks & Lines 628 No 1 Hooks 1 . 12 . 10 20 Log Lines 1 . 10 323 No 2 4 . 19 . 9¼ 168 3 do 3 . 8 13 4 5 . 4¼ 4 Hambro 6 11 . 5 . 6 Long Ells 47½ Yds 4 . 5 . 5 Pitch and Tar 21 Rosin 3 . 6 7 Pitch 1 . 6¼ 8½ Gs Tar 7 . 2 6 Turpentine 1 . 4½ 13 . 6 Corks viz 23½ Gross 3 . 9 ½ Sheet 4 13 . 1 China Ware viz 4 Sauce Boats 1 . 9 52 Bowls 3 . 8 12 Tea Pots 15 4 Chamber Pots 6 . 8 161 Blue and White Sneakers 2 . 3 7 Setts Dishes and Plates 7 . 4 . 1 51 half pint Cups and Saucers 2 . 5 18 Qr Pint do & do 6 4 Sallad Dishes 3 . 8 2 Blue and White baking Dishes 4 . 4 4 Salts 2 . 9 5 doz Soop Plates 1 . 7 . 6 7 Dishes 10 1 Blue and Chamber Pot 1 . 8 3 Mugs 5 1 Coloured & Gold Guglet and Bason 11 2 Coloured & Gold baking Dishes 5 . 6 19 . 10 . 10 Carried over £ 1124 . 2 . 7	8 pieces of longcloth, grade I, £12 4s 0d 3 pieces of longcloth, grade K, £3 4s 9d 4 pieces of longcloth, grade L, £21 11s 4d 5 pieces of longcloth, grade M, £12 11s 0d 2 pieces of longcloth, grade N, £7 5s 4d 6 pieces of longcloth, grade O, £16 7s 0d 4 pieces of longcloth, grade P, £6 14s 3d 1 piece of longcloth, no. 2, £3 16s 1d 1 piece of longcloth, no. 6, £1 10s 10d ½ piece of longcloth, no. 7, £0 6s 0d Longcloth total, £147 6s 9d Tinware: 2 lb of solder, £0 1s 11d 6 quart saucepans, £0 2s 9¼d 1 lamp, £0 1s 1¾d 2 lantern leaves, £0 0s 3½d 1 watering can, £0 3s 6½d Tinware total, £0 9s 10d Wooden goods and brushes: 7 punch ladles, £0 4s 4½d 10 shoe brushes, £0 6s 3d 4 small hair sieves, £0 2s 2½d 2 hair brooms, £0 4s 5½d 1 tray, £0 3s 1¼d 2 labourers' baskets, £0 1s 8d 1 wooden ladle, £0 0s 4¼d 4 paint brushes, £0 1s 11d 3 scrubbing brushes, £0 7s 3¾d 1 flasket, £0 2s 10¼d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 4½d Wooden goods and brushes total, £1 16s 9d Twine: 30 skeins of twine, £0 18s 9d 4½ lb of cotton wick, £0 11s 3d Twine total, £1 10s 0d Carried forward, £1,075 5s 6d **Interpretations** Longcloth was a plain white cotton cloth woven in India and sold in unusually long pieces, hence its name. The Company shipped it in bulk from its Indian settlements, and it served for shirts, shifts, sheets and linings. The letters and numbers were sorting marks given to each assortment according to fineness and length. Prices per piece did not rise or fall in simple step with the letters, ranging from about £1 1s 7d for grade K to over £6 for grade A. Buyers on the island probably chose by the mark, knowing from experience which sort suited which use. Longcloth made up almost the whole value of this page, which showed how heavily the island relied on eastern goods landed from homeward-bound Company ships. Lantern leaves were thin translucent plates of horn fitted into the sides of a lantern in place of glass. Horn resisted breakage and shed a soft light, which suited a garrison and a farming population working outdoors at night. A flasket was a long, shallow two-handled basket, used for carrying washing or produce. Punch ladles served the bowls of punch commonly made from arrack, the Indian spirit that had appeared among the store's sales earlier in the same account. The clerk gave no unit for the cotton wick, and the pounds weight shown was carried in. Wick for candles and lamps was normally sold by weight, which made this the most probable unit. The account of the Company's store sales for the same quarter continued with timber, fishing tackle, cloth, ship's stores, corks and porcelain. Brought forward, £1,075 5s 6d Timber: 30 double deals, £6 6s 3d 18 single deals, £1 13s 0d 1 plank, £0 9s 9d 4 wainscot boards, £1 9s 9d Timber total, £10 0s 9d Fishing hooks and lines: 628 fish hooks no. 1, £1 12s 10d

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			20 log lines, £1 0s 10d 323 fish hooks no. 2, £4 19s 9¾d 168 fish hooks no. 3, £3 0s 8d 13 fish hooks no. 4, £0 5s 4¼d 4 Hamburg lines, £0 6s 0d Fishing hooks and lines total, £11 5s 6d Long ells, 47½ yards, £4 5s 5d Pitch and tar: 21 lb of rosin, £0 3s 6d 7 lb of pitch, £0 1s 5¼d 8½ gallons of tar, £0 7s 2d 6 lb of turpentine, £0 1s 4½d Pitch and tar total, £0 13s 6d Corks: 23½ gross of corks, £3 0s 9d ½ sheet of cork, £0 0s 4d Corks total, £3 1s 1d Porcelain: 4 sauce boats, £0 1s 9d 52 bowls, £3 0s 8d 12 teapots, £0 15s 0d 4 chamber pots, £0 6s 8d 161 blue and white sneakers, £2 0s 3d 7 sets of dishes and plates, £7 4s 1d 51 half-pint cups and saucers, £2 5s 0d 18 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 6s 0d 4 salad dishes, £0 3s 8d 2 blue and white baking dishes, £0 4s 4d 4 salt cellars, £0 2s 9d 5 dozen soup plates, £1 7s 6d 7 dishes, £0 10s 0d 1 blue and white chamber pot, £0 1s 8d 3 mugs, £0 5s 0d 1 coloured and gilt guglet and basin, £0 11s 0d 2 coloured and gilt baking dishes, £0 5s 6d Porcelain total, £19 10s 10d Carried forward, £1,124 2s 7d **Interpretations** Long ells were a coarse, hard-wearing English woollen serge, made chiefly in Devon and named for the unusual length of each piece. The Company exported them in large quantities to India and China, where they paid for the cotton, tea and porcelain carried home. Their sale at St Helena reversed the usual flow, placing English cloth in the same storehouse as the Indian longcloth and Chinese porcelain it helped to buy. The porcelain came from China aboard the Company's homeward ships. A sneaker was a small bowl or deep cup, used for tea or for a modest measure of punch. At 161 pieces, sneakers were the most numerous porcelain item on the page, which suggests how widely tea and punch drinking had spread through the island's households. A guglet was a long-necked water bottle of Indian pattern, paired here with a basin for washing. The gilt and coloured pieces cost several times more than the plain blue and white wares, marking them as goods for the better-off families. Deals were sawn planks of softwood, chiefly pine or fir from the Baltic, with double deals cut thicker than single ones. Wainscot boards were quartered oak, prized for panelling rooms and making furniture. Timber of this kind had to be imported, since the island's own woods could not supply sawn boards in quantity. The fishing tackle showed how much the inhabitants depended on the sea for food. More than 1,100 hooks passed through the store in a single quarter, graded by size from no. 1 to no. 4. Hamburg lines were strong hemp fishing lines of a type first made in that city. Log lines, by contrast, were knotted cords used at sea to measure a ship's speed, and their sale points to buyers among visiting ships as well as islanders. Rosin, pitch, tar and turpentine were the standard materials for caulking and preserving boats and timber.

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			Corks sold by the gross served for stoppering bottles, while sheet cork was cut to size for floats and seals.
15	8	15 October Brought over £ 1124 . 5 . 7 Cutlery Ware viz 19 Ivory Combs £ 1 . 7 33 horn do 5 . 6¼ 5 Butcher Knives 2 . 4¼ 7 Shoe Knives 2 . 7½ 6 Prs Leather Garters 2 . 3½ 1 Case Fleams 2 . 10 1 doz Staghorn Knives and Forks 11 1 doz Ivory do & do 1 . 13 4 . 3 Leather viz 102¾ Sole 5 . 7 5 Calf Skins 2 . 5 7 . 1 Lead viz 124½ Sheet 1 . 8 . 6 5 Shot 1 . 1 1 . 9 . 7 Canvas viz 12½ Yds Osenbrigs 15 . 1¼ 77 Yds Osenbrigs 3 . 4 . 7 3 ps Ticklenburgs 3 . 8¾ 4 . 3 . 5 Books viz 1 Bible 3 . 8 1 Spelling Book 1 . 3½ 1 Common Prayer 3 8 Glass Ware viz 154 Sqrs 6 by 8 2 . 8 . 1½ 346 do 8 by 10 11 . 3 . 5½ 16 Tumblers 10 . 3 8 Beer Glasses 10 . 2 9 Sqrs 10 by 12 8 . 3 1 Quart Decanter 3 . 10 15 . 4 . 6 Thread viz 3 Whited Brown 1 . 1 . 9½ 7 Colored 1 . 4 . 6¼ 2 . 6 . 4 Hats viz 5 Mens hats 4 . 16 . 10½ 13 Boys	The Company's store account for the quarter ending 30 September 1764 continued with cutlery, leather, lead, canvas, books, glass, thread and hats. Brought forward, £1,124 5s 7d Cutlery and small goods: 19 ivory combs, £1 0s 7d 33 horn combs, £0 5s 6¼d 5 butcher's knives, £0 2s 4¼d 7 shoemakers' knives, £0 2s 7½d 6 pairs of leather garters, £0 2s 3½d 1 case of fleams, £0 2s 10d 1 dozen staghorn-handled knives and forks, £0 11s 0d 1 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £1 13s 0d Cutlery and small goods total, £4 0s 3d Leather: 102¾ lb of sole leather, £5 0s 7d 5 calf skins, £2 0s 5d Leather total, £7 1s 0d Lead: 124½ lb of sheet lead, £1 8s 6d 5 lb of lead shot, £0 1s 1d Lead total, £1 9s 7d Canvas: 12½ yards of osnaburg, £0 15s 1¼d 77 yards of osnaburg, £3 4s 7d 3 yards of ticklenburg, £0 3s 8¾d Canvas total, £4 3s 5d Books: 1 Bible, £0 3s 8d 1 spelling book, £0 1s 3½d 1 Book of Common Prayer, £0 3s 0d Books total, £0 8s 0d Glass: 154 window panes 6 by 8 inches, £2 8s 1½d 346 window panes 8 by 10 inches, £11 3s 5½d 16 tumblers, £0 10s 3d 5 beer glasses, £0 10s 2d 9 window panes 10 by 12 inches, £0 8s 3d 1 quart decanter, £0 3s 10d Glass total, £15 4s 6d Thread: 3 lb of whitey-brown thread, £1 1s 9¾d 7 lb of coloured thread, £1 4s 6¾d Thread total, £2 6s 4d Hats: 5 men's hats, £4 16s 10½d 13 boys' hats, £4 6s 1½d Hats total, £9 3s 0d Carried forward, £1,167 13s 8d **Interpretations** Osnaburg was a coarse, unbleached linen named after Osnabrück in Westphalia, where it was first woven. Ticklenburg was a similar rough linen from the nearby county of Tecklenburg. Both were cheap, durable cloths used for sacks, tarpaulins, work shirts and the clothing issued to labourers and slaves. The storekeeper grouped them under canvas because they served the same heavy, practical purposes. A fleam was a small lancet used to open a vein for bloodletting. Farriers used fleams on horses and cattle, and surgeons used finer versions on people. Sold in a case, the set probably held several blades of different sizes for animals of different builds. The window glass came in small rectangular panes cut to standard sizes, measured in inches. Glaziers set such panes into wooden sash bars, since large sheets could not yet be made cheaply. Some 509 panes sold in one quarter pointed to active building or repair work on the island's houses. Whitey-brown thread was linen thread left half-bleached, a cheap everyday sort for mending and sewing coarse cloth. The clerk gave no unit for either

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		4 . 6 . 1½ 9 . 3 Carried over 1167 . 13 . 8	kind of thread, and the pounds weight shown was carried in, since thread in bulk was normally sold by weight. Sheet lead served for roofing, gutters, cisterns and lining water tanks. On an island where rain fell unevenly across the seasons, cisterns for storing water were a practical necessity. The spelling book was a child's first reader, used to teach letters and syllables, and its sale alongside a Bible and prayer book showed that some families taught their children to read at home.
16	9	1764 Brot over £ 1167 . 13 . 8 Broad Cloth 8½ Yds Blue 8 . 13 . 11 7¾ Yds Scarlet 7 . 17 . 4 2¼ Black 2 . 8 4¼ Brown 4 . 1 . 10 ½ Green 8 . 8 3 Shr Grey 2 . 18 26 . 5 Oars 3 12 . 7 Earthen Ware viz 1 Close Stool pan 3 . 8 1 Milk pan 10 4 . 6 Camblet 20½ Scarlet 4 . 17 . 5 1½ Blue 5 . 10 5 . 3 . 3 Cart Wheels 1 Wheelbarrow 15 . 5 Naval Stores 42lb Gunpowder 2 . 2 . 3 Haberdashery 320 Yds Silver Lace 43 . 15 . 8 Beer 5 Hhds 15 . 3 . 9 Wine 249½ Gals Port 77 . 8 . 11½ 191¼ Gals Lisbon 62 . 19 . ¾ 123½ Gals Mountain 40 . 13 . 1½ 181 . 6 . 2 £ 1443 . 2 . 8	The Company's store account for the quarter ending 30 September 1764 continued with woollen cloth, oars, earthenware, drink and other goods. Brought forward, £1,167 13s 8d Broadcloth: 8⅝ yards of blue broadcloth, £8 13s 11d 7⅞ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £7 17s 4d 2¼ yards of black broadcloth, £2 0s 3d 4¼ yards of brown broadcloth, £4 1s 10d ½ yard of green broadcloth, £0 8s 8d 3 yards of French grey broadcloth, £2 18s 0d Broadcloth total, £26 0s 5d 3 oars, £0 12s 7d Earthenware: 1 close-stool pan, £0 3s 8d 1 milk pan, £0 0s 10d Earthenware total, £0 4s 6d Camlet: 20½ yards of scarlet camlet, £4 17s 5d 1½ yards of blue camlet, £0 5s 10d Camlet total, £5 3s 3d Cart wheels, 1 wheelbarrow, £0 15s 5d Ship's stores, 42 lb of gunpowder, £2 2s 3d Trimmings, 320 yards of silver lace, £43 15s 8d Beer, 5 hogsheads, £15 3s 9d Wine: 249½ gallons of port, £77 8s 11½d 191¼ gallons of Lisbon wine, £62 19s 0¾d 123½ gallons of mountain wine, £40 13s 1½d Wine total, £181 6s 2d Total, £1,443 2s 8d **Interpretations** Mountain wine was a sweet white wine from the hills around Málaga in southern Spain. Lisbon wine was a white wine shipped from Portugal, usually sweet or medium in style. Together with port, these fortified or strong wines kept well on long voyages, which made them the standard wines of the Company's outposts. All three sold at roughly 6s to 6s 7d a gallon. Wine formed by far the largest single class of sales on the page, reaching more than 564 gallons in a quarter. The 320 yards of silver lace formed the costliest item after the wine. This was a woven braid of silver-coated thread, used to trim officers' coats, hats and waistcoats. Such a quantity in one quarter pointed to the refitting of uniforms for the garrison's officers, since civilian demand on the island could hardly have absorbed so much. Broadcloth was a dense, fine woollen cloth from the west of England, finished with a smooth felted surface. It sold here at close to £1 a yard, well above any other textile in the account. The scarlet and blue lengths probably went to military coats, while the black, brown and French grey suited civilian dress. Camlet was a lighter cloth, originally woven from goat's hair and later from wool or wool mixed with silk, used for cloaks and linings. A close-stool pan was the removable earthenware bowl fitted inside a close stool, a boxed seat that served as an indoor lavatory. The milk pan was a wide, shallow earthenware vessel in which milk stood for the cream to rise, a routine item on the island's dairy farms.

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17	10	15th October Sold to the Planters at 25 pCt Longcloth viz 1 Ps O 3 . 1 . 10 2 Ps I 3 . 9 . 2 6 . 11 Chelloes 3 Ps 1 . 16 . 1 Buckram 4 Yds 4 . 4 Long Ells 60½ Yds 5 . 6 Shoes viz 8 pr Boys 1 . 10 . 10 3 pr Mens ordinary do 15 4 pr Men fine do 1 . 7 . 6 4 pr Mens Pumps 1 . 4 . 7 2 pr Chann do 16 . 2½ 1 pr Womens Calf 3 . 2½ 2 pr Girls 5 6 . 1 . 4 Hats viz 3 Mens 3 . 5 . 11 3 Boys 1 . 2 . 10 4 . 8 . 9 Hosiers Ware 8 pr Mens Wove Stockings 1 . 16 . 10 13 pr Boys do 1 . 11 . 11 1 pr Girls do 2 . 7 3 . 10 . 4 Serge ¾ Yds Scarlet 5 . 6 8¼ do Grey 2 . 8 . 3 2 . 14 . 2 Broad Cloth 9 Yds do Grey 9 . 17 . 7 Shalloon 6½ Yds Colored 14 . 7 Shirts 8 Yds Brown Holland 1 . 8 . 4 ½ ps Irish Linen 1 . 9 . 7 1 . 17 . 11 Flannel 11 Yds 16 . 11 Carried over £ 43 . 18	A separate list recorded goods sold to the island's planters in the same quarter, priced at 25 per cent above cost. Longcloth: 1 piece of longcloth, grade O, £3 1s 10d 2 pieces of longcloth, grade I, £3 9s 2d Longcloth total, £6 11s 0d Chelloes, 3 pieces, £1 16s 1d Buckram, 4 yards, £0 4s 4d Long ells, 60½ yards, £5 6s 0d Shoes: 8 pairs of boys' shoes, £1 10s 10d 3 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £0 15s 0d 4 pairs of men's fine shoes, £1 7s 6d 4 pairs of men's pumps, £1 4s 7d 2 pairs of channelled shoes, £0 15s 2½d 1 pair of women's calf shoes, £0 3s 2½d 2 pairs of girls' shoes, £0 5s 0d Shoes total, £6 1s 4d Hats: 3 men's hats, £3 5s 11d 3 boys' hats, £1 2s 10d Hats total, £4 8s 9d Stockings: 8 pairs of men's woven stockings, £1 16s 10d 13 pairs of boys' woven stockings, £1 11s 11d 1 pair of girls' woven stockings, £0 2s 7d Stockings total, £3 10s 4d Serge: ¾ yard of scarlet serge, £0 5s 6d 8¾ yards of French grey serge, £2 8s 3d Serge total, £2 14s 2d Broadcloth, 9 yards of French grey, £9 17s 7d Shalloon, 6½ yards of coloured, £0 14s 7d Shirting: 8 yards of brown holland, £0 18s 4d ½ piece of Irish linen, £0 19s 7d Shirting total, £1 17s 11d Flannel, 11 yards, £0 16s 11d Carried forward, £43 18s 0d **Interpretations** The planters were the landholders who farmed the island's plantations under lease from the Company. The storekeeper entered their purchases in a list of their own, fixed at a markup of 25 per cent on the cost of the goods. Keeping these sales apart from the general collection showed that the store did not charge every buyer on one scale. Pricing was set by class of customer, and the planters' rate served as a means of supporting the farming families on whom the island's food supply depended. Chelloes were cheap Indian cotton cloths, usually woven in checks or stripes, brought from the Company's settlements in India. Brown holland was an unbleached linen first made in the Netherlands, strong enough for shirts, aprons and furnishing covers. Irish linen, finer and whiter, was the usual material for better shirts. Buckram was a coarse linen stiffened with glue or size, used inside collars, cuffs and hat brims to hold their shape. Channelled shoes had their soles stitched in a groove cut into the leather, which protected the thread from wear on rough ground. The planters' purchases leaned heavily towards children's shoes, hats and stockings, which suggested household buying for large families rather than the officers' finery seen in the general account.
18	11	1764 Brought over £ 43 . 18 Sold at 40 pCt Turners Ware viz 5 Punch Ladles 4 . ¾ 1 Flasket	A further list recorded goods sold in the same quarter at 40 per cent above cost. Brought forward, £43 18s 0d Wooden goods and brushes: 5 punch ladles, £0 4s 0¾d 1 flasket, £0 3s 8d 2 shoe brushes, £0 1s 7¼d Wooden goods and brushes total, £0 9s 4d

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		3 . 8 2 Shoe Brushes 1 . 7¼ 9 . 4 Hooks & Lines 400 No 1 Hooks 17 25 3 7¼ 425 12 2 . 6 50 14 6¼ 45 2 Lines 18 . 1½ 36 3 16 . 6 2 Log 2 . 9½ 2 Deep Sea 14 4 . 2 . 1 Paint viz 1 Chocolate Color 10 12 Indico 1 . 10 2 Blue Smalts 3 . 11 20 Stone Color 12 . 6 5 Ven Red mixed 3 . 1½ 14 Whiting 7 2 Barls Blacking 1 . 7 ½ Umber 2½ 36 White Lead dry 15 . 9 2 Sky Blue 5 . 3 1 Verdigrease 5 . 5 1 Olive Color 2 . 6 4 . 1 . 8 Tea viz 191 Congo 19 . 17 . 11 40 Bohea 2 . 6 . 8 33 Singlo 2 . 7 . 11 24 . 12 . 6 Sugar & Candy 345 Sugar 7 . 3 . 9 64 Candy 2 . 2 . 8 9 . 6 . 5 Carried over £ 86 . 10	Fishing hooks and lines: 400 fish hooks no. 1, £1 7s 0d 25 fish hooks no. 3, £0 0s 7¼d 425 fish hooks no. 12, £0 2s 6d 50 fish hooks no. 14, £0 0s 6¼d 45 fishing lines no. 2, £0 18s 1½d 36 fishing lines no. 3, £0 16s 6d 2 log lines, £0 2s 9½d 2 deep-sea lines, £0 14s 0d Fishing hooks and lines total, £4 2s 1d Paint: 1 lb of chocolate colour, £0 0s 10d 12 lb of indigo, £1 10s 0d 2 lb of blue smalts, £0 3s 11d 20 lb of stone colour, £0 12s 6d 5 lb of Venetian red mixed, £0 3s 1½d 14 lb of whiting, £0 0s 7d 2 [...] of blacking, £0 1s 7d ½ lb of umber, £0 0s 2½d 36 lb of dry white lead, £0 15s 9d 2 lb of sky blue, £0 5s 3d 1 lb of verdigris, £0 5s 5d 1 lb of olive colour, £0 2s 6d Paint total, £4 1s 3d Tea: 191 lb of congou tea, £19 17s 11d 40 lb of bohea tea, £2 6s 8d 23 lb of singlo tea, £2 7s 11d Tea total, £24 12s 6d Sugar and sugar candy: 345 lb of sugar, £7 3s 9d 64 lb of sugar candy, £2 2s 8d Sugar and sugar candy total, £9 6s 5d Carried forward, £86 10s 0d **Interpretations** Set beside the general collection for the same quarter, these prices showed how the store's scale of charges worked. Congou tea fetched about 1s 6d a pound in the general account but about 2s 1d here, a rise of close to 40 per cent. Sugar moved from roughly 3½d to 5d a pound, and punch ladles from about 7½d to nearly 10d each. The general collection therefore appeared to pass goods on at or near cost, while the planters paid a 25 per cent advance and a third group of buyers paid 40 per cent. The page did not name that third group. A graded tariff of this kind let the Company shelter its own servants and the farming households while taking a larger return from other customers. Congou, bohea and singlo were the three standard China teas of the period. Bohea was the cheapest black tea, made from coarse late-season leaves. Congou was a better black tea, more carefully rolled and fired. Singlo was a green tea from the hills of Anhui, prized for its lighter flavour. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised slowly on strings into large clear lumps, used for sweetening tea and as a remedy for coughs. Venetian red was a warm earth pigment of iron oxide, used for priming woodwork and painting doors and outbuildings. Stone colour and olive colour were ready-mixed house paints named for their shade. The clerk gave no unit for the paints, tea or sugar, and the pounds weight shown was carried in from the same goods in the general account. Deep-sea lines were long, heavy lines weighted to reach the bottom in deep water, used for the larger fish caught offshore. The hooks ran to size no. 14, far smaller than any sold in the general account, which pointed to buyers fishing for small inshore species as well.
19	12	15th October Brought over £ 86 . 10 Flour 342lb; 3 . 18 . 4	The list of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost continued with provisions, household stores and building materials. Brought forward, £86 10s 0d Flour, 342 lb, £3 18s 4d

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		Rice 80 4 . 4 Salt viz 3¾ Bushels 16 . 4 250lb Cape Salt 1 . 2 . 1 1 . 18 . 5 Sope 39lb 1 . 15 . 9 Starch 8 4 Cordage 105lb 2 . 14 . 8 Candles 44lb 6 . 1 . 11 Pepper 1lb 1 . 9 Blankets 5 1 . 15 Paddy 450lb 16 Nails viz 2½ 2 2 . 6½ 3 4 6 . 8 7 6 5 . 4¾ 4 10 2 . 9 1 Glazg Brads 2 . 5¾ Twine viz 19 . 10 9 Sks Twine 6 . 7 1 Cotton Wick 4 Thread 2lb Colored 10 . 7 Leather 9 . 2 3¼ Sole Leather 4 . 6 1 Calf Skin 10 . 4 Canvas 11 Yds Osnabrugs 14 . 10 Deals viz 11 . 11 6 Double Deals 6 Single do 1 . 5 . 9 Oil viz 10 1 . 15 . 9 4½ Gall Linseed ½ Galls Train 1 . 4 . 5¾ Turners Ware 4 . 1½ 1 . 8 . 3 2 Paint Brushes 1 Shoe Brush 1 . 5 Carried over £ 10 2 . 3 111 . 13 . 8	Rice, 30 lb, £0 4s 4d Salt: 3¾ bushels of salt, £0 16s 4d 250 lb of Cape salt, £1 2s 1d Salt total, £1 18s 5d Soap, 39 lb, £1 15s 9d Starch, 8 lb, £0 4s 0d Cordage, 105 lb, £2 14s 8d Candles, 44 lb, £6 1s 11d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 1s 9d Blankets, 5, £1 15s 0d Paddy, 450 lb, £0 16s 0d Nails: 2½ lb of 2d nails, £0 2s 6½d 3 lb of 4d nails, £0 6s 8d 7 lb of 6d nails, £0 5s 4¼d 4 lb of 10d nails, £0 2s 9d 1 lb of glazing brads, £0 2s 5¾d Nails total, £0 19s 10d Twine: 9 skeins of twine, £0 6s 7d 1 lb of cotton wick, £0 4s 0d Twine total, £0 10s 7d Coloured thread, 2 lb, £0 9s 2d Leather: 3½ lb of sole leather, £0 4s 6d 1 calf skin, £0 10s 4d Leather total, £0 14s 10d Canvas, 11 yards of osnaburg, £0 11s 11d Deals: 6 double deals, £1 5s 9d 6 single deals, £0 10s 0d Deals total, £1 15s 9d Oil: 4½ gallons of linseed oil, £1 4s 0¾d ¾ gallon of train oil, £0 4s 1½d Oil total, £1 8s 2d Wooden goods and brushes: 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 5d 1 shoe brush, £0 0s 10d Wooden goods and brushes total, £0 2s 3d Carried forward, £111 13s 8d **Interpretations** The 40 per cent list was not confined to luxuries or occasional goods. Flour, rice, paddy, salt, soap and candles all appeared on it, the ordinary provisions of any household. Buyers on this scale therefore paid the higher rate for their daily necessities as well as for tea, paint and fishing tackle. The Company's graded pricing reached into the basic cost of living, not merely into the margins of discretionary spending. Paddy was rice still in its husk, as harvested. It kept better than husked rice and cost far less, but it had to be pounded by hand before cooking. On the island it probably also served as feed for poultry, since 450 lb sold for only 16s. Cape salt was coarse salt brought from the Cape of Good Hope, sold by weight rather than by the bushel. It was cheaper than the finer salt sold by measure on the line above, and it suited salting meat and fish. Train oil was oil rendered from whale or seal blubber, burned in lamps and used for dressing leather. Linseed oil, pressed from flax seed, was the essential binder for mixing oil paints such as the white lead and pigments sold on the preceding page.
20	13	15th October Brought over £ 86 . 10 Flour 342lb; 3 . 18 . 4	The list of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost went on to porcelain, cutlery, ironware, haberdashery, glass and brass. Brought forward, £111 13s 8d Porcelain:

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		Rice 80 4 . 4 Salt viz 3¾ Bushels 16 . 4 250lb Cape Salt 1 . 2 . 1 1 . 18 . 5 Sope 39lb 1 . 15 . 9 Starch 8 4 Cordage 105lb 2 . 14 . 8 Candles 44lb 6 . 1 . 11 Pepper 1lb 1 . 9 Blankets 5 1 . 15 Paddy 450lb 16 Nails viz 2½ 2 2 . 6½ 3 4 6 . 8 7 6 5 . 4¾ 4 10 2 . 9 1 Glazg Brads 2 . 5¾ Twine viz 19 . 10 9 Sks Twine 6 . 7 1 Cotton Wick 4 Thread 2lb Colored 10 . 7 Leather 9 . 2 3¼ Sole Leather 4 . 6 1 Calf Skin 10 . 4 Canvas 11 Yds Osnabrugs 14 . 10 Deals viz 11 . 11 6 Double Deals 6 Single do 1 . 5 . 9 Oil viz 10 1 . 15 . 9 4½ Gall Linseed ½ Galls Train 1 . 4 . 5¾ Turners Ware 4 . 1½ 1 . 8 . 3 2 Paint Brushes 1 Shoe Brush 1 . 5 Carried over £ 10 2 . 3 111 . 13 . 8	3 chamber pots, £0 6s 6d 27 bowls, £1 18s 3d 36 half-pint cups and saucers, £1 10s 0d 11 blue and white sneakers, £0 5s 6d 3 sets of dishes and plates, £3 18s 0d 2 blue and white guglets and basins, £0 7s 10d 2 blue and white sneakers, £0 1s 0d 2 teapots, £0 2s 10d 36 soup plates, £1 6s 0d Porcelain total, £10 4s 11d Cutlery and small goods: 2 shoemakers' knives, £0 1s 0d 1 ivory comb, £0 1s 5d 4 horn combs, £0 0s 11d Cutlery and small goods total, £0 3s 4d Ironware: 2 small frying pans, £0 7s 0d 1 hand hatchet, £0 2s 5½d 2 closet locks, £0 8s 0d 1 splinter lock, £0 0s 8½d Ironware total, £0 18s 2d Pewter, 1 basin, £0 3s 2d Books, 1 spelling book, £0 1s 8d Haberdashery: 29 skeins of mohair, £0 18s 7½d 21 skeins of silk, £0 15s 9d 6 dozen silver wire coat buttons, £1 18s 1½d 3½ dozen silver wire breast buttons, £0 10s 9½d 2 dozen gilt coat buttons, £0 4s 5½d 2 gross of horn button moulds, £0 1s 1d Haberdashery total, £4 7s 8d Glass: 14 window panes 8 by 10 inches, £0 11s 8d 6 window panes 10 by 12 inches, £0 7s 0d 17 tumblers, £0 14s 6d 6 beer glasses, £0 9s 10d Glass total, £2 3s 0d Brass: 1 large tea kettle, £1 5s 4d 1 small tea kettle, £0 17s 2d Brass total, £2 2s 6d Carried forward, £132 18s 0d **Interpretations** Horn moulds were small flat discs of horn, pierced at the centre, which formed the core of a button. A tailor or household sewer covered each disc with cloth or worked thread over it to match a garment. Sold by the gross at a fraction of a penny each, they offered a cheap alternative to the silver wire and gilt buttons listed just above. The breast buttons were smaller than coat buttons and fastened the waistcoat, which was then called the breast of the suit. Buying both sizes in matching silver wire allowed a man to dress coat and waistcoat as a set. Closet locks were light locks for cupboards and small storerooms, where household valuables such as tea, sugar and plate were usually kept secure. Brass tea kettles, teapots, cups and saucers and sugar bought at the same 40 per cent rate together made up the full equipment for serving tea. Their appearance side by side suggested that tea drinking had become a settled household custom on the island by 1764, reaching beyond the Company's officials.
21	14	15th October Brought over £ 132 . 18 . 1 Tin Ware viz 4 Quart Saucepans	The list of goods sold at 40 per cent above cost closed with tinware and ship's stores. Brought forward, £132 18s 1d Tinware: 4 quart saucepans, £0 2s 4d

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		2 . 4 2 Lamps 3 . 3 2 Small Stern Lanthorns 7 . 10 1 Glass Lanthorn 8 . 9 1 . 2 . 2 Pitch & Tar viz 18lb Rozin 4 . 1 1¼ Gals Tar 1 . 3 5 . 4 £ 134 . 5 . 7 Sold to the Honorable Companys Ships at 40 pCent advt Iron Ware viz 56 Sail Needles 10 . 9 6 Splinter Locks 4 . 3 15 Cordage 17. 3. 18 52 . 17 Canvas 4 Bolts English 12 . 18 . 4 Turners Ware viz 2 Laborers Baskets 2 . 3 14 Paint Brushes 11 . 5 13 . 8 Oil 34 Galls Linseed 9 . 7 Pitch & Tar viz 2 Barrels Pitch 1 do Tar 5 . 4 Paint viz 1 . 18 . 6 7 . 2 . 6 11 Verdigrease 46 W Lead dry 2 . 19 . 7 12 Ven Red dry 13 . 5 40 Barls Blacking 3 . 6 40 Red Lead 1 . 4 . 6 Tin Ware 2 Lamps 12 . 1 5 . 13 . 1 3 . 3 Carried over £ 138 . 9 . 5	2 lamps, £0 3s 3d 2 small horn lanterns, £0 7s 10d 1 glass lantern, £0 8s 9d Tinware total, £1 2s 2d Pitch and tar: 18 lb of rosin, £0 4s 1d 1¼ gallons of tar, £0 1s 3d Pitch and tar total, £0 5s 4d Total, £134 5s 7d The storekeeper then entered the goods sold to the Company's own ships, also charged at 40 per cent above cost. Ironware: 56 sail needles, £0 10s 9d 6 splinter locks, £0 4s 3d Ironware total, £0 15s 0d Cordage, 17 hundredweight 3 quarters 13 lb, £52 1s 7d Canvas, 4 bolts of English canvas, £12 18s 4d Wooden goods and brushes: 2 labourers' baskets, £0 2s 3d 14 paint brushes, £0 11s 5d Wooden goods and brushes total, £0 13s 8d Oil, 34 gallons of linseed oil, £9 7s 0d Pitch and tar: 2 barrels of pitch, £5 4s 0d 1 barrel of tar, £1 18s 6d Pitch and tar total, £7 2s 6d Paint: 11 lb of verdigris, £2 19s 7d 46 lb of dry white lead, £0 13s 5d 12 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 3s 6d 40 [...] of blacking, £1 4s 6d 40 lb of red lead, £0 12s 1d Paint total, £5 13s 1d Tinware, 2 lamps, £0 3s 3d Carried forward, £88 9s 5d **Interpretations** The Company charged its own ships the same 40 per cent advance as private buyers on the island. Each ship kept its own accounts, and its commander answered for stores drawn at every port of call. Pricing the island's stores above cost let St Helena recover the expense of freighting heavy goods such as cordage and pitch thousands of miles from England. The markup thus moved part of the island's running costs onto the voyages it existed to serve. The ships' purchases were almost wholly materials for repair and upkeep at sea. Nearly 18 hundredweight of cordage, worth more than half the list, replaced rigging worn or lost on the long passage from the east. English canvas came in bolts, rolls of sailcloth of a standard length for cutting new sails. Sail needles were heavy three-sided needles for stitching that canvas. Pitch and tar sealed seams and preserved rope, while red lead, white lead and verdigris protected wood and ironwork against salt water. A hundredweight contained 112 lb and a quarter 28 lb, so the cordage weighed close to 2,000 lb in all.
22	15	1764 Brot over £ 38 . 9 . 5 Nails 30lb Spike 14 . 4½ 6 6 40 10 16 40 1 . 16 8 Scupper 5 . 6¼ 1 Glazing Brads 2 . 6 9 Cooper Rivets 6 . 4	The goods sold to the Company's ships at 40 per cent above cost continued with nails, timber, provisions and navigational glasses. Brought forward, £88 9s 5d Nails: 30 lb of spike nails, £0 14s 4½d 6 lb of 6d nails, 40 lb of 10d nails and 16 lb of 40d nails, £1 16s 0d 8 lb of scupper nails, £0 5s 6½d 1 lb of glazing brads, £0 2s 6d 9 lb of coopers' rivets, £0 6s 4d Nails total, £3 4s 9d Deals, 16 single, £2 5s 4d Fishing hooks and lines: 25 fish hooks no. 14, £0 0s 4d 1 dozen fishing lines no. 3, £0 5s 6d

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		3 . 4 . 9 Deals 16 Single 2 . 5 . 4 Hooks & Lines 25 No 14 Hooks 4 1 Cod 3 Lines 5 . 6 5 . 10 Pork 1 Hhd 13 . 17 . 6 Glass Ware viz 4 half hour Glasses 3 . 4 2 half Minute do 1 . 8 5 Twine 56lb 4 . 13 . 4 £ 113 . 1 . 2 Charges General Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1st July to the 30 September 1764 viz Oil 3½ Galls Train 13 . 5 2 Bottles Florence for the Armorer & Armory 5 . 8 3¾ Gs Linseed to paint a Ladder and Canvas to dry Powder Green & [...] Snow 14 . 5 1 . 13 . 6 Iron Ware viz 24 Files 10 4 Smiths Rubbers Armorer 1 . 2 13 Helves for the Hospital Carpts & Masons &ca 7 . 10 12 Hand Hammers Helves Coopers use 7 2 Rasps to Shoe Horses 2 . 3½ 9¼ Rod Iron 11½ 1 Midling Jack 4 . 18 1 Jack Chain Castle 1 . 8½ 3 Bricklayers Trowels 4 . 9 2 Plaisterers 3 . 4 Carried over £ 8 . 4 . 10½ 1 . 13 . 6	Fishing hooks and lines total, £0 5s 10d Pork, 1 hogshead, £13 17s 6d Glass: 4 half-hour glasses, £0 3s 4d 2 half-minute glasses, £0 1s 8d Glass total, £0 5s 0d Twine, 56 lb, £4 13s 4d Total, £113 1s 2d **Interpretations** Half-hour glasses and half-minute glasses were sandglasses used for keeping time at sea. The half-hour glass marked the watches, with a bell struck each time it was turned. The half-minute glass was used with the log line to measure a ship's speed, counting the knots that ran out while the sand fell. Their purchase alongside cordage, canvas and pitch showed the Company's ships refitting fully for the next stage of the voyage. Scupper nails were short nails with broad flat heads, used to fix leather or sheet lead around the scuppers that drained water from a ship's deck. The hogshead of pork was the only foodstuff sold to the ships on this page. Salted meat in casks formed the staple of shipboard rations, and the island's store could top up a ship's supply when stocks ran short after a long passage. The storekeeper next set out the stores issued free for the island's own public use between 1 July and 30 September 1764, charged to the general expenses of the settlement. Oil: 3½ gallons of train oil for the armourer and the armoury, £0 13s 5d 2 bottles of Florence oil for the armourer and the armoury, £0 5s 8d 3¾ gallons of linseed oil to paint a ladder, canvas for drying gunpowder, [...] and the snow *Lapwing*, £0 14s 5d Oil total, £1 13s 6d Ironware: 24 files, £0 10s 0d 4 smiths' rubbers for the armourer, £1 2s 0d 13 helves for the hospital, carpenters, masons and others, £0 7s 10d 12 hand-hammer helves for the coopers, £0 7s 0d 2 rasps for shoeing horses, £0 2s 3½d ¾ [...] of rod iron for shoeing horses, £0 0s 11½d 1 middling jack for the Castle, £4 18s 0d 1 jack chain for the Castle, £0 1s 8½d 3 bricklayers' trowels, £0 4s 9d 2 plasterers' trowels, £0 3s 4d Carried forward, £8 4s 10½d, with £1 13s 6d already totalled **Interpretations** General charges formed the island's running expense account. Stores entered here were not sold but issued for public work, so their cost fell on the Company rather than on any buyer. Each line named the department or purpose it served, whether the armoury, the hospital, the Castle or the island's vessel. This allowed the Court in London to see where the island's stores went and to challenge any issue that seemed wasteful. Florence oil was fine olive oil from Tuscany, shipped in thin straw-wrapped flasks. The armourer used it, with train oil, to clean muskets and keep their locks from rusting in the island's damp air. Smiths' rubbers were heavy coarse files for rough shaping of metal. The canvas treated with linseed oil formed a waterproof sheet on which gunpowder was spread to dry after it had taken on moisture in store. A snow was a two-masted vessel with a small extra mast behind the mainmast for carrying a trysail. The *Lapwing* served the island as its own craft, and linseed oil for painting it was charged to general expenses like any other public work. The middling jack was a

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			clockwork device of middle size that turned a roasting spit before the fire, with its chain linking the mechanism to the spit. Its issue to the Castle showed that the Governor's kitchen was fitted out at the Company's expense.
23	16	16th October Brought over £ 1 . 13 . 6 214 Sail Needles to Sew Canvas to dry Powder on Groom and Lapwing Snow 17 . 10 2 doz Cat Gut Drill Strings Carpenters 7 . 8½ 24 Masons Tools Masons 1 . 12 3 Drill Strings Armorer 1 . 9 5 oz Binding Wire do 6 2 Gouges Carpenters 8½ 1 Chest Lock for a Chest for the Paymaster 3 . 3 2 Stock Locks for the Dove House & Sandy Bays Guard House 5 . 5 1 Maul for the Masons 6 . 2½ 2 Prs Dovetail Hinges for the New Barracks and Armorers Shop 10 3 Blank Keys for the Armorer 2 . 1 ¼ White Solder 5½ ½ Yellow do 5½ ¼ Borax 3 . 4½ 8 Gimblets for the Carpts 1 . ½ 6 oz Corn Emory Armoury 3½ 1 Claw Hammer 1 . 5½ 12 . 12 . 3 Grind Stones 1 Armorer 6 . 1 Corks 4 Gross Castle 9 . 3 Arrack 23½ for Drams to Sundries and taking an Inventory of the Stores 4 . 12 . 6 Candles viz 70 Castle 90 for the Council 6 . 17 . 1 4 for the Doctors Shop 8 . 16 . 3 1 for the Gunners use 7 . 10 2 Secys Office 1 Magazine 7 . 10 16 . 9 Canvas viz 16 Yds Osnabrugs for Packets and Rubbers in the Castle 12 . ½ 180½ Yds Eng to dry Powder upon and an Armorers Apron 7 . 1 . 4¾ 7 . 18 . 5 Carried over £ 43 . 16	The general charges for stores issued to the island's public departments continued with tools, fittings, drink, candles and canvas. Brought forward, £1 13s 6d, with ironware so far at £8 4s 10½d 214 sail needles for sewing canvas on which to dry gunpowder, and for the snows *Groom* and *Lapwing*, £0 17s 10d 2 dozen catgut drill strings for the carpenters, £0 7s 8½d 24 masons' tools for the masons, £1 12s 0d 3 drill strings for the armourer, £0 1s 9d 5 oz of binding wire for the armourer, £0 0s 6d 2 gouges for the carpenters, £0 0s 8½d 1 chest lock for the paymaster's chest, £0 3s 3d 2 stock locks for the dove house and the Sandy Bay guardhouse, £0 5s 5d 1 maul for the masons, £0 6s 2½d 2 pairs of dovetail hinges for the new barracks and the armourer's shop, £0 0s 10d 3 blank keys for the armourer, £0 2s 1d ¼ lb of white solder, £0 0s 5½d ½ lb of yellow solder, £0 0s 5½d ¼ lb of borax, £0 3s 4½d 5 gimlets for the carpenters, £0 1s 0½d 6 oz of corn emery for the armoury, £0 0s 3½d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 5½d Ironware total, £12 12s 3d Grindstones, 1 for the armourer, £0 6s 1d Corks, 4 gross for the Castle, £0 9s 3d Arrack, 23½ gallons for drams to various people and for the stocktaking of the stores, £4 12s 6d Candles: 70 lb of candles for the Castle, £6 17s 1d 90 lb of candles for the Council, £8 16s 3d 4 lb of candles for the doctor's shop, £0 7s 10d 1 lb of candles for the gunners, 2 lb for the secretary's office and 1 lb for the magazine, £0 7s 10d Candles total, £16 9s 0d Canvas: 16 yards of osnaburg for pockets and rubbers in the Castle, £0 12s 0½d 180½ yards of English canvas for drying gunpowder and for an armourer's apron, £7 1s 4½d Canvas total, £7 13s 5d Carried forward, £43 16s 0d **Interpretations** The arrack issued for drams showed spirits used as a working currency. Men engaged on extra or unwelcome tasks, such as counting every item in the storehouse, received a measured dram as reward or encouragement. Charging 23½ gallons to general expenses in a single quarter made drink a regular cost of running the settlement. The practice spared the Company cash wages while keeping labourers willing, though it also fed the drinking habits that the island's authorities often struggled to restrain. The snows *Groom* and *Lapwing* were the island's own small vessels, kept for fetching supplies, carrying messages and patrolling the coast. Their stores came out of general charges like those of any other department. The large issue of English canvas for drying gunpowder pointed to damp in the magazines, since powder that absorbed moisture had to be spread out and dried before it would fire reliably. Several items served specialist trades. Drill strings were cords of catgut wound around the shaft of a bow drill, which spun the bit as the bow moved back and forth. White solder was a soft alloy of tin and lead, while yellow solder was a brass-based alloy for harder

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			joints. Borax acted as a flux, cleaning the metal surfaces so the solder would bond. Corn emery was coarse granulated emery used by the armourer for scouring and polishing the metal of muskets and bayonets. The dove house was a dovecote, keeping pigeons that supplied fresh meat for the table. The Sandy Bay guardhouse was one of the posts manned along the coast to watch the landing places. Candles were issued by department, with the Council's meetings taking more than any other user. The doctor's shop was the dispensary where medicines were prepared and issued.
24	17	1764 Brought over £ 43 . 16 Starch 4¼ 1 . 8 Sope 32 for Linnen 1 . 8 Pewter viz 1 Bason for the Castle 2 . 3 1 Half Gall Pot Store use 5 . 6 7 . 9 Nails viz 3 2 to Nail up Orders & Water Engines 2½ 2 3 for the Armorer Shop board 1 . 5 ½ 4 Store use 1½ 15 6 For Forms for the Jury, Castle Pl House 7 . 9½ 13 10 and around Screens 3 . 8½ 7 20 for Plan House 2 . 9½ 8 40 for the Castle 2 . 6 1½ Glazing Brads Packets 2 . 7½ ½ Tacks 8 1 . 5 . 8 50¼ Paint viz 2 Indico 3 . 5½ 1½ Blue Smalts for Linnen 2 . 1¼ 6 Ven Red dry 1 . 3 26lb W Lead mixed To paint Canvas to dry powder on 10 . 6½ 5 Whiting for the Castle &c 2 . 5½ 7 Barrels Blacking 3 . 11 1 . 1 . 3 Glass Ware viz 9 Sqrs 8 by 10 5 . 5½ 5 do 6 by 8 1 . 4½ 6 . 10 Deals viz 67 double for the Castle Adjutants House repairing a 10 . 3 . 9¾ 168 Single Screen Chest for the Paymr Shop Board for the and for Shelves of the Store 16 . 5 . 6½ 3 Spars for the use of do 4 . 1 13½ ft Riga Timber for a New Roof in the Castle	The general charges for stores issued to public use in the quarter ending 30 September 1764 continued with laundry supplies, nails, paint and a large quantity of building timber. Brought forward, £43 16s 0d Starch, 4¼ lb for washing linen, £0 1s 8d Soap, 32 lb for washing linen, £1 0s 8d Pewter: 1 basin for the Castle, £0 2s 3d 1 half-gallon pot for use in the storehouse, £0 5s 6d Pewter total, £0 7s 9d Nails: 3 lb of 2d nails for posting orders and for the water engines, £0 2s 0½d 2 lb of 3d nails for the armourer's shop board, £0 1s 5d ½ lb of 4d nails for use in the storehouse, £0 0s 1½d 15 lb of 6d nails for benches for the jury, the Castle and Plantation House, £0 7s 9½d 13 lb of 10d nails for the same benches and for screens, £0 5s 8½d 7 lb of 20d nails for Plantation House, £0 2s 9½d 8 lb of 40d nails for the Castle, £0 2s 6d 1½ lb of glazing brads for the packets, £0 2s 7½d ½ lb of tacks, £0 0s 8d Nails in all, 50¼ lb Nails total, £1 5s 8d Paint: 2 lb of indigo, £0 3s 5½d 1½ lb of blue smalts for washing linen, £0 2s 1½d 6 lb of dry Venetian red for painting canvas to dry gunpowder on, £0 1s 3d 26 lb of mixed white lead for painting canvas to dry gunpowder on, £0 10s 6½d 5 lb of whiting for the Castle and elsewhere, £0 0s 7½d 7 barrels of blacking, £0 3s 11d Paint total, £1 1s 3d Glass: 9 window panes 8 by 10 inches, £0 5s 5½d 5 window panes 6 by 8 inches, £0 1s 4½d Glass total, £0 6s 10d Timber: 67 double deals for the Castle, the adjutant's house and repairs, £10 3s 9¾d 168 single deals for a screen, a chest for the paymaster, a shop board for the armourer and shelves in the storehouse, £16 5s 6½d 3 spars for the same uses, £0 4s 1d 13½ [...] of Riga timber for a new roof at the Castle, for Plantation House and for rails at Banks's, £38 12s 10d 5½ balks for the Castle, ladders and crane bars, £2 8s 7d 5 [...] for scaffolding standards, £1 0s 5d 1 oak plank 6 inches thick for window frames at the Castle, £2 15s 6d Timber total, £71 13s 9d Carried forward, £119 13s 7d **Interpretations** The timber issues revealed a season of heavy building. A new roof at the Castle, works at Plantation

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		Plantation House and Rails for Banks's 38 . 12 . 10 5½ Balks for the Castle, Ladders and Crane Bars 2 . 8 . 7 5 C[u]ffins for Standards for Scaffolding 1 . 5 1 Oak Plank of 6 Ins for Window Frames for the Castle 2 . 15 . 6 71 . 13 . 9 Carried over £ 119 . 13 . 7	House, rails at Banks's and repairs to the adjutant's house together consumed more than £71 of timber in one quarter. Plantation House was the country residence of Governor Skottowe, set in the cooler interior of the island away from Jamestown. Banks's was one of the fortified batteries guarding the coast, where rails probably fenced the gun platform. Riga timber was Baltic pine or fir shipped from the port of Riga, prized for its long straight lengths and used for roof beams and heavy framing. Balks were squared baulks of rough timber, sawn only enough to fit them for beams, ladders and crane arms. The benches made for the jury showed that the island held trials before a jury in the English manner. The Company went to the expense of seating jurors properly at the Castle, where the island's court sat. Nails charged for posting orders pointed to the practice of fixing the Council's regulations to a public board or door, so that the inhabitants could read and obey them. The water engines were hand-pumped fire engines, kept ready against fire in the town's closely built wooden structures. Blue smalts and indigo were used here not as paints but as laundry blue, added to the final rinse to counter the yellowing of white linen. Together with the soap and starch, they served the washing of the Castle's table and bed linen at the Company's charge. The packets named beside the glazing brads were the small vessels kept for carrying dispatches.
25	18	15th October Brought over £ 119 . 13 . 7 Twine 9 Sks to sew Canvas to dry Powder Armorer and Gunners use 4 . 8 Tin Ware viz 5lb Solder for the Castle 4 . 4 4 Speaking Trumpets for the out Forts 15 . 5 19 . 9 Turners Ware viz 1 Plaisterers Brush for the Masons 1 . 1½ 3 Laborers Baskets do 2 . 4½ 8 Paint Brushes for painting 4 7 . 6 Cordage 157lb for a Crane Rope Well Rope and Scaffolding 2 . 15 . 7 Iron 10½lb for the Carpenters and to make Wedges 1 . 1 . 3 Lines 12 No 2 for the Carpenters and Masons 3 . 5 Chelloes 2 ps for the Castle 18 . 9 China Ware 4 Chamber Pots for do 6 Desootees 1 ps for Rubbers 9 . 9 Thread 1lb Colored Gunners use 3 . 3 Tar 1 Galn to repr the Engines 9 Cart Wheels 4 Wheelbarrows for the Masons 2 . 16 Lead 178lb for the Lapwing Snow 1 . 13 . 5 Coals 2 Chaldron 8 Bushels 4 . 18 . 4 Brazrs Ware viz 1½ Brass for Soldering 3 . 1½	The general charges for stores issued to public use closed with twine, tinware, cordage, cloth, fuel and metal for the armourer. Brought forward, £119 13s 7d Twine, 9 skeins for sewing canvas to dry gunpowder, for the armourer and the gunners, £0 4s 8d Tinware: 5 lb of solder for the Castle, £0 4s 4d 4 speaking trumpets for the outlying forts, £0 15s 5d Tinware total, £0 19s 9d Wooden goods and brushes: 1 plasterer's brush for the masons, £0 1s 1½d 3 labourers' baskets for the masons, £0 2s 4½d 8 paint brushes for painting, £0 4s 0d Wooden goods and brushes total, £0 7s 6d Cordage, 157 lb for a crane rope, a well rope and scaffolding, £2 15s 7d Iron, 10½ lb for the carpenters and for making wedges, £1 1s 3d Fishing lines, 12 no. 2 for the carpenters and masons, £0 3s 5d Chelloes, 2 pieces for the Castle, £0 18s 9d Porcelain, 4 chamber pots for the Castle, £0 6s 0d Desootees, 1 piece for cleaning cloths, £0 9s 9d Coloured thread, 1 lb for the gunners, £0 3s 3d Tar, 1 gallon for repairing the fire engines, £0 0s 9d Wheelbarrows, 4 for the masons, £2 16s 0d Lead, 178 lb for the snow *Lapwing*, £1 13s 5d Coal, 2 chaldrons 8 bushels, £4 18s 4d Brass and copper: 1½ lb of brass for soldering, £0 3s 1½d ½ lb of copper plate for the armourer, £0 0s 8½d Brass and copper total, £0 3s 10d Total, £136 15s 10d **Interpretations** Speaking trumpets were long tin cones that amplified the voice, used to hail across open ground or water. Issued to the outlying forts, they allowed the men posted at lookouts and batteries to call warnings to one another or to passing boats. On an island whose defence rested on spotting ships early and passing the alarm quickly, such simple equipment formed part of the chain of signals between the coast and the Castle.

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		½ Copper Plate for the Armorer 8 . 8½ 3 . 10 £ 136 . 15 . 10	Coal had to be shipped from England, since the island had none of its own and its woods were too precious to burn freely. A chaldron was a large measure of 36 bushels, so the issue here came to 80 bushels. The fuel probably went to the armourer's and smiths' forges, where the steady heat of coal was needed to work iron. Its cost of nearly £5 made it one of the dearer items on the page. Desootees were coarse Indian cotton cloths, usually woven with a doubled thread, brought from the Company's settlements on the western coast of India. A whole piece cut up for cleaning cloths showed how cheap such cotton was on the island compared with linen. The masons' fishing lines served as builders' lines, stretched taut to keep courses of stone straight and level. The 178 lb of lead for the *Lapwing* probably went to sheathing, scupper linings or ballast for the island's own vessel. Tar for the fire engines served to seal their leather hoses and wooden fittings, keeping them watertight between uses.
26	19	1764 Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1st to the 30th Septr 1764 viz Flour 684 4 . 1 . 9 Arrack 60 Gals 12 . 12 . 6 Pease ½ Bushel 4 . 5 Pork 16 Pd 1 . 13 . 4 Pepper 3lb 1 . 6 Tea 7lb Congou 9 . 7 Coffee 10lb 8 . 4 Salt 1 Bushel 3 . 10 Oil 6 Bottles Florence 17 Rice 50lb 4 . 1 Candy 116 2 . 8 . 4 £ 22 . 9 . 8 Garrison Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1 July to the 30th September viz Tea 115 Bohea 4 . 10 . 2 Turners Ware viz 2 Wood Bowls 2 . 7 2 Platters 2 . 6 1 Wood Ladle 4 5 . 5 Tin Ware 6 Lamps 5 . 7 Iron Pots 1 of 2 Gals 2 . 6 Blankets 57 16 . 17 . 3 Haberdashers Ware viz 21 doz Silver Wire Coat Buttons 4 . 18 22 doz do Bt do 2 . 6 . 9 27 doz Silver Ct do 5 . 18 . 1½ 17½ doz do Bt do 1 . 15 . 8¾	The storekeeper then entered the provisions issued for the public table between 1 July and 30 September 1764, charged as diet expenses. Flour, 684 lb, £4 1s 9d Arrack, 60 gallons, £12 12s 6d Pease, ½ bushel, £0 4s 5d Pork, 16 pieces, £1 13s 4d Pepper, 3 lb, £0 1s 6d Congou tea, 7 lb, £0 9s 7d Coffee, 10 lb, £0 8s 4d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 3s 10d Florence oil, 6 bottles, £0 17s 0d Rice, 50 lb, £0 4s 1d Sugar candy, 116 lb, £2 8s 4d Total, £22 9s 8d **Interpretations** Diet expenses covered the public table kept at the Castle, where Governor Skottowe dined with members of the Council and entertained visitors of rank. The Company met the cost as part of the dignity of its government, much as it did for the Castle's candles and linen. Commanders of the Company's ships calling at the island were usually received at this table. The 60 gallons of arrack, worth more than half the quarter's total, reflected the scale of that hospitality. Punch made from arrack, sugar and spice was the customary drink for toasts and entertaining across the Company's settlements. The garrison's own account followed, listing stores issued to the soldiers over the same quarter. Bohea tea, 115 lb, £4 10s 2d Wooden goods: 2 wooden bowls, £0 2s 7d 2 platters, £0 2s 6d 1 wooden ladle, £0 0s 4d Wooden goods total, £0 5s 5d Tinware, 6 lamps, £0 5s 7d Iron pots, 1 of 2 gallons, £0 2s 6d Blankets, 57, £16 17s 3d Haberdashery: 21 dozen silver wire coat buttons, £4 13s 0d 22 dozen silver wire breast buttons, £2 6s 9d 27 dozen silver coat buttons, £5 18s 1½d 17½ dozen silver breast buttons, £1 15s 8½d 80 skeins of silk, £2 0s 0d 80 skeins of mohair, £1 18s 4d ½ gross of worsted lace for the drummers, £0 8s 0d Haberdashery total, £19 0s 5d Carried forward, £41 19s 4d **Interpretations** The garrison received tea as a ration. Soldiers in England at this date had no regular tea allowance, and their drink was chiefly small beer. On St Helena the

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		80 Sks Silk 2 80 Sks Mohair 1 . 18 . 4 ½ Gross Worsted Lace for the Drummers 8 19 . 5 Carried over £ 41 . 19 . 4	cheapest China tea, bohea, arrived in bulk from the east and cost the Company little. Issuing it to the men offered a cheaper and safer alternative to spirits, which the island's authorities repeatedly tried to keep from the soldiers. The silver buttons, silk and mohair went into making and refitting the soldiers' coats and waistcoats. Nearly 88 dozen buttons in a single quarter pointed to a general renewal of uniforms rather than routine repair. Worsted lace was a woollen braid used to trim the coats of the drummers, who wore distinctive livery so they could be picked out on parade and in action. The 57 blankets equipped the barracks, whose building works appeared elsewhere in the same accounts.
27	20	15th October Brought over £ 41 . 19 . 4 Oil viz 87½ Gals Train for the Sevl Guards 16 . 3 . 6 1½ Gal Linseed to paint the fife Cases and mark Blankets 4 . 4 16 . 7 . 10 Iron Ware viz 2 Hand Hatchets for the sevl Guards 3 . 6 1 Large frying pan for Sandy Bay 3 . 1½ 2 Helves 1 . 2½ 2 Stock Locks 5 . 5 1 Pickax for Lemon Valley Gd 3 . 2 1 Lopping Axe 2 . 10 1 . 1 Lines viz 2 Hambro for Drum Cords 2 . 8 6 No 3 for Drams 1 . 11½ 1 Whip Chord for Whips 2 . 11½ 7 . 7 Deals viz 3 Double Deals for Sandy Bay Guard House 9 . 4½ 2 Single do for a Cot for the Officers Guard Room 3 . 11½ 13 . 4 Nails viz 1 2 to make two Cots and to repair Sandy 8½ 2 3 Bay Guard House 1 . 5 2 10 10½ ½ Tacks for Drums 4 3 . 7 Soldiers Cloaths viz 16 Serjeants Coats and Breeches 83 . 12 8 Gunners Mates do & do 23 . 12 8 Quarter Gunners do & do 10 . 18 52 Matrosses do & do 110 . 10 8 Drummers do & do 27 . 4 16 Corporals do & do 24 . 16	The garrison's account for the quarter ending 30 September 1764 continued with oil, tools, cord, timber and the soldiers' clothing. Brought forward, £41 19s 4d Oil: 87½ gallons of train oil for the various guards, £16 3s 6d 1½ gallons of linseed oil to paint the fife cases and mark the blankets, £0 4s 4d Oil total, £16 7s 10d Ironware: 2 hand hatchets for the various guards, £0 3s 6d 1 large frying pan for Sandy Bay, £0 3s 11½d 2 helves, £0 1s 2½d 2 stock locks, £0 5s 5d 1 pickaxe for the Lemon Valley guard, £0 3s 2d 1 lopping axe, £0 2s 10d Ironware total, £1 0s 1d Lines: 2 Hamburg lines for drum cords, £0 2s 8d 6 lines no. 3 for the drums, £0 1s 11½d 1 whipcord for whips, £0 2s 11½d Lines total, £0 7s 7d Deals: 3 double deals for the Sandy Bay guardhouse, £0 9s 4½d 2 single deals for a cot in the officers' guardroom, £0 3s 11½d Deals total, £0 13s 4d Nails: 1 lb of 2d nails to make two cots and repair the Sandy Bay guardhouse, £0 0s 8½d 2 lb of 3d nails for the same work, £0 1s 5d 2 lb of 10d nails for the same work, £0 0s 10½d ½ lb of tacks for the drums, £0 0s 4d Nails total, £0 3s 7d Soldiers' clothing: 16 sergeants' coats and breeches, £33 12s 0d 8 gunners' mates' coats and breeches, £23 12s 0d 8 quarter gunners' coats and breeches, £18 18s 0d 52 matrosses' coats and breeches, £110 10s 0d 8 drummers' coats and breeches, £27 4s 0d 16 corporals' coats and breeches, £24 16s 0d 268 sentinels' coats and breeches, £394 4s 0d 1 marshal's coat and breeches, £2 11s 6d Soldiers' clothing total, £684 17s 6d Hats: 26 sergeants' hats, £14 13s 0d 351 sentinels' hats, £48 18s 3d 16 officers' hats, £24 18s 9d Hats total, £88 10s 0d Carried forward, £833 19s 3d **Interpretations** The clothing issue gave a near-complete count of the garrison by rank. Some 268 sentinels, or private soldiers, formed the infantry, while 52 matrosses served the artillery. Above them stood 16 sergeants, 16 corporals, eight quarter gunners, eight gunners' mates and eight drummers, with a single marshal. Together these came to nearly 380 men, a large force for so small an island. The size of the garrison reflected St Helena's

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		268 Centinels do & do 394 . 4 1 Marshals do & do 2 . 11 . 6 684 . 17 . 6 Hats viz 26 Serjeants 14 . 13 351 Centinels 48 . 18 . 3 16 Officers 24 . 18 . 9 88 . 10 Carried over £ 833 . 19 . 3	value as the only secure place of refreshment for the Company's ships on the long route home from the east. Matrosses were soldiers of the artillery who helped the gunners load, sponge, aim and haul the cannon. Quarter gunners and gunners' mates ranked above them as skilled men in charge of individual guns. The marshal kept order in the garrison, holding prisoners and carrying out sentences. The cost of each suit followed rank, from about £1 9s 5d for a sentinel to more than £3 for a drummer, whose coat carried the heavier lacing of his distinctive livery. The 87½ gallons of train oil for the guards, worth more than £16, lit the lamps kept burning through the night at the coastal posts. Sandy Bay and Lemon Valley were two of the landing places where guards watched for any hostile approach. Blankets marked with paint could be identified as Company property, a common safeguard against soldiers selling their issue for drink. The whipcord for whips, listed with the drum cords, was probably for the cat-o'-nine-tails, since drummers carried out floggings under military discipline.
28	21	1764 Brought over £ 833 . 19 . 3 Shirts viz 24 Serjeants 7 . 18 233 Centinels 52 . 9 . 6 375 Rollers 12 . 2 . 2 2 Ps Irish Linnen 3 . 5 . 4 75 . 14 Shoes 376 Prs Mens ordinary 75 . 4 Hosiers Ware 326 Prs thd Stockings 47 . 6 . 2 Thread 4½ Whited Brown 1 . 19 . 10 19 Colored 3 . 1 . 9 5 . 1 . 7 Broad Cloth viz 19¾ Yds Blue 18 . 2 . 1 72¼ Yds Scarlet 73 . 2 . 11 91 . 5 Shalloon viz 16 Yds Colored 1 . 9 . 4 106 Yds Scarlet 17 . 15 . 10 19 . 5 . 2 Buckram 56 Yds 2 . 16 Paint viz ½ Sky Blue 11½ 1 Verdigrease 3 . 10½ 1 Br Blacking 6½ 3¼ Ven Red dry 1 . 6 ¼ Red Lead 1 ¼ Yellow Oaker dry 1 ¼ Chocolate Color 1½ 7 . 2	The garrison's account for the quarter ending 30 September 1764 closed with shirts, shoes, stockings, cloth and the materials for finishing the soldiers' clothing. Brought forward, £833 19s 3d Shirts: 24 sergeants' shirts, £7 18s 0d 233 sentinels' shirts, £52 2s 6d 375 rollers, £12 2s 2d 2 pieces of Irish linen, £3 5s 4d Shirts total, £75 14s 0d Shoes, 376 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £75 4s 0d Stockings, 326 pairs of thread stockings, £47 0s 2d Thread: 4½ lb of whitey-brown thread, £1 19s 10d 19 lb of coloured thread, £3 1s 9d Thread total, £5 1s 7d Broadcloth: 19¾ yards of blue broadcloth, £18 2s 1d 72¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £73 2s 11d Broadcloth total, £91 5s 0d Shalloon: 16 yards of coloured shalloon, £1 9s 4d 106 yards of scarlet shalloon, £17 15s 10d Shalloon total, £19 5s 2d Buckram, 56 yards, £2 16s 0d Paint: ½ lb of sky blue, £0 0s 11½d 1 lb of verdigris, £0 3s 10½d 1 barrel of blacking, £0 0s 6½d ¾ lb of dry Venetian red, £0 1s 6d ¼ lb of red lead, £0 0s 1d ¼ lb of dry yellow ochre, £0 0s 1d ¼ lb of chocolate colour, £0 0s 1½d Paint total, £0 7s 2d Brass, 3 lb 11 oz of brass wire for hooks and eyes on the garrison's coats, £0 8s 0d Canvas, 7 yards of English canvas for cots, £0 7s 7d Twine, 1 skein for the cots, £0 0s 6d Arrack, 22½ gallons for drams at mustering, £4 7s 2d Total, £1,156 3s 7d **Interpretations** Clothing dominated the garrison's account, making up the great bulk of its £1,156 total. Coats, breeches, hats, shirts, shoes and stockings were issued to nearly every man in the same quarter. In the British army at this date, a soldier's clothing was supplied through his colonel and paid for by stoppages from his wages. The page did not show whether the Company recovered any of this cost from the soldiers' pay.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Braziers Ware 3 . 11 oz Brass Wire for Hooks and Eyes for the Garrisons Coats 8 Canvas 7 Yds English for Cots 7 . 7 Twine 1 Sk for do 6 Arrack 22½ Gals for Drams on mustering 4 . 7 . 2 £ 1156 . 3 . 7	Charged directly to the garrison account, the issue at least made the Company itself the clothier of its troops rather than a private colonel. The scarlet and blue broadcloth, far finer than the cloth in the soldiers' ready-made coats, probably went to the officers' and sergeants' uniforms and to the coloured facings on the men's cuffs and collars. The 106 yards of scarlet shalloon lined those coats, and the buckram stiffened their collars and cuffs. Brass wire drawn into hooks and eyes fastened the coat fronts and turned-back skirts, a detail of regimental dress that the store supplied as raw wire for the island's tailors to shape. Rollers were probably neckcloths or stocks, strips of linen wound about the neck as part of a soldier's daily dress. At 375 pieces they outnumbered the shirts, allowing a spare for many men. The 22½ gallons of arrack issued at mustering gave each soldier a dram when the garrison assembled for its periodic count and inspection. The dram served both as a reward for turning out and as a custom that marked muster day apart from ordinary duty.
29	22	15th October Blacks Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1st July 1764 to the 30th Septr 1764 viz Sugar 135 1 . 19 . 4 Shoes 28 Prs Mens Ordinary for the Handicraftsmen 5 . 12 Tea 77lb Bohea 8 . 5 . 9 Hooks & Lines viz 725 No 2 Hooks 75 3 1 . 3 . 9 19 2 Lines 6 3 15 4 13 . 1 1 . 16 . 10 Flour 32 2 . 9 Oil 1½ Train 4 . 9 Rice 36. 1. 12 12 . 19 . 1 Beef & Pork 523 lb Beef 82 . 5 . 3 396 lb Pork 47 . 0 . 9 Thread 129 . 14 9 Whited Brown 2 . 19 . 5 23 Colored 3 . 14 . 9 Iron Pots viz 6 . 14 . 2 12 of 1 Gall 1 . 6 1 of 2 do 2 . 6 2 of 4 do 8 . 6 Twine 2 Sks 1 . 17 Turners Ware viz 1 23 Platters 1 . 3 . 9 5 Wood Bowls 6 . 8½ 1 Birch Broom 4½	The storekeeper then set out the stores issued to the Company's slaves between 1 July and 30 September 1764. Sugar, 135 lb, £1 19s 4d Shoes, 28 pairs of men's ordinary shoes for the craftsmen, £5 12s 0d Bohea tea, 77 lb, £3 5s 9d Fishing hooks and lines: 725 fish hooks no. 2 and 75 fish hooks no. 3, £1 3s 9d 19 fishing lines no. 2, 6 no. 3 and 15 no. 4, £0 13s 1d Fishing hooks and lines total, £1 16s 10d Flour, 32 lb, £0 2s 9d Train oil, 1½ gallons, £0 4s 9d Rice, 36 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 lb, £12 19s 1d Beef and pork: 523 pieces of beef, £82 5s 3d 396 pieces of pork, £47 0s 9d Beef and pork total, £129 14s 0d Thread: 9 lb of whitey-brown thread, £2 19s 5d 23 lb of coloured thread, £3 14s 9d Thread total, £6 14s 2d Iron pots: 12 iron pots of 1 gallon, £1 6s 0d 1 iron pot of 2 gallons, £0 2s 6d 2 iron pots of 4 gallons, £0 8s 6d Iron pots total, £1 17s 0d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 0d Wooden goods: 23 platters, £1 3s 9d 5 wooden bowls, £0 6s 8½d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 4½d Wooden goods total, £1 15s 7d Sheet lead, 3½ [...], £0 8s 0d Deals, 3 single, £0 6s 11d Nails, 2 lb of 6d nails for cots and coffins, £0 1s 0d Arrack, 1½ gallons, £0 5s 10d Blankets, 5, £1 9s 7d Longcloth, 6 yards no. 7, £0 6s 5d Ironware, 2 small frying pans, £0 5s 8d Cutlery: 1 shoemaker's knife, £0 0s 4d 1 butcher's knife, £0 0s 11d Cutlery total, £0 1s 3d Total, £168 17s 7d **Interpretations** The Company owned slaves on the island and fed them from its own stores, charging the cost to a separate account. Salt beef and pork, worth nearly

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Lead 3½ Sheet 1 . 15 . 7 Deals 3 Single 8 Nails 2lb 6d for Cotts and Coffins 6 . 11 Arrack 1½ Gall 1 Blankets 3 5 . 10 L Cloth 6 Ps No 7 1 . 9 . 7 Iron Ware 2 Small fry Pans 6 . 5 Cutlery viz 5 . 8 1 Shoe Knife 4 1 Butchers do 11 1 . 3 £ 168 . 17 . 7	£130, made up more than three-quarters of the quarter's issue, with rice as the main grain. The meat came in pieces of fixed weight cut from the casks, the same measure used for rations at sea. Tea and sugar also appeared, showing that the habit of tea drinking reached even the lowest rank of the island's population. Shoes went only to the craftsmen among the slaves. These were men trained as masons, carpenters, smiths and coopers, whose skills made them far more valuable to the Company than field labourers. Shoeing them protected their ability to work and marked their higher standing. Most of the other slaves, by implication, went barefoot, since no other footwear was charged to this account. The 800 fish hooks and 40 lines issued in a single quarter showed that the slaves were expected to catch part of their own food. Fishing from the rocks supplemented the salt meat and rice at almost no cost to the Company, while giving the slaves some small measure of control over their diet. The thread, by contrast, was issued so that clothing could be made and mended within the slave households themselves, since no ready-made clothes appeared on the list. The nails for cots and coffins linked the slaves' sleeping and burial in a single line. The Company met the cost of burying its slaves as it did the cost of housing them, treating both as ordinary charges on the upkeep of its labour force.
30	23	1764 Mallay Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1st July to 30 Septr 1764 viz Sugar 20 5 . 10 Beef 10 pd 1 . 1 . 5 Arrack 2½ Gals 9 . 8 Rice 120lb 7 . 7 Oil ¼ Gs Train 2 . 10 Sope 6lb 3 . 11 Tea 3¼ Bohea 2 . 8 Shoes 7 Prs Mens fine 5 . 6 Hosiers Ware 2 prs Mens fine Wove Stockings 7 . 2 Salt ¼ Bushel 1 £ 3 . 17 . 7 Plantation Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1st July to the 30th 1764 viz Rice and Paddy viz ½ 24 Rice 5 . 1 32. 3. 26 Paddy 6 . 1 6 . 6 . 1 Iron Ware 1 Spade for Sandy Bay Plantation 4 6 Pickaxes for Plantations 15 . 10 14 Helves do 8 . 6½ 1 Hand Hatchet for the Pastures 1 . 9 55 Scythe Stones for the Garden 8 . 1 1 Pad Lock for Sandy Bay	A separate account recorded the stores issued between 1 July and 30 September 1764 under the heading of Mallay. Sugar, 20 lb, £0 5s 10d Beef, 10 pieces, £1 11s 5d Arrack, 2½ gallons, £0 9s 8d Rice, 120 lb, £0 7s 7d Train oil, ¾ gallon, £0 2s 10d Soap, 6 lb, £0 3s 11d Bohea tea, 3 lb, £0 2s 8d Shoes, 1 pair of men's fine shoes, £0 5s 6d Stockings, 2 pairs of men's fine woven stockings, £0 7s 2d Salt, ¼ bushel, £0 1s 0d Total, £3 17s 7d **Interpretations** The heading probably referred to a Malay in the Company's service, or to a very small group of Malays, kept on an account apart from the other slaves. The quantities were too small for more than one or two people. Unlike the general slave issue, this list included arrack, soap, fine shoes and fine woven stockings. Such items marked a person of higher standing, perhaps a skilled servant or overseer whose position the Company chose to recognise through better provision. The storekeeper then entered the stores issued to the Company's plantations over the same quarter. Rice and paddy: 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 lb of rice, £0 5s 1d 32 hundredweight 3 quarters 26 lb of paddy, £6 1s 0d Rice and paddy total, £6 6s 1d Ironware: 1 spade for the Sandy Bay plantation, £0 4s 0d 6 pickaxes for the plantations, £0 15s 10d 14 helves for the plantations, £0 8s 6½d 1 hand hatchet for the pastures, £0 1s 9d 55 scythe stones for the garden, £0 8s 1d 1 padlock for Sandy Bay, £0 1s 6½d 2 garden rakes for the gardener, £0 4s 8d Ironware total, £2 4s 4d Oil: ½ gallon of train oil for the pasture gates, £0 5s 9d 2 gallons of linseed oil, £0 7s 8d Oil total, £0 13s 5d Nails for the garden in the country: 1 lb of 2d nails, £0 0s 8½d

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		1 . 6½ 2 Garden Rakes for the Gardener 4 . 8 2 . 4 . 4 Oil ½ Gs Train for the Pasture Gates 5 . 9 2 Gs Linseed 7 . 8 13 . 5 Nails 1 2 8½ 1 3 for the Garden in the Country 8½ 2 6 1 . ½ 2 10 10½ 1 20 4 3 . 8 Carried over £ 9 . 7 . 6	1 lb of 3d nails, £0 0s 8½d 2 lb of 6d nails, £0 1s 0½d 2 lb of 10d nails, £0 0s 10½d 1 lb of 20d nails, £0 0s 4d Nails total, £0 3s 8d Carried forward, £9 7s 6d **Interpretations** The Company farmed land on its own account, running plantations at Sandy Bay and elsewhere alongside those leased to the planters. More than 32 hundredweight of paddy, worth nearly all the plantation's rice and grain charge, probably fed poultry and pigs or the slaves who worked the land. Unhusked paddy was the cheapest form of rice the store held, which made it the obvious choice for such use. The 55 scythe stones issued for the garden pointed to heavy mowing, cutting grass for hay to carry cattle and horses through the drier months. The garden in the country was probably the Company's garden in the cooler uplands, which grew vegetables for the Castle table and for the ships calling at the island. Train oil for the pasture gates kept their iron hinges and fastenings from rusting in the damp air of the interior.
31	24	15th October Brought over £ 9 . 7 . 6 Deals 1 Single 3 . 11 Paint viz 19 White Lead mixed 7 . 6 2 Whiting 1 7 . 7 Cordage 18lb for Oxen 6 . 4 Turners Ware viz 6 Laborers Baskets 4 . 9 1 Skimming Dish 3½ 1 Birch Broom 5¼ 2 Paint Brushes 1 6 . 6 Earthen Ware 6 Milk Pans for a Dairy 5 Tar 1½ Gal for the Carts 1 . 1 Cutlery Ware viz 2 Butchers Knives for the Great Wood 10½ 1 Pruning do for the Gardener 8½ 1 . 7 Iron 136 for Plantation House 1 . 8 . 4 Lead 104lb Sheet 19 . 6 £ 13 . 7 . 4 Fortification Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1st July to the 30th Septr 1764 viz Cordage 22lb for the Flag Staff at Sandy Bay 7 . 9 Oil 2½ Gal Linseed to paint Gun Carriages 9 . 1 Paint 6lb Whiting 3 25lb White Lead mixed for do 9 . 11 6 Barls Blacking	The plantation account for the quarter ending 30 September 1764 continued with timber, paint, dairy equipment and metal for Plantation House. Brought forward, £9 7s 6d Deals, 1 single, £0 3s 11d Paint: 19 lb of mixed white lead, £0 7s 6d 2 lb of whiting, £0 0s 1d Paint total, £0 7s 7d Cordage, 18 lb for the oxen, £0 6s 4d Wooden goods and brushes: 6 labourers' baskets, £0 4s 9d 1 skimming dish, £0 0s 3½d 1 birch broom, £0 0s 5¼d 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 0d Wooden goods and brushes total, £0 6s 6d Earthenware, 6 milk pans for a dairy, £0 5s 0d Tar, 1½ gallons for the carts, £0 1s 1d Cutlery: 2 butcher's knives for the Great Wood, £0 0s 10½d 1 pruning knife for the gardener, £0 0s 8½d Cutlery total, £0 1s 7d Iron, 136 lb for Plantation House, £1 8s 4d Sheet lead, 104 lb, £0 19s 6d Total, £13 7s 4d **Interpretations** The Great Wood was the large tract of native gumwood forest on the island's eastern uplands, where the Company grazed its cattle. Butcher's knives issued there showed that cattle were slaughtered on the spot rather than driven down to Jamestown. The forest supplied beef for the garrison and the ships, and its management formed one of the Company's main concerns on the island. The milk pans and skimming dish equipped a dairy on the Company's own land. Milk stood in the shallow pans until the cream rose, and the skimming dish lifted it off for butter. Cordage for the oxen served as halters and traces, since oxen rather than horses drew the island's carts and ploughs over its steep ground. The storekeeper next entered the stores issued for the island's fortifications over the same quarter. Cordage, 22 lb for the flagstaff at Sandy Bay, £0 7s 9d Oil, 2½ gallons of linseed oil to paint gun carriages, £0 9s 1d Paint for the gun carriages: 6 lb of whiting, £0 0s 3d 25 lb of mixed white lead, £0 9s 11d 6 barrels of blacking, £0 1s 1½d

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		1 . 1½ ½ Copperas 3½ 11 . 9 Twine 2 Sks 1 Thread 1lb Colored to make Cartridges 3 . 3 Turners Ware viz 1 Paint Brush 6 3 Birch Brooms 1 . 4 1 . 10 £ 1 . 14 . 8	½ lb of copperas, £0 0s 2½d Paint total, £0 11s 9d Twine, 2 skeins for making cartridges, £0 1s 0d Coloured thread, 1 lb for making cartridges, £0 3s 3d Wooden goods and brushes: 1 paint brush, £0 0s 6d 3 birch brooms, £0 1s 4d Wooden goods and brushes total, £0 1s 10d Total, £1 14s 8d **Interpretations** The flagstaff at Sandy Bay formed part of the island's signalling system. Flags hoisted at the coastal posts reported the sighting of ships to the Castle, giving early warning of friend or enemy. Rope for the halyards had to be renewed often, since salt wind wore it quickly. Artillery cartridges were bags of paper or cloth holding a measured charge of gunpowder, tied shut with twine or sewn with thread. Making them up in advance allowed the guns to be loaded quickly in an emergency. Copperas was iron sulphate, a green crystal mixed into paint to darken it and to help preserve the wood of the gun carriages against rot.
32	25	1764 Boats Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1 July to the 30th September 1764 viz Turners Ware 2 Birch Brooms 11 Nails viz 6 20 Deck 2 3 1 4 7 6 7 10 1 20 11 . 9 Deals viz 1 Wainscot board 6 . 9 4 Single Deals 7 . 11 ½ Cuffin 2 . 1 1 Elm Board 6 . 9 1 . 3 . 6 Oil ¼ Gal Train 4 Pitch & Tar viz ½ Barl Pitch 18 . 7½ 10 Gals Tar 7 . 6½ 1 . 6 . 2 Paint 16 Ven Red dry 3 . 4 Cordage 54lb 19 . 1 Oars 2 7 . 7 Iron Ware 1 . 6 £ 4 . 14 . 9 Hospital Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1st July to the 30 Septr 1764 Sugar 169lb 2 . 9 . 3 Flour 169 1 . 1 . 1 Oil 9½ Gs Train 1 . 15 . 5	The storekeeper recorded the stores issued for the Company's boats between 1 July and 30 September 1764. Wooden goods, 2 birch brooms, £0 0s 11d Nails: 6 lb of 20d deck nails, 2 lb of 3d nails, 1 lb of 4d nails, 7 lb of 6d nails, 7 lb of 10d nails and 1 lb of 20d nails, £0 11s 9d Timber: 1 wainscot board, £0 6s 9d 4 single deals, £0 7s 11d ½ cuffer, £0 2s 1d 1 elm board, £0 6s 9d Timber total, £1 3s 6d Train oil, ¼ gallon, £0 0s 4d Pitch and tar: ½ barrel of pitch, £0 18s 7½d 10 gallons of tar, £0 7s 6½d Pitch and tar total, £1 6s 2d Paint, 16 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 3s 4d Cordage, 54 lb, £0 19s 1d Oars, 2, £0 7s 7d Ironware, £0 1s 6d Total, £4 14s 9d **Interpretations** The Company kept its own boats at Jamestown to land stores, passengers and water casks from ships lying in the road. With no harbour or pier able to take large vessels, every cargo came ashore by boat through the surf. The boats therefore took constant wear, and their upkeep in pitch, tar, cordage and oars formed a steady charge. Elm was chosen for boat planking because it lasted well when kept wet. A cuffer was evidently a length of timber of some recognised size, charged here with the boards and deals, though its exact form is uncertain. The hospital's stores for the same quarter followed. Sugar, 169 lb, £2 9s 3d Flour, 169 lb, £1 1s 1d Train oil, 9½ gallons, £1 15s 5d Bohea tea, 5 lb, £0 4s 4d Rice, 138 lb, £1 5s 5d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 3s 10d Tinware, 1 lamp, £0 1s 1d Kersey, 3 yards, £0 4s 7d Wooden goods, 1 birch broom, £0 0s 6d Total, £7 1s 6d **Interpretations** The hospital's issue reflected the diet thought fit for the sick. Sugar, flour, rice and tea made up a soft,

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		Tea 5 Bohea 4 . 4 Rice 138 1 . 5 . 5 Salt 1 Bushel 3 . 10 Tin Ware 1 Lamp 1 . 1 Kersey 3 Yds 4 . 7 Turners Ware 1 Birch Broom 6 £ 7 . 1 . 6 Fly Cutter Dr for the following Stores issued from the 1 July to the 30 Septr 1764 viz Flour 30 3 . 9 Pork 6 Pieces 12 Deals 12 Double 1 . 16 . 6 Brazrs Ware 1 Copper boiling Kettle 2 . 2 . 5 £ 4 . 14 . 8 St Helena Septr 30th 1764 Errors Excepted Pr [...] Powell Storekeeper	light regime, in place of the salt meat that formed the soldiers' ordinary ration. The 9½ gallons of train oil kept lamps burning through the night on the wards. Kersey was a coarse, ribbed woollen cloth, probably used for patients' gowns or for covering beds. The last account on the page listed the stores issued over the same quarter to the cutter *Fly*. Flour, 30 lb, £0 3s 9d Pork, 6 pieces, £0 12s 0d Deals, 12 double, £1 16s 6d Brass and copper, 1 copper boiling kettle, £2 2s 5d Total, £4 14s 8d The storekeeper, [...] Powell, signed the whole account at St Helena on 30 September 1764, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** A cutter was a small, fast vessel with a single mast, suited to carrying messages and patrolling close to the coast. The *Fly* served the island alongside the snows *Groom* and *Lapwing*, drawing its provisions and repair timber from the same store. The copper kettle was the crew's cooking pot, and its cost made it the largest item on the vessel's account. The words errors excepted formed a standard reservation at the foot of a commercial account. By adding them, the storekeeper signalled that the figures were offered in good faith but remained open to correction. The formula protected him from being held strictly liable for any slip in so long a set of calculations, while still binding him to the account as a whole when the Council examined it.
33	26	15th October List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants Upon the Island St Helena with their several Salarys diet money &c for the Quarter commencing the first day of July and ending the 30th September 1764 John Skottowe Esqr Governor Salary 125 do Allowance for Servants as usual 31 . 14 Matthew Warling of Councils Salary 15 156 . 14 . 9 do Accompt 17 . 10 do Diet money 15 Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Salary 7 . 10 47 . 10 do Diet money 2 . 10 William Lee Chaplain Salary to Aug 23 incl 14 . 15 . 10½ 10 do Diet money to do 8 . 17 . 6 John Thackery Chaplain Salary 25 23 . 13 . 4½ do Diet money 15 Matthew Bazett Secretary Salary 17 . 10 40 do Diet money 15 do House Rent 2 . 10 James Powell Storekeeper Salary 17 . 10 35 do Diet money	The Company's list of its officers and servants on St Helena, with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1764, ran as follows. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe total, £156 14s 9d Matthew Warling, member of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Warling, accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Warling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Warling total, £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, member of Council, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, diet money, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick total, £10 0s 0d William Lee, chaplain, salary to 23 August inclusive, £14 15s 10½d William Lee, diet money to 23 August, £8 17s 6d William Lee total, £23 13s 4½d John Thackery, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d John Thackery, diet money, £15 0s 0d John Thackery 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, assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d William Wrangham total, £25 0s 0d 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

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		15 do House Rent 2 . 10 William Wrangham Factors Salary 7 . 10 35 do Diet money 10 do House Rent 2 . 10 do Assistant Storekeeper 5 Francis Wrangham Factors Salary 7 . 10 25 do Diet money 10 do House Rent 2 . 10 Richard Law Factors Salary 7 . 10 20 do Diet money 10 do House Rent 2 . 10 do Assistant to the Governor 10 David Alcock Writers Salary 5 30 do Diet money 10 do House Rent 2 . 10 Britannicus Wright Writer Salary 5 17 . 10 do Diet money 10 do House Rent 2 . 10 Robert Barclay Surgeons Salary 9 . 15 17 . 10 do Diet money 10 do House Rent 2 . 10 Carried over 17 . 10 £ 470 . 8 . 1½	Richard Law, assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d Richard Law total, £30 0s 0d 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, house rent, £2 10s 0d Britannicus Wright total, £17 10s 0d Robert [...]clay, surgeon, salary, £5 0s 0d Robert [...]clay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert [...]clay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert [...]clay total, £17 10s 0d Carried forward, £470 8s 1½d **Interpretations** The list set out the Company's civil establishment in its ranks. Writers stood at the bottom, rising to factor and then to the senior posts of secretary, storekeeper and councillor. A writer's salary was only £5 a quarter, and the basic pay of a factor was little more. Diet money and house rent together often came to more than twice the salary itself. The Company kept formal salaries low and paid its servants mainly through allowances, which it could adjust or withdraw without altering the standing scale of pay. Diet money was a cash allowance paid in place of meals at the public table. Servants who did not dine at the Castle received it to feed themselves, while the cost of the table itself appeared in the diet expenses account. House rent served the same purpose for lodging, since the Company could not house all its servants in its own buildings. Several men held more than one post and drew pay for each. Matthew Warling was paid both as councillor and as accountant, receiving more for the second role than for the first. William Wrangham added the office of assistant storekeeper to his post as factor, and Richard Law earned £10 as assistant to Governor Skottowe. Doubling of posts let the Company fill its offices from a small pool of servants on a remote island, while giving the more capable men a way to raise their income. Thomas Kirkpatrick drew only half the salary of a councillor and a small diet allowance. As a captain of the garrison, he probably received his main pay through the military establishment, with the council allowance added for his seat. William Lee was paid as chaplain only to 23 August, and John Thackery drew a full quarter in the same post. The overlap showed a change of chaplain during the quarter, with the island briefly carrying two clergymen on its list.
34	27	1764 Brought over £ 475 . 18 . 1½ John Pritchard Surgeons Mates Salary 6 . 5 do Diet money 10 do House Rent 2 . 10 18 . 15 Richard Beale Judge Advocate Salary 10 . 5 do Schoolmaster 3 . 8 . 3 13 . 8 . 3 Samuel Alexander overseers 7 . 10 Matthew Bazett 12 . 10 20 John Colrind Master Mason Salary 17 . 10	The quarter's list of the Company's officers and servants continued with the surgeon's mate, the civil and trade posts, and the officers of the First Company of the garrison. Brought forward, £475 18s 1½d 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, salary, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d Richard Beale total, £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £12 10s 0d Overseers total, £20 0s 0d John Roland, master mason, salary, £17 10s 0d John Roland, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Roland, house rent, £1 10s 0d John Roland total, £29 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stonemason, salary, £19 10s 0d John Wilkinson, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d

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		do Diet money 10 do House Rent 1 . 10 29 Thomas Townsend Stone Mason Salary 19 . 10 John Robinson Carpenters Salary 12 . 10 do Diet money 15 13 . 5 Philip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace 10 Joseph Chamberlain Carpentr Mate Salary 7 . 10 David Belford Gardener 10 James Torbett Cooper 8 . 15 William Moore Steward 7 . 10 Michael Frost Clock and instrument Cleaner 1 . 5 Zedekiah Sanderson Groom 2 George Haughts Armorer 9 Solomon St Maurice Master at Arms 6 . 5 John Oxwel Patron of the Longboat 7 . 10 John Rice Marshal and Goaler 7 . 10 William Smith Clerk 5 82 . 5 First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captain Salary 15 . 12 . 6 Solomon St Maurice Lieut Salary 18 . 5 do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Samuel Desfountain Lieut Salary 18 . 15 do Diet money 6 . 11 . 10½ do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Solomon Jacob Adjutant 22 . 16 . 3 do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ 29 . 13 . 1½ Carried over £ 793 . 10 . 8¼	John Wilkinson, diet money, £0 15s 0d John Wilkinson total, £13 5s 0d Philip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain, carpenter's mate, salary, £7 10s 0d David Belford, gardener, £10 0s 0d James Torbett, 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 Haughs, armourer, £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master at arms, £6 5s 0d John Oswel, coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d William Smith, clerk, £5 0s 0d Total for these posts, £82 5s 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 15s 0d Samuel Desfountain, diet money, £6 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Desfountain total, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacob total, £29 13s 1½d Carried forward, £793 10s 3¾d **Interpretations** The judge advocate managed the prosecution in courts martial and advised on military law. Richard Beale combined that office with keeping the Company's school, for which he drew a separate small payment. The pairing showed how few educated men the island could call upon, since a single literate officer had to serve both the garrison's justice and the teaching of its children. The clerk of the peace kept the records of the island's civil courts, while the marshal and gaoler held prisoners and carried out sentences. The overseers supervised the Company's slaves and the work of its plantations. Matthew Bazett drew £12 10s as overseer on top of his pay as secretary, another instance of senior servants holding several offices at once. Solomon St Maurice likewise appeared twice, as master at arms and as a lieutenant of the First Company, drawing pay for both roles. The longboat was the Company's largest harbour boat, used for landing heavy stores and water through the surf at Jamestown. Its coxswain commanded the crew and answered for the boat's safe handling. Michael Frost's small fee for cleaning clocks and instruments covered the public clock and probably the surveying or navigational instruments kept at the Castle. Thomas Kirkpatrick drew £45 12s 6d as captain of the First Company, which explained the reduced council salary paid to him on the preceding page. His military pay far exceeded his allowance as a councillor. The adjutant, Solomon Jacob, ran the daily administration of the garrison, handling orders, duties and returns, and was paid above either lieutenant for that responsibility.
35	28	15th October Brought over £ 792 . 8 Serjeants Robert Hager 7 . 12 . 1 John Tull 7 . 12 . 1 John Stewart 7 . 12 . 1	The quarter's pay list continued with the sergeants, corporals, drummers and sentinels of the garrison. Brought forward, £792 0s 8d Sergeants: Robert Yager, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Tull, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Stewart, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Philip Mahoney, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £30 8s 4d Corporals:

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		Philip Mahoney 7 . 12 . 1 30 . 8 . 4 Corporals Jonathan Lake 5 . 6 . 6½ Thomas Byrne 5 . 6 . 6½ William Bannister 5 . 6 . 6½ Anthony Reynolds 5 . 6 . 6½ 21 . 5 . 10 Drummers Richard Flatfoot 5 . 6 . 6½ Henry Howd 5 . 6 . 6½ Jno Beacham 5 . 6 . 6½ 15 . 19 . 4 Centinels John Allis 3 . 1 . 6½ John Arkinstall 3 . 1 . 6½ John Allman 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Berwick 3 . 1 . 6½ John Brown 3 . 1 . 6½ William Blackman 3 . 1 . 6½ John Beakmans 3 . 1 . 6½ John Bunn 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Blake 3 . 1 . 6½ Edward Cocker 3 . 1 . 6½ Henry Crabb 3 . 1 . 6½ Isaac Day 3 . 1 . 6½ Henry Dudley 3 . 1 . 6½ John Davis 3 . 1 . 6½ John Dove 3 . 1 . 6½ David Davis 3 . 1 . 6½ James Drake 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Dyrham 3 . 1 . 6½ Samuel Eales 3 . 1 . 6½ Centinels Carried over £ 70 . 4 . 9½ Carried over £ 874 . 9 . 3½	Jonathan Lake, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Byrne, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Bannister, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Anthony Reynolds, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals total, £21 5s 10d Drummers: Richard Platfoot, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Henry Howd, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Beacham, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers total, £15 19s 4d Sentinels: John Allis, sentinel, £3 16s 7d John Arkinstall, sentinel, £3 16s 7d John Allman, sentinel, £3 16s 7d Thomas Berwick, sentinel, £3 16s 7d John Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 7d William Blackman, sentinel, £3 16s 7d John Beakman, sentinel, £3 16s 7d John Bunn, sentinel, £3 16s 7d Thomas Blake, sentinel, £3 16s 7d Edward Cocker, sentinel, £3 16s 7d Henry Crabb, sentinel, £3 16s 7d Isaac Day, sentinel, £3 16s 7d Henry Dudley, sentinel, £3 16s 7d John Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 7d John Dove, sentinel, £3 16s 7d David Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 7d James Drake, sentinel, £3 16s 7d Thomas Dyerham, sentinel, £3 16s 7d Samuel Eales, sentinel, £3 16s 7d Sentinels carried forward, £70 4s 9½d Carried forward, £874 9s 3½d **Interpretations** A sentinel on St Helena drew £3 16s 7d a quarter, a little over 10d a day. A private foot soldier in the British army at the same date was paid 8d a day, much of it stopped for food and clothing. The Company paid its island soldiers noticeably more, which probably helped it recruit men willing to serve for years on a remote station with no prospect of home leave. The garrison also received clothing, blankets, tea and arrack from the stores, as the preceding accounts showed, adding substantially to the value of its wages. Pay followed rank in fixed steps. A sergeant earned almost exactly twice a sentinel's pay, while corporals and drummers shared a single middle rate. The drummers' place on the corporals' scale reflected their skilled duties in signalling orders by beat of drum and their role in carrying out punishments. Philip Mahoney appeared here as a sergeant and also, on the preceding page, as clerk of the peace. A literate non-commissioned officer was valuable on an island with few educated men, and the Company used him in its civil courts while keeping him on the military roll.
36	29	1764 Brought over £ 874 . 9 . 3½ Centinels brought over £ 70 . 4 . 9½ Adam Evans 3 . 1 . 6½ John Finin 3 . 1 . 6½ Cornelius Fish 3 . 1 . 6½	The quarter's pay list continued with the sergeants, corporals, drummers and sentinels of the garrison. Brought forward, £792 0s 8d Sergeants: Robert Yager, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Tull, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Stewart, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Philip Mahoney, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £30 8s 4d Corporals: Jonathan Lake, corporal, £5 6s 5½d

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		William French 3 . 1 . 6½ Jonathan Goby 3 . 1 . 6½ James Hill 3 . 1 . 6½ William Hawkes 3 . 1 . 6½ William Hebert 3 . 1 . 6½ William Henderson 3 . 1 . 6½ James Hodge 3 . 1 . 6½ William Johnson 3 . 1 . 6½ George Kilbet 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Knight 3 . 1 . 6½ William Lake 3 . 1 . 6½ Duncan McKlaron 3 . 1 . 6½ William Mumford 3 . 1 . 6½ John May 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Marshal 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Marr 3 . 1 . 6½ John Pickering 3 . 1 . 6½ William Pawson 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Price 3 . 1 . 6½ Michael Reed 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Roberts 3 . 1 . 6½ Anthony Reed 3 . 1 . 6½ William Robinson 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Ransom 3 . 1 . 6½ George Rowe 3 . 1 . 6½ William Rowlands 3 . 1 . 6½ Silvanus Rolph 3 . 1 . 6½ William Soaby 3 . 1 . 6½ John Springthorpe 3 . 1 . 6½ John Stobart 3 . 1 . 6½ Joseph Stacy 3 . 1 . 6½ Edward Terry 3 . 1 . 6½ John Taylor 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Tottington 3 . 1 . 6½ William Tipper Centinels Carried over £ 204 . 14 . 4½ Carried over £ 874 . 9 . 3½	Thomas Byrne, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Bannister, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Anthony Reynolds, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals total, £21 5s 10d Drummers: Richard Platfoot, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Henry Howd, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Beacham, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers total, £15 19s 4d Sentinels: John Allis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Arkinstall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Allman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Berwick, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Beakman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Bunn, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Blake, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Crabb, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Dyerham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £70 4s 9½d Carried forward, £874 9s 3½d **Interpretations** A sentinel on St Helena drew £3 16s 0½d a quarter, roughly 10d a day. A private foot soldier in the British army at the same date was paid 8d a day, much of it stopped for food and clothing. The Company paid its island soldiers noticeably more, which probably helped it recruit men willing to serve for years on a remote station with no prospect of home leave. The garrison also received clothing, blankets, tea and arrack from the stores, as the preceding accounts showed, adding substantially to the value of its wages. Pay followed rank in fixed steps. A sergeant earned almost exactly twice a sentinel's pay, while corporals and drummers shared a single middle rate. The drummers' place on the corporals' scale reflected their skilled duties in signalling orders by beat of drum and their role in carrying out punishments. Philip Mahoney appeared here as a sergeant and also, on the preceding page, as clerk of the peace. A literate non-commissioned officer was valuable on an island with few educated men, and the Company used him in its civil courts while keeping him on the military roll. The roll of sentinels continued on the next leaf, each man paid at the same quarterly rate. Brought forward, £874 9s 3½d Sentinels brought forward, £70 4s 9½d Adam Evans, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Finin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William French, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Gosby, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hill, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hawkes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hebert, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hodge, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Kibbet, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Lake, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Duncan McLaron, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John May, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshal, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d

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			Thomas Marr, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Pawson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Michael Reed, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reed, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Rowe, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Rowlands, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Rolph, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Soaby, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorpe, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Stobart, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Hezey, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Tipper, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £204 14s 4½d Carried forward, £874 9s 3½d **Interpretations** The clerk kept the sentinels' pay in a running total of its own, separate from the main column. The main total stayed unchanged at £874 9s 3½d across the leaf, and the sentinels' figure would be added only once the whole company had been listed. This method kept a long roll of identical sums from cluttering the main account and made the soldiers' pay easy to check as a single block.
37	30	16th October Brot over £ 874 . 9 . 3½ Centinels brought over £ 204 . 14 . 4½ Luke Vernon 3 . 1 . 6½ John Wittingdale 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Wheeler 3 . 1 . 6½ Benjn Wise 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Windall 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Warn 3 . 1 . 6½ John Weston 3 . 1 . 6½ George Wall 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Youras 3 . 1 . 6½ William Yates 3 . 1 . 6½ 242 . 14 . 0½ Second Company Henry Bazett Captn Salary 45 . 12 . 6 Michael Frost Lieut Salary 18 . 5 do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ John Ware Welch Lieut Salary 18 . 5 do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ 25 . 1 . 10½ Serjeants John Bazett 7 . 12 . 1	The roll of sentinels closed with the last of the First Company, and the list moved on to the officers and men of the Second Company. Brought forward, £874 9s 3½d Sentinels brought forward, £204 14s 4½d Luke Vernon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Whittingdale, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Warn, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Weston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Youens, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels total, £242 14s 9½d 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 John Ware Welch, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Ware Welch, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Ware Welch total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: John Bazett, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Beale, sergeant to 30 July inclusive, then discharged, £2 10s 0d William Conquest, sergeant to 13 July, then reduced to the ranks, £1 1s 8d William Conquest, sentinel from 14 July, £3 5s 10d William Bell, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £22 1s 8d Corporals: Thomas Woffington, corporal to 13 July inclusive, then promoted sergeant, £0 15s 2d Thomas Woffington, sergeant from 14 July, £6 11s 8d William Hayes, corporal to 30 July inclusive, then promoted sergeant, £1 15s 0d William Hayes, sergeant from 31 July inclusive, £5 3s 4d William Clay, corporal, £5 6s 5½d

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		William Beale to July 30th incl discharged 2 . 10 William Conquest to July 13th reduced 1 . 1 . 8 do Centinel from July 14th 3 . 5 . 10 William Bell 7 . 12 . 1 22 . 1 . 8 Corporals Thomas Worthington to July 13 incl made Serjt 15 . 2 do Serjeant July 14th 6 . 11 . 8 William Hayes to July 30th Incl made Serjt 1 . 15 do Serjeant from July 31 incl 5 . 3 . 4 William Clay 5 . 6 . 5½ William Greenough 5 . 6 . 5½ 24 . 18 . 1 Drummers Robert Davis 5 . 6 . 5½ Francis Soane 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Carried over £ 1286 . 3	William Greenough, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals total, £24 18s 1d Drummers: Robert Davis, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Francis Soane, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Carried forward, £1,286 3s 0d **Interpretations** Pay was calculated to the day, so that any change of rank took effect in the soldier's wages from the date it happened. William Conquest lost his sergeant's stripes on 13 July and drew a sentinel's pay from the following day. Thomas Woffington was promoted on the same date, filling the vacancy Conquest left. William Beale's discharge on 30 July was matched by William Hayes's promotion from 31 July. The paired dates showed the garrison keeping a fixed number of sergeants, with each vacancy filled at once from the corporals below. Reduction to the ranks was a standard punishment for a non-commissioned officer, and its cost to Conquest appeared plainly in his halved wages for the rest of the quarter. The Bazett family held posts across the island's government and garrison. Henry Bazett commanded the Second Company, John Bazett served in it as a sergeant, and Matthew Bazett sat as secretary and overseer. Family networks of this kind were common in the Company's settlements, where a few long-established households supplied many of the officers and servants. Michael Frost appeared here as a lieutenant and, on an earlier page, as the paid cleaner of clocks and instruments. John Ware Welch, the other lieutenant, drew no house rent, which suggested that he lodged in quarters already provided by the Company.
38	31	1764 Centinels Brought over £ 1285 . 3 Samuel Alstone 3 . 1 . 6½ Joseph Banks 3 . 1 . 6½ William Birch 3 . 1 . 6½ William Brooks 3 . 1 . 6½ Jacob Brown 3 . 1 . 6½ Robert Brown 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Batt 3 . 1 . 6½ Nicholas Bushel 3 . 1 . 6½ Daniel Bye 3 . 1 . 6½ James Byrne 3 . 1 . 6½ John Care 3 . 1 . 6½ Edward Couzens 3 . 1 . 6½ Samuel Curd 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Cheverly 3 . 1 . 6½ Robert Quickins 3 . 1 . 6½ John Dobson 3 . 1 . 6½ David Dennis 3 . 1 . 6½ William Drinnan 3 . 1 . 6½	The Second Company's roll continued with its sentinels, whose pay the clerk again kept in a running total of its own. Brought forward, £1,285 3s 0d Sentinels: Samuel Alstone, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Beck, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Batt, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushel, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bye, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Carr, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Couzens, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Curd, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickins, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Dobson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d David Dennis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Drennan, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Eastwood, sentinel to 30 July, then discharged, £1 5s 0½d George Eaton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Essex, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Finch, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Forde, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Fullwood, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Freeman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Forbes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Fish, sentinel to 13 July, then promoted corporal, £0 10s 10d John Fish, corporal from 14 July, £4 12s 2d Thomas Greenslade, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Goodsoul, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d

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		Thomas Eastwood discharged July the 30th 1 . 5½ George Eaton 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Essex 3 . 1 . 6½ William Finch 3 . 1 . 6½ William Isaac Ford 3 . 1 . 6½ William Fullwood 3 . 1 . 6½ William Fry 3 . 1 . 6½ George Freeman 3 . 1 . 6½ John Forbes 3 . 1 . 6½ John Fish to July 13 made Corporal 10 . 10 do Corporal from 14 July 4 . 12 . 2 Thomas Greenslade 3 . 1 . 6½ John Goodsoul 3 . 1 . 6½ John Gray 3 . 1 . 6½ Robert Green 3 . 1 . 6½ Wm Harris Senr 3 . 1 . 6½ William Harris Junr 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Harding 3 . 1 . 6½ Abram Harding 3 . 1 . 6½ John Hackwood 3 . 1 . 6½ Samuel Hiles 3 . 1 . 6½ John Holbrook Centinels Carried over £ 108 . 14 . 4½ Carried over 1285 . 3 **Margin Notes:** Pen	William Harris senior, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Harris junior, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Hackwood, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hiles, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Holbrook, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £108 14s 4½d Carried forward, £1,285 3s 0d **Interpretations** John Fish rose from sentinel to corporal on 14 July, the same date on which Thomas Woffington left the corporals to become a sergeant. The single vacancy thus passed down the ranks in one day, each step filled from the rank below. The chain of promotions kept every grade at its fixed strength without recruiting from outside. William Harris senior and William Harris junior served together as sentinels, probably father and son. Their presence pointed to soldiers settling on the island, raising families and seeing their sons enlist in turn. A garrison that partly recruited from its own children reduced the Company's dependence on sending men out from England, and it bound the soldiers more closely to the island as a home. Thomas Eastwood was discharged on 30 July, the same day as Sergeant William Beale. Discharges on a common date suggested that the men left together, perhaps to take passage home on a Company ship then leaving the road.
39	32	15th October Brought over £ 1285 . 3 Centinels brought over £ 108 . 14 . 4½ James Hewson 3 . 1 . 6½ Clement Hylands 3 . 1 . 6½ Samuel Hulme 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Jones 3 . 1 . 6½ William Johnson 3 . 1 . 6½ Jeremiah Jordan 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas James 3 . 1 . 6½ Samuel Kitson 3 . 1 . 6½ Evan Knowls 3 . 1 . 6½ Edmond Leech 3 . 1 . 6½ John Lewis	The Second Company's sentinels completed their roll, and the list moved on to the officers of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,285 3s 0d Sentinels brought forward, £108 14s 4½d James Hewson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Inslow, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas James, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kitson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowls, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edmond Leech, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Lewis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Newton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Pinchin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Prior, sentinel, enlisted 3 September, £1 3s 4d Abraham Reams, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Richards, sentinel, enlisted 6 August, £2 6s 8d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Mudge 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Newton 3 . 1 . 6½ Samuel Perry 3 . 1 . 6½ William Perchin 3 . 1 . 6½ Roger Phillips 3 . 1 . 6½ Stephen Prior Entd Sept 3 1 . 3 . 4 Abram Reans 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Richards Entd Aug 6th 2 . 6 . 8 John Christian Strife 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Stevers 3 . 1 . 6½ Benjamin Stringer 3 . 1 . 6½ William Stapleford 3 . 1 . 6½ William Taylor 3 . 1 . 6½ John Tucker to the 30th of July incl made Corpl 1 . 5 do Corpl from the July 31st incl 3 . 12 . 4 Avery Trueman 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Wansell 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Wyatt 3 . 1 . 6½ 254 . 5 . 11½ Third Company Richard Beale Captn Salary 45 . 12 . 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut Salary 18 . 5 do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ do House Rent 2 . 10 John Bridgewater Lieut Salary 18 . 5 27 . 11 . 10½ do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ do House Rent 2 . 10 Carried over 27 . 11 . 10½ £ 1620 . 3 . 2½	John Christian Strike, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stowers, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Stapleford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Taylor, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, sentinel to 30 July inclusive, then promoted corporal, £1 5s 0d John Tucker, corporal from 31 July inclusive, £3 12s 4d Avery Trueman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wyatt, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels total, £254 5s 11½d 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 Bridgewater, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Bridgewater, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Bridgewater, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Bridgewater total, £27 11s 10½d Carried forward, £1,670 5s 2½d **Interpretations** Two men joined the Second Company during the quarter, Thomas Richards on 6 August and Stephen Prior on 3 September, each paid only from his date of enlistment. With no local population large enough to fill the ranks, the garrison probably took on recruits from the ships calling at the island, whether soldiers in passage or seamen willing to exchange the sea for garrison duty. Their arrival helped offset the discharges recorded on 30 July. John Tucker was promoted corporal from 31 July, the day William Hayes left the corporals to become a sergeant. The same chain of promotion that had filled the earlier vacancy on 14 July thus ran again within the quarter, drawing each replacement from the rank immediately below. Richard Beale commanded the Third Company while also serving as judge advocate and schoolmaster, three offices held by one man. Thomas Bazett, one of his lieutenants, added a fourth member of that family to the island's establishment. The concentration of posts in a few hands reflected both the shortage of suitable men and the influence that established families could exert over appointments.
40	33	1764 Brought over £ 1620 . 5 . 2½ Serjeants Roger Weiran 7 . 12 . 1 George Henry Bazett to July 30 incl discharged 2 . 10 John Robinson reduced the 9th July incl 15 do Centinel from 10th incl 3 . 9 . 2 John Lawn 7 . 12 . 1 21 . 18 . 4 Corporals William Hill to the 9th July incl made Serjeant	The Third Company's roll continued with its sergeants, corporals, drummers and the first of its sentinels. Brought forward, £1,670 5s 2½d Sergeants: Roger Wetson, sergeant, £7 12s 1d George Henry Bazett, sergeant to 30 July inclusive, then discharged, £2 10s 0d John Robinson, sergeant to 9 July inclusive, then reduced to the ranks, £0 15s 0d John Robinson, sentinel from 10 July inclusive, £3 9s 2d John Lunns, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Sergeants total, £21 18s 4d Corporals: William Hill, corporal to 9 July inclusive, then promoted sergeant, £0 10s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		10 . 6 do Serjeant from 10th July to 24 Septr incl reduced 6 . 8 . 4 do Centinel from the 25 Septr incl 5 Fisher Gamble to July the 24 incl reduced 1 . 8 do Centinel from July the 25th incl 2 . 16 . 8 William Robinson to July the 30th incl made Serjeant 1 . 5 do Serjeant from July 31st Incl 5 . 3 . 4 John St Maurice to Septr 24 incl made Serjt 5 . 4 do Serjeant from Septr 25 incl 10 23 . 18 . 4 Drummers John Francis 5 . 6 . 5½ John Waters 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels Richard Ashford 3 . 1 . 6½ James Anderson 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Abby 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Adams 3 . 1 . 6½ Henry Brown 3 . 1 . 6½ Jacob Bull 3 . 1 . 6½ Mark Balls 3 . 1 . 6½ Benj Bennett 3 . 1 . 6½ John Blinkhorn 3 . 1 . 6½ Fredk William Baird 3 . 5 . 10 James Bottomly transfd to the Artillery Company Sept 3 . [...] William Caleb Baldwin 3 . 1 . 6½ John Cork 3 . 1 . 6½ Joseph Chamberlain 3 . 1 . 6½ William Clifton Centinels Carried over £ 57 . 6 . 1½ Carried £ 1696 . 14 . 9½	William Hill, sergeant from 10 July to 24 September inclusive, then reduced to the ranks, £6 8s 4d William Hill, sentinel from 25 September inclusive, £0 5s 0d Fisher Gamble, corporal to 24 July inclusive, then reduced to the ranks, £1 8s 0d Fisher Gamble, sentinel from 25 July inclusive, £2 16s 8d William Robinson, corporal to 30 July inclusive, then promoted sergeant, £1 15s 0d William Robinson, sergeant from 31 July inclusive, £5 3s 4d John Maurice, corporal to 24 September inclusive, then promoted sergeant, £5 0s 4d John Maurice, sergeant from 25 September inclusive, £0 10s 0d Corporals total, £23 18s 4d Drummers: John Francis, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Waters, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels: Richard Ashford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abby, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Bull, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Blinkorn, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, sentinel, transferred to the Artillery Company in September, £3 5s 10d James Bottomly, sentinel, transferred to the Artillery Company in September, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Cork, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Clifton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £57 6s 1½d Carried forward, £1,696 14s 9½d **Interpretations** The Third Company saw far more changes of rank than the other two companies in the same quarter. John Robinson lost his sergeant's post on 9 July, and William Hill rose from corporal to fill it the next day. Hill held the rank for less than 11 weeks before he too was reduced on 24 September, with John Maurice promoted the following day in his place. Fisher Gamble was also reduced from corporal in July. Three reductions in one company within a single quarter pointed to a run of disciplinary trouble among its non-commissioned officers, since loss of rank was the usual penalty for drunkenness, neglect of duty or insubordination. George Henry Bazett left the company on 30 July, the same date as the discharges recorded in the Second Company. The shared date strengthened the likelihood that several men left the island together on a ship sailing that day. Frederick William Beard and James Bottomly moved to the Artillery Company in September. The artillery drew its matrosses from the infantry, choosing men who could be trained to serve the guns, which made transfer between the two branches a routine way of keeping the batteries manned. Joseph Chamberlain appeared here as a sentinel and, on an earlier page, as the carpenter's mate, another soldier whose trade the Company put to civil use alongside his military duty.
41	34	15th October Brought over £ 1696 . 14 . 9½ Centinels brought over £ 57 . 6 . 5½	The Third Company's roll of sentinels continued, including three men promoted to corporal during the quarter. Brought forward, £1,696 14s 9½d Sentinels brought forward, £57 6s 5½d

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		William Harr 3 . 1 . 6½ Michael Downey 3 . 1 . 6½ Robert Davis 3 . 1 . 6½ Baron Deloaf 3 . 1 . 6½ Charles Edgles 3 . 1 . 6½ Saml Eagle 3 . 1 . 6½ William Foster 3 . 1 . 6½ Alexander Gray 3 . 1 . 6½ William Gordon 3 . 1 . 6½ Felex Hyder 3 . 1 . 6½ John Hilliard 3 . 1 . 6½ John Herring 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Jones 3 . 1 . 6½ Jos Johnson 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Johnson to Sept 24 Incl made Corpl 3 . 11 . 8 do Corporal from Septr 25 Incl 7 Robt Johnson 3 . 1 . 6½ James Hemp 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Linney 3 . 1 . 6½ John Long 3 . 1 . 6½ John Langridge 3 . 1 . 6½ Edward Lambourn 3 . 1 . 6½ Brian Lynch 3 . 1 . 6½ James Lee 3 . 1 . 6½ Charles Montague 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Moyce 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Morris 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Mathews 3 . 1 . 6½ John Miller 3 . 1 . 6½ James Moyce 3 . 1 . 6½ Abram Major 3 . 1 . 6½ Peter Nelson 3 . 1 . 6½ John Passwater 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Peary 3 . 1 . 6½ James Proctor 3 . 1 . 6½ Henry Pinchin 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Pearce made Corpl July 30th 1 . 5 do Corpl from the July 31st incl 3 . 12 . 4	William Harr, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Baron Deloaf, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Charles Edgles, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eagle, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Foster, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Gordon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Johnson, sentinel to 24 September inclusive, then promoted corporal, £3 11s 8d Richard Johnson, corporal from 25 September inclusive, £0 7s 0d Robert Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hemp, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Long, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lambourn, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Brian Lynch, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Charles Montague, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morris, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mathews, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Miller, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Moyce, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Peter Nelson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Passwater, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Peary, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Proctor, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pearce, sentinel to 30 July, then promoted corporal, £1 5s 0d Thomas Pearce, corporal from 31 July inclusive, £3 12s 4d David Patton, sentinel to 9 July inclusive, then promoted corporal, £0 7s 6d David Patton, corporal from 10 July inclusive, £4 16s 10d Sentinels carried forward, £203 12s 2½d Carried forward, £1,696 14s 9½d **Interpretations** Each of the three promotions to corporal matched a vacancy created in the Third Company on the same date. David Patton stepped up on 10 July when William Hill became a sergeant, Thomas Pearce on 31 July when William Robinson did the same, and Richard Johnson on 25 September when John Maurice was promoted. Every replacement came from the company's own sentinels, never from another company. Advancement thus stayed within each captain's command, which gave the captain direct influence over his men's prospects and a strong lever for keeping order among them.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		David Patton to July 9th incl made Corpl 7 . 6 do Corporal from July 10 incl 4 . 16 . 10 Centinels carried over £ 203 . 12 . 2½ Carried over £ 1696 . 14 . 9½	
42	35	1764 Brot over £ 1696 . 14 . 9½ Centinels brought over 203 . 12 . 2½ William Roberts to July 24 incl made Corporal 1 do Corporal from July 25th incl 3 . 19 . 4 Robert Jack 3 . 1 . 6½ Adam Scott 3 . 1 . 6½ David Scott 3 . 1 . 6½ John Smith 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Jenkins to Sept 5th incl discharged 2 . 15 . 6 John Thompson Entd Septr 4th 1 . 1 . 4 Thomas Taylor Entd 10 . 10 John Vaughan 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Vincent 3 . 1 . 6½ John Wybird 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Ward 3 . 1 . 6½ Edward Welch 3 . 1 . 6½ John Ward 3 . 1 . 6½ James York 3 . 1 . 6½ William Yates 3 . 1 . 6½ John Thompson 3 . 1 . 6½ 262 . 8 . 1 Fourth Company John Howard Capt Salary 45 . 12 . 6 Henry De Launé Lieut Salary 18 . 5 do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut Salary 18 . 5 do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Serjeants John Flemming 7 . 12 . 1 Richard Wright 7 . 12 . 1 Thomas Baily 7 . 12 . 1 John Carr to Augt 27 Incl reduced	The Third Company's sentinels completed their roll, and the list moved on to the officers and sergeants of the Fourth Company. Brought forward, £1,696 14s 9½d Sentinels brought forward, £203 12s 2½d William Roberts, sentinel to 24 July inclusive, then promoted corporal, £1 0s 0d William Roberts, corporal from 25 July inclusive, £3 19s 4d Robert Jack, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Sinkins, sentinel to 5 September inclusive, then discharged, £2 15s 10d John Thomson, sentinel, enlisted 4 September, £1 1s 4d Thomas Taylor, sentinel, enlisted during the quarter, £0 10s 10d John Vaughan, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Wybard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Ward, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James York, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels total, £262 8s 1d Fourth Company: John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry DeLaune, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry DeLaune, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Henry DeLaune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Henry DeLaune total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Lambert total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Flemming, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Richard Wright, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Baily, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Carr, sergeant to 27 August inclusive, then reduced to the ranks, £4 16s 8d John Carr, sentinel for the rest of the quarter, £1 8s 4d Sergeants total, £29 1s 3d Carried forward, £2,090 0s 4½d **Interpretations** Changes in the garrison clustered around particular dates, which pointed to the arrival and departure of ships. Stephen Prior enlisted on 3 September and John Thomson on 4 September, while Thomas Sinkins was discharged on 5 September. A Company ship in the road at that time would explain all three, landing men willing to serve and taking off those whose time had ended. The earlier cluster of discharges on 30 July fitted the same pattern, since the island's only link with the outside world came through the ships that anchored off Jamestown. William Roberts rose to corporal on 25 July, the day after Fisher Gamble lost that rank in the same company. The vacancy was filled overnight from the company's own sentinels, as with every other promotion recorded in the Third Company that quarter.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 . 16 . 8 do Centinel 1 . 8 . 4 29 . 1 . 3 Carried over £ 2090 . 0 . 4½	
43	36	15th October Brought over 2090 . 4½ Corporals John Simcox to Augt 27 incl made Serjeant 3 . 7 . 8 do Serjt from Augt 28th incl 2 . 16 . 8 Alexdr Groombridge discharged 21st July 3 . 8 Daniel Agmin 5 . 6 . 5½ John Speirs 5 . 6 . 5½ 19 . 17 . 11 Drummers George Wills 5 . 6 . 5½ John Slade 5 . 6 . 5 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels John Allen 3 . 1 . 6½ George Bennet 3 . 1 . 6½ John Blackwell 3 . 1 . 6½ Joseph Blackwell 3 . 1 . 6½ Michael Brown 3 . 1 . 6½ Jacob Bernard 3 . 1 . 6½ John Brook 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Bickerstaff 3 . 1 . 6½ Robert Bosely 3 . 1 . 6½ James Cartwright 3 . 1 . 6½ George Capelling 3 . 1 . 6½ William Cooksey 3 . 1 . 6½ Duncan Cameron 3 . 1 . 6½ James Culsher 3 . 1 . 6½ John Cunningham 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Close 3 . 1 . 6½ Josiah Cummins 3 . 1 . 6½ Henry Davis 3 . 1 . 6½ Edward Davis 3 . 1 . 6½ John Deal 3 . 1 . 6½ John Easton 3 . 1 . 6½ George Green 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Goulding 3 . 1 . 6½ John Gilmor	The Fourth Company's roll continued with its corporals, drummers and the first of its sentinels. Brought forward, £2,090 0s 4½d Corporals: John Simcox, corporal to 27 August inclusive, then promoted sergeant, £3 7s 8d John Simcox, sergeant from 28 August inclusive, £2 16s 8d Alexander Broombridge, corporal, discharged 21 July, £3 0s 8d Daniel Aymin, corporal, £5 6s 5½d John Steens, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Corporals total, £19 17s 11d Drummers: George Wills, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Slade, drummer, £5 6s 5d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Sentinels: John Allen, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Bennet, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Michael Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Bernard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Brook, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Bosely, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Capelling, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksey, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Culsher, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Close, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Cummins, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Deal, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Easton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Green, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Gilder, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Germain, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hails, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Harrenburgh, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels carried forward, £112 11s 8½d Carried forward, £2,119 11s 2½d

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		3 . 1 . 6½ Joseph Gilder 3 . 1 . 6½ Edward Germain 3 . 1 . 6½ Joseph Good 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Hails 3 . 1 . 6½ Henry Havrenburgh 3 . 1 . 6½ Centinels Carried over £ 112 . 11 . 3½ Carried over £ 2119 . 11 . 2½	
44	37	Brot over £ 2119 . 11 . 2½ Centinels brought over 112 . 11 . 3½ James Hendy 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Hilliard 3 . 1 . 6½ John Howeston 3 . 1 . 6½ Stephen John 3 . 1 . 6½ Christian Johnson 3 . 1 . 6½ William Lambton 3 . 1 . 6½ William Laroche 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Lee 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Lyne 3 . 1 . 6½ Richard Moreton 3 . 1 . 6½ Simon Mason 3 . 1 . 6½ Murdock McLeod 3 . 1 . 6½ John McCallister 3 . 1 . 6½ John McDonald discharged 5 Sept 2 . 13 . 10 William Mitchel 3 . 1 . 6½ Jonathan Mallet 3 . 1 . 6½ George Marshal 3 . 1 . 6½ John Newton 3 . 1 . 6½ Martin Newman 3 . 1 . 6½ John Oswald 3 . 1 . 6½ Francis Powell made Corporal 21st August 2 . 3 . 4 do Corporal from 22d incl 2 . 6 . 8 Thomas Parson 3 . 1 . 6½ John Puck 3 . 1 . 6½ Daniel Patrick 3 . 1 . 6½ James Richardson 3 . 1 . 6½ Patrick Rigby 3 . 1 . 6½ Thomas Rutherford	The Fourth Company's sentinels completed their roll for the quarter. Brought forward, £2,119 11s 2½d Sentinels brought forward, £112 11s 8½d James Hendy, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hebard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Houston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Lambon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Laroche, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyne, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Murdock McLeod, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John McAllister, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John McDonald, sentinel, discharged 5 September, £2 15s 10d William Mitchel, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Mallet, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Marshal, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell, sentinel, promoted corporal 21 August, £2 3s 4d Francis Powell, corporal from 22 August inclusive, £2 6s 8d Thomas Pearson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Pluck, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Rigby, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Stretcher, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Seaman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Swindall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Frederick Shaffer, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Kesman, sentinel, promoted corporal 27 August, £2 8s 4d William Kesman, corporal from 28 August, £1 19s 8d Thomas Tufnel, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Thorrill, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Bills, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Waite, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sentinels total, £258 16s 6½d Carried forward, £2,378 7s 9d **Interpretations** Not every vacancy was filled at once. Alexander Broombridge left the corporals on 21 July, yet Francis Powell was not promoted until 22 August, a month later. William Kesman's promotion, by contrast, followed the very day after John Simcox moved up to sergeant. The delay over Broombridge's place suggested that the captain took time to find a suitable

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		3 . 1 . 6½ John Stretcher 3 . 1 . 6½ John Shaw 3 . 1 . 6½ William Seaman 3 . 1 . 6½ John Swindall 3 . 1 . 6½ Zedekiah Saunderson 3 . 1 . 6½ Fredk Shaffer 3 . 1 . 6½ William Stoneman made Corpl 27 August 2 . 8 . 4 do Corporal from the 28th 1 . 19 . 8 Thomas Tufnel 3 . 1 . 6½ John Thompson 3 . 1 . 6½ Jeremiah Whorrell 3 . 1 . 6½ William Wills 3 . 1 . 6½ William Waite 3 . 1 . 6½ 258 . 16 . 6½ Carried over £ 2378 . 7 . 9 **Margin Notes:** [...]	man, or held the post open until the company's strength was clearer after the July discharges. Zedekiah Saunderson drew a sentinel's pay here and, on an earlier page, the Company's wage as groom. John Oswald was probably the same man listed earlier as John Oswel, coxswain of the longboat. Both cases showed soldiers kept on the military roll while working in civil posts, so that the garrison supplied part of the island's labour as well as its defence.
45	38	15th October Brought over £ 2378 . 7 . 9 Artillery Company Thomas Hall Capt Salary 45 . 12 . 6 Nathan Sampel Lieut Salary 18 . 5 do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ 25 . 1 . 10½ Thomas Leech Lieut Salary 18 . 5 do Diet money 6 . 16 . 10½ do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Serjeants John Whitchurch 9 . 2 . 6 Adam Watson 9 . 2 . 6 John Kirkby 9 . 2 . 6 Richard Waterhouse 9 . 2 . 6 36 . 10 Corporals James Long 6 . 16 . 10½ John Jacks 6 . 16 . 10½ Thomas Taylor transfd to Co 17th Septr 6 . 16 . 10½ Thomas Jones 6 . 16 . 10½ 26 . 9 . 9½ Bombardiers George Nelson reduced 17th Septr incl 5 . 18 . 6 do Matross from Sept 18th 13	The pay list moved on to the officers and men of the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £2,378 7s 9d Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Sampel, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan Sampel, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Sampel total, £25 1s 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 Whitchurch, sergeant, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, sergeant, £9 2s 6d John Kirby, sergeant, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, sergeant, £9 2s 6d Sergeants total, £36 10s 0d Corporals: James Long, corporal, £6 16s 10½d John Jacks, corporal, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Taylor, corporal, transferred to another company 17 September, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones, corporal, £6 16s 10½d Corporals total, £26 9s 7½d Bombardiers: George Nelson, bombardier to 17 September inclusive, then reduced, £5 18s 6d George Nelson, matross from 18 September, £0 13s 0d Robert Cunningham, bombardier to 17 September inclusive, then promoted corporal, £5 18s 6d Robert Cunningham, corporal from 18 September inclusive, £0 19s 6d Andrew Barton, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d William Hodges, bombardier, £6 16s 10½d Bombardiers total, £27 3s 3d Gunners: William Fletcher, gunner, £6 1s 8d John Cox, gunner to 17 September inclusive, then promoted bombardier, £5 5s 4d John Cox, bombardier from 18 September, £0 19s 6d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Robert Cunningham made Corporal 17th Septr incl 5 . 18 . 6 do Corporal from Septr 18 incl 19 . 6 Andrew Barton 6 . 16 . 10½ William Hodges 6 . 16 . 10½ 27 . 3 . 3 Gunners William Fletcher 6 . 1 . 8 John Cox to Septr 17 incl made Bombardier 5 . 5 . 4 do Bombardier from Septr 18th 19 . 6 John Grainger 6 . 6 . 4 Nicholas Houghton 19 . 6 Robert Gilson 6 . 1 . 8 John Jack 6 . 1 . 8 Eustace White 6 . 1 . 8 40 . 19 . 8 Drummers George Gerrard 5 . 6 . 5½ Robert Saunders 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Carried over £ 2626 . 8 . 11½	John Grainger, gunner, £6 6s 4d Nicholas Houghton, gunner, £0 19s 6d Robert Gibson, gunner, £6 1s 8d John Jack, gunner, £6 1s 8d Eustace White, gunner, £6 1s 8d Gunners total, £40 19s 8d Drummers: George Gerrard, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Robert Saunders, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Drummers total, £10 12s 11d Carried forward, £2,626 3s 11½d **Interpretations** The artillery paid markedly more than the infantry at every rank. An artillery sergeant earned £9 2s 6d a quarter against £7 12s 1d in a foot company, and an artillery corporal £6 16s 10½d against £5 6s 5½d. A gunner drew about £6 1s 8d, well over half as much again as an infantry sentinel. The premium reflected the skill of laying and firing cannon, which took long training and could not be learned quickly by a newly enlisted man. It also explained why infantrymen were transferred into the artillery, since the move brought a substantial rise in pay. A bombardier ranked alongside a corporal and was paid at the same rate. The name came from the bombs, or explosive shells, fired from mortars, and the bombardier was responsible for preparing fuses and shells. Gunners stood above the matrosses, having charge of an individual piece and its crew. A single reshuffle on 17 and 18 September changed four places at once. Thomas Taylor left the corporals, Robert Cunningham rose from bombardier to fill his place, John Cox was promoted from gunner to fill Cunningham's, and George Nelson was reduced from bombardier to matross. The day-by-day pay figures recorded each step of the chain precisely.
46	39	1764 Brot over £ 2626 . 8 . 11½ Matrosses William Benson 4 . 11 . 3 Benjamin Burton 4 . 11 . 3 William Brown 4 . 11 . 3 Israel Buck 4 . 11 . 3 Richard Brown 4 . 11 . 3 John Bower 4 . 11 . 3 James Bottomly Entd Sept 18th 13 Joseph Cope 4 . 11 . 3 John Creswell 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Clark 4 . 11 . 3 Edmond Conner 4 . 11 . 3 William McCulough 4 . 11 . 3 Adam Crickton 4 . 11 . 3 John Cradle 4 . 11 . 3 Daniel [...] 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas McFarling 4 . 11 . 3 Joseph Fellows 4 . 11 . 3 Christian Ger[...]	The Artillery Company's roll continued with its matrosses. Brought forward, £2,626 3s 11½d Matrosses: William Benson, matross, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton, matross, £4 11s 3d William Brown, matross, £4 11s 3d Israel Buck, matross, £4 11s 3d Richard Brown, matross, £4 11s 3d John Bower, matross, £4 11s 3d James Bottomly, matross, joined 18 September, £0 13s 0d Joseph Cope, matross, £4 11s 3d John Creswell, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, matross, £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner, matross, £4 11s 3d William McCulough, matross, £4 11s 3d Adam Crichton, matross, £4 11s 3d John Crader, matross, £4 11s 3d Daniel Dunn, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling, matross, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, matross, £4 11s 3d Christian Gervonde, matross, £4 11s 3d Lawrence Hall, matross, £4 11s 3d William Johnson, matross, £4 11s 3d Richard Kempton, matross, £4 11s 3d Daniel Malony, matross, £4 11s 3d John Martin, matross, £4 11s 3d Barnard Millard, matross, promoted gunner 17 September, £3 19s 0d Barnard Millard, gunner from 18 September, £0 17s 4d Cecil Newland, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Noble, matross, £4 11s 3d John Osborne, matross, enlisted 4 September, £1 7s 0d William Philips, matross, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, matross, £4 11s 3d James Parfit, matross, £4 11s 3d

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		4 . 11 . 3 Lawrence Hall 4 . 11 . 3 William Johnson 4 . 11 . 3 Richard Kempton 4 . 11 . 3 Daniel Malony 4 . 11 . 3 John Martin 4 . 11 . 3 Barnard Millard made Gunr 17th Sept 3 . 19 do Gunr from 18th do 17 . 4 [...] Newland 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Nimble 4 . 11 . 3 John Osborne Entd 4 Sept 1 . 7 William Philips 4 . 11 . 3 William Poulton 4 . 11 . 3 James Parfit 4 . 11 . 3 Christr Reynolds 4 . 11 . 3 John Slater 4 . 11 . 3 Samuel Smith 4 . 11 . 3 Godfrey Smith 4 . 11 . 3 John Smith 4 . 11 . 3 William Snelson 4 . 11 . 3 John Turner made Gunr 17th Sept 3 . 19 do Gunner from 18th incl 17 . 4 John Thomas transfd to the 3 Compy Sept 8 3 . 5 Thomas Taylor 4 . 11 . 3 Daniel Tongue 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Watts 4 . 11 . 3 John Webb 4 . 11 . 3 Richard Wellman 4 . 11 . 3 Nathl Young 4 . 11 . 3 192 . 16 . 5 £ 2819 . 5 . 4½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	Christopher Reynolds, matross, £4 11s 3d John Slater, matross, £4 11s 3d Samuel Smith, matross, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, matross, £4 11s 3d John Smith, matross, £4 11s 3d William Snelson, matross, £4 11s 3d John Turner, matross, promoted gunner 17 September, £3 19s 0d John Turner, gunner from 18 September inclusive, £0 17s 4d John Thomas, matross, transferred to the Third Company 17 September, £3 5s 0d Thomas Taylor, matross, £4 11s 3d Daniel Tongue, matross, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, matross, £4 11s 3d John Webly, matross, £4 11s 3d Richard Wellman, matross, £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young, matross, £4 11s 3d Matrosses total, £192 16s 5d Carried forward, £2,819 0s 4½d **Interpretations** A matross earned £4 11s 3d a quarter, about 1s a day, compared with roughly 10d for an infantry sentinel. The difference was modest at the lowest rank but widened sharply once a matross became a gunner, whose daily rate rose to about 1s 4d. Promotion within the artillery therefore offered a real material incentive to learn the guns. The reshuffle of 17 and 18 September reached down into the matrosses. Barnard Millard and John Turner both became gunners that day, filling the gunner's place vacated by John Cox and one other. James Bottomly entered as a matross on 18 September after leaving the Third Company, while John Thomas moved the opposite way into that company on 17 September. The exchange suggested a deliberate rebalancing of men between the infantry and the artillery, carried out on a single date to keep both at their proper strength.
47	40	15th October Thomas Kirkpatrick Esqr Paymaster Dr 1764 To Cash received £ 3041 . 4 . 5½ Carried forward £ 3041 . 4 . 5½	The paymaster's own account opened with the cash placed in his hands for the quarter. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debtor: Cash received, £3,041 4s 5½d Carried forward, £3,041 4s 5½d **Interpretations** Entering Thomas Kirkpatrick as debtor made him personally answerable for every penny of the £3,041 4s 5½d issued to him. The sum stood against his name until he could show, on the matching credit side, how it had been paid out in salaries, wages and allowances. Only when the two sides balanced would the Council discharge him from the debt. This form of account

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			turned the paymaster's office into a personal liability, giving him a strong motive to keep exact records of the day-by-day pay changes seen throughout the preceding rolls. Kirkpatrick already sat on the Council and commanded the First Company. Adding the paymaster's office placed the garrison's cash in the hands of one of its own captains, who drew his own pay from the same funds. The arrangement relied on the Council's scrutiny of the quarterly accounts, as recorded at the consultation of 15 October 1764, to check an officer who was in effect paying himself.
48	41	1764 Per Contra Cr 1764 9th July By Cash paid Joseph Banks, Thomas Roberts, Richard Wilmer and Nicholas Bushel - £10 each for enlisting to serve the Honble Compy five Years Longer as Soldiers 40 By Cash paid James Moyce for enlisting to serve the Honble Compy five Years as a Soldier 2 . 10 29 By Cash paid John Jacks for re-enlisting to serve the Honble Compy five Years longer as a Soldier 10 Augt 7th By Cash paid Thomas Richards for enlisting to serve the Honble Compy five Years as a Soldier 5 Septr 3 By Cash paid Stephen Prior for enlisting to serve the Honble Compy five Years as a Soldier 10 4 By Cash John Osborn for do 10 22 By Cash paid Thomas Taylor for do 10 By Cash paid William Brooks for overseeing in the Longwood this Qr 2 . 10 By Cash paid do being omitted last Quarter 2 . 10 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for working in the Long Boat this Quarter 4 . 18 By Cash paid John Dobson for 13 Weeks Work in the Armorers Shop this Quarter 6 . 17 By Cash paid William Mumford for 7 Weeks in do at 6s pW 2 . 2 By Cash paid Mark Balls and Michael Reed for baking 17 Batches of Bread for the use of the Garrison this Quarter 9 . 15 By Cash paid Sundry discharged Men their Subsistence this Quarter 8 . 4 . 6 By Cash paid Robert Brown for Painters Work this Quarter 1 . 8 . 6 By Cash paid William Finch for Glazing Work this Quarter 3 By Cash paid Thomas Perrin for officiating in the Stores the Honble Companys Steward being sick 4 . 12	The credit side of the paymaster's account set out the cash he paid out during the quarter. 9 July 1764, Joseph Banks, Thomas Roberts, Richard Wellman and Nicholas Bushel, £10 each for re-enlisting as soldiers for five more years, £40 0s 0d James Moyce, for enlisting as a soldier for five years, £2 10s 0d 29 July 1764, John Jacks, for re-enlisting as a soldier for five more years, £10 0s 0d 7 August 1764, Thomas Richards, for enlisting as a soldier for five years, £5 0s 0d 3 September 1764, Stephen Prior, for enlisting as a soldier for five years, £10 0s 0d 4 September 1764, John Osborne, for enlisting as a soldier for five years, £10 0s 0d 22 September 1764, Thomas Taylor, for enlisting as a soldier for five years, £10 0s 0d William Booth, for overseeing at Longwood this quarter, £2 10s 0d William Booth, for the same work, left out of last quarter's account, £2 10s 0d Various garrison men, for working in the longboat this quarter, £4 13s 0d John Dobson, for 13 weeks' work in the armourer's shop this quarter, £6 17s 0d William Mumford, for 7 weeks' work in the armourer's shop at 6s a week, £2 2s 0d Mark Balls and Michael Reed, for baking 117 batches of bread for the garrison this quarter, £9 15s 0d Various discharged men, for their subsistence this quarter, £8 4s 6d Robert Brown, for painting work this quarter, £1 8s 6d William Finch, for glazing work this quarter, £0 3s 0d Thomas Perrin, for acting in the stores while the Company's steward was ill, £4 12s 0d William Hebert, for painting the Company's arms on three fife cases, £1 0s 0d Captain Tryon, for the passage of the invalids Thomas Sinkins, John McDonald and William Clement, £15 0s 0d James Grantree, for lodging and other costs of two Russian gentlemen, £9 0s 0d James Powell, for lodging and other costs of the same Russian gentlemen, £5 2s 0d Nicholas Houghton, for making two cloths for drying gunpowder, £0 10s 0d The clerk and crier of the court, £0 12s 6d Various men, for carrying express messages on nine alarms, £2 5s 0d [...] Rocholson, for his allowance, £1 12s 6d Thomas Townsend, for work done by his apprentice this quarter, £3 5s 0d Carried forward, £167 12s 0d **Interpretations** The Company paid a bounty of £10 to soldiers who signed on for five further years, a sum equal to more than two and a half quarters of a sentinel's pay. Paying such a bounty cost far less than bringing a replacement out from England, feeding him on the voyage and training him on arrival. Re-enlistment kept

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		By Cash paid William Hebert for painting three fife Cases with the Honble Companys Arms 1 By Cash paid Captain Tryon for the Passage of Thomas Jenkins John McDonald and William Clement Invalids 15 By Cash paid James Grantree for lodging &c of two Russian Gentlemen 9 By Cash paid James Powell for do 5 . 2 By Cash paid Nicholas Houghton for making two Cloths for drying Gunpowder 10 By Cash paid the Clerk and Beadle of the Court 12 . 6 By Cash paid Sundry Men for carrying Express with nine Alarms 2 . 5 By Cash paid [...] his Allowance 1 . 12 . 6 By Cash paid Thomas Townsend for work done by his Apprentice this Quarter 3 . 5 Carried over £ 167 . 12	seasoned men in the ranks, and four soldiers took the offer on a single day, 9 July 1764. New recruits received bounties on a more variable scale, from £2 10s to £10, which suggested the sum was negotiated with each man according to his fitness or previous service. The payment to Captain Tryon for carrying Thomas Sinkins and John McDonald confirmed that the discharges of 5 September 1764 were tied to a departing ship. Both men went home as invalids, unfit for further service, with their passage paid by the Company. The subsistence paid to discharged men covered their keep while they waited on the island for a ship, since their army pay had ended with their discharge. The nine alarms were occasions when the lookouts sighted ships and sent word to the Castle. Men carried each report by express, running or riding over the island's steep paths, and received about 5s for each errand. Nine alarms in a single quarter showed how often the garrison was put on guard by the sight of sail, since every vessel had to be treated as a possible enemy until identified. The lodging of two Russian gentlemen at the Company's charge showed the island receiving foreign travellers of rank. They probably arrived as passengers on a ship from the east and were entertained at public expense, with James Powell the storekeeper sharing their keep with James Grantree. Longwood was the high plain in the east of the island, where the Company kept grazing land under an overseer. Mark Balls and Michael Reed, both soldiers on the rolls, earned extra pay by baking the garrison's bread at 1s 8d a batch.
49	42	15th October Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr 1764 To Cash received £ 3041 . 4 . 5½ £ 3041 . 4 . 5½	The paymaster's debit account was set out again on the facing leaf of the ledger, closing with its total. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debtor: Cash received, £3,041 4s 5½d Total, £3,041 4s 5½d
50	43	1764 Per Contra Cr Brought over £ 167 . 12 By Cash paid for the Rent of a Room for Hepzedah Pockollum this Quarter 1 By Cash paid Robert Barclay for his Care of Peter Clawsen in the Hospital this Quarter 7 . 7 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for digging out Spurge and grubbing Furze in the Longwood 121 days at 1s 6 . 1 By Cash paid do for 114 days getting Wood 5 . 14 By Cash paid for 117 days work in the Stores 5 . 17 By Cash paid do for 94 days Work in cleaning Ladder Hill and Side Paths 4 . 14 By Cash paid do for 54 days Carpr Work 2 . 14 By Cash paid do for 559 days Work in the Castle 27 . 19 . 6 221 . 19 . 1 By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants their several Salarys diet money &c for the Quarter commencing July 1st and ending Septr 30. 1764 2819 . 5 . 4½	The paymaster's credit account continued with further payments for labour and care, then closed with the quarter's salaries. Brought forward, £167 12s 0d Rent of a room for [...] Rockollien this quarter, £1 0s 0d Robert Barclay, for his care of Peter Clawsen in the hospital this quarter, £0 7s 7d Various garrison men, for 121 days digging out spurge and grubbing up furze at Longwood at 1s a day, £6 1s 0d Various garrison men, for 114 days fetching wood, £5 14s 0d Various garrison men, for 117 days' work in the stores, £5 17s 0d Various garrison men, for 94 days cleaning Ladder Hill and the side path, £4 14s 0d Various garrison men, for 54 days' carpentry, £2 14s 0d Various garrison men, for 559 days' work at the Castle, £27 19s 6d Subtotal, £221 19s 1d The Company's officers and servants, for their salaries, diet money and allowances for the quarter from 1 July to 30 September 1764, £2,819 5s 4½d Total, £3,041 4s 5½d Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account at St Helena on 30 September 1764, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** Soldiers earned 1s a day on top of their pay for labouring on public works. The Company thus drew on the garrison as a ready workforce, avoiding the cost of hired hands on an island with few free labourers.

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		£ 3041 . 4 . 5½ St Helena Septr 30th 1764 Errors Excepted Pr Thos Kirkpatrick Mr Matthew Wrling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick produce the Inventory taken of the Honble Companys Stores for the Year past We order it to be entered, which is as follows viz	More than 1,000 working days were paid in this way during the quarter. Work at the Castle alone took 559 of them, matching the new roof and repairs for which the Riga timber and deals had been issued in the same months. Clearing spurge and furze at Longwood served to open the high plain for grazing. Both plants spread rapidly over the island's pastures, crowding out grass and making the ground useless for cattle. Ladder Hill carried the steep road climbing out of Jamestown to the interior, and keeping it and its side path clear of fallen rock was a constant task. Peter Clawsen did not appear on any of the pay rolls, so Robert Barclay, the surgeon, was paid separately for treating him. He was probably a seaman or passenger left ashore from a ship to recover. The payment for [...] Rockollien's room, alongside the allowance recorded on the preceding page, showed the Company maintaining another person outside its regular service at public cost. Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick then laid before the Council the inventory they had taken of the Company's stores for the past year. The Council ordered it to be entered in the record, as set out below. **Interpretations** The annual inventory checked the storekeeper's running accounts against the goods actually held. Two members of the Council conducted it rather than the storekeeper himself, placing the count in the hands of men with no direct interest in its outcome. Any shortfall between the books and the shelves would then fall on James Powell to explain. The 23½ gallons of arrack charged earlier in the general expenses, partly for taking the inventory, showed the labour involved in counting every item in the storehouse.
51	44	15th October Inventory of Stores remaining in the Honble Companys Ware Houses at St Helena 30th 1764 viz Anchors viz 5 Anchors 1 do on the West Rocks 2 Iron Hoops 2 Stocks 93 . 10 . 10 1 Anchor wt 33 . . 6 56 . 6 . 7 1 do 9 . 1 . 27 16 . 5 . 2 1 Anchor Stock 1 . 14 . 8 1 do 16 Feet long 6 . 3 . 7 174 . 10 Bunting viz 6 ps 17 Yds Red 3½ do damaged 10 . 4 . 3 10 ps 24 Yds Blue 38 Yds do damaged 14 . 6 10 ps 9½ Yds White 10¼ Yds do damaged 11 . 6 . 6 35 . 16 . 3 Broad Cloth viz 7⅛ Yards Scarlet 1 Yard do damaged 8 . 12 3¼ Yards Green 11 . 10½ 1¼ Pampadore 1 . 5 10⅜ Ells French Grey 9 . 4 . 9½	The Council's record then gave the inventory of stores held in the Company's warehouses at St Helena on 30 September 1764. Anchors: 5 anchors, 1 anchor on the West Rocks, 2 iron hoops and 2 anchor stocks, £93 10s 10d 1 anchor weighing 33 hundredweight 0 quarters 6 lb, £56 6s 7d 1 anchor weighing 9 hundredweight 1 quarter 27 lb, £16 5s 2d 1 anchor stock, £1 14s 8d 1 anchor stock 16 feet long, £6 3s 7d Anchors total, £174 0s 10d Bunting: 6 pieces and 17 yards of red bunting, with 3½ yards of red bunting damaged, £10 4s 3d 10 pieces and 24 yards of blue bunting, with 38 yards of blue bunting damaged, £14 0s 6d 10 pieces and 9½ yards of white bunting, with 10¼ yards of white bunting damaged, £11 6s 6d Bunting total, £35 10s 3d Broadcloth: 7⅞ yards of scarlet broadcloth, with 1 yard of scarlet broadcloth damaged, £8 12s 0d ¾ yard of green broadcloth, £0 11s 10½d 1¼ yards of pompadour broadcloth, £1 5s 0d 10⅝ yards of French grey broadcloth, £9 4s 9½d 17⅝ yards of black broadcloth, £15 8s 3d 11⅝ yards of blue broadcloth, £10 13s 1d Broadcloth total, £46 5s 0d Brass goods: 9 lb of brass skimmers at 2s 5¾d, £1 2s 4d 1 brass skimmer, [...], £0 2s 0d 2 brass skimmers, £1 0s 0d 1 warming pan, £0 11s 8d 2¾ lb of brass for soldering, £0 6s 2¾d 12 stewpans with lids, £16 4s 9d 2 stewpans without lids, £1 9s 8d 6 large brass taps, £1 13s 0d

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		17⅜ Ells Black 15 . 8 . 3 11⅝ Yds Blue 10 . 13 . 1 46 . 5 Braziers Ware viz 9lb Brass Skimmers @ 2/5¾ 1 . 2 . 4 1 do 14/4 2 . 0 2 do 1 Warming Pan 1 . 0 . 0 2¼ Brass for Soldering 11 . 3 6 . 2¾ 12 Stock Pans with Covers 16 . 4 . 9 2 do without do 1 . 9 . 8 6 Large Brass Cocks 1 . 13 3 Boiling do 9 . 6 1 Boiling Pot of 8 Galls 2 . 2 . 5 Braziers Ware carried over Carried over	3 bottling taps, £0 9s 6d 1 boiling pot holding 8 gallons, £2 2s 5d Brass goods carried forward, sum left blank Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The inventory valued every item at its cost to the Company, so that the stock on hand could be set against the goods issued and sold during the year. Damaged goods were counted separately from sound ones, which let the Council see at a glance how much stock had spoiled in store. On a humid island where damp, insects and mould attacked cloth and ironwork, such losses were a constant concern for the storekeeper. The anchors formed the most valuable class of stores on this page. Ships lying in the road off Jamestown rode to their anchors in open water, where cables could chafe through on rock and anchors be lost. The Company kept spares to replace those lost by its own ships and to sell to others in need. The anchor on the West Rocks was probably laid there as a permanent mooring for vessels or boats working close inshore. Anchor stocks were the heavy wooden crossbars fitted near the top of the shank, which turned the anchor so that its flukes dug into the seabed. Bunting was a light, loosely woven woollen cloth made for flags. Red, blue and white were the colours needed for the Union flag, the Company's ensign and the signal flags flown from the island's lookouts. Pompadour was a fashionable shade of crimson-purple, named after the French king's favourite, Madame de Pompadour. Warming pans were covered brass pans on long handles, filled with hot embers and passed between the sheets to warm a bed.
52	45	1764 Brought over £ Braziers Ware brought over 1 Copper Kettle of 6 Gals 1 . 15 . 5 6 Pr Candlesticks 2 . 6 15 pr Steel Snuffers 2 . 5 3 Saucepans of 2 Gals each 3 . 6 6 do of 1¼ 4 . 2 . 6 3 do of 1¾ 1 . 4 . 9 1 Large Tea Kettle 18 3 Small do 1 . 16 . 9¼ 3 . 14 Brass Wire 8 . 1½ 11½ Brass Plate 1 . 2 . 2½ 4 Brass Rolers for the Crane 4 . 10 . 7 2000 Brass Nails for Chairs 7 . 8 59 . 4 . 4 Blankets 145 42 . 17 . 11 Buckram 8 ps 19⅝ Yds 9 . 5 . 2 Books viz 16 Bibles 2 . 14 . 8 26 Common prayer Books 3 . 12 . 7 20 Testaments 1 . 3 . 6 18 Primmers 4 . 6	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with brass goods, blankets, books, salt meat and rigging blocks. Brass goods brought forward, sum left blank 1 copper kettle holding 6 gallons, £1 15s 5d 6 pairs of candlesticks, £2 6s 0d 15 pairs of steel snuffers, £2 5s 0d 3 saucepans holding 2 gallons each, £3 6s 0d 6 saucepans holding 1¼ gallons each, £4 2s 6d 3 saucepans holding 1½ gallons each, £1 4s 9d 1 large tea kettle, £0 18s 0d 3 small tea kettles, £1 16s 9¾d 3 lb 14 oz of brass wire, £0 8s 1½d 11½ lb of brass plate, £1 2s 2½d 4 brass rollers for the crane, £4 10s 7d 2,000 brass nails for chairs, £0 7s 8d Brass goods total, £52 4s 4d Blankets, 145, £42 17s 11d Buckram, 8 pieces and 19⅝ yards, £9 5s 2d Books: 16 Bibles, £2 14s 8d 26 Books of Common Prayer, £3 12s 7d 20 New Testaments, £1 3s 6d 18 primers, £0 4s 6d 2 hornbooks, £0 0s 8d 11 spelling books, £0 12s 10d Books total, £8 8s 4d Beef and pork: 42 puncheons and 20 pieces of beef, £548 11s 8d 130 hogsheads and 15 pieces of pork, £1,260 3s 5d Beef and pork total, £1,808 15s 1d Blocks: 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, £2 14s 6d 1 double long-tackle block, £0 4s 9d 1 double block of 14 inches, £0 6s 0d 1 double block of 11 inches, £0 12s 0d 2 double blocks of 10 inches, £0 0s 0d 1 double block of 9 inches, £0 3s 0d

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		2 Horn Books 8 11 Spelling do 12 . 10 8 . 8 . 4 Beef & Pork viz 42 Puns 20 Pd Beef 548 . 11 . 8 130 Hhds 13 Pork 1260 . 3 . 5 1808 . 15 . 1 Blocks viz 4 Iron bd Cat 1 . 5 . 8 2 do Snatch 1 . 7 . 6 1 do Single Top 5 4 do dead Eyes 2 . 14 . 6 1 double Long Tackle 4 . 9 1 double Block of 14 Ins 6 1 do of 11 do 12 2 do of 10 do 3 1 do of 9 do 1 Single of 14 do 3 . 6 1 do of 11 do 3 . 6 1 do of 10 do 7 . 5 . 5 Blocks carried over Carried over £	1 single block of 14 inches, £0 3s 6d 1 single block of 11 inches, £0 3s 6d 1 single block of 10 inches, £0 0s 0d Blocks carried forward, £7 5s 5d Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** Salt beef and pork worth more than £1,800 formed by far the largest single holding in the storehouse, dwarfing every other class of goods. The 42 puncheons and 130 hogsheads were large casks packed with meat in brine, shipped out from Britain and Ireland. Such a reserve protected the island against the failure of its own cattle in a dry season and against blockade in wartime, when no ship might arrive for months. It also let the Company victual its ships and garrison without drawing too heavily on the island's limited herds. Blocks were the wooden pulleys through which ropes ran to hoist and haul loads, used both in ships' rigging and on the island's cranes. A cat block raised an anchor to the cathead, the beam projecting from a ship's bow. A snatch block had one side open, so a rope could be dropped into it without threading the end through. Deadeyes were thick wooden discs pierced with three holes, used in pairs with a lanyard to tighten the shrouds that braced a mast. The brass rollers belonged to the crane at the landing place, where goods were hoisted from boats onto the rocks at Jamestown. A hornbook was a child's first lesson sheet, printed with the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer and fixed to a wooden board under a thin protective layer of transparent horn. Primers and spelling books followed it in the order of teaching, and together they supplied the school that Richard Beale kept on the island. Snuffers were scissor-like tools for trimming candle wicks and catching the burnt end, keeping the flame steady and smoke-free. The brass nails for chairs were upholstery nails, used to fix leather or cloth to the frames of seating.
53	46	15th October [...] brot over £ Blocks brot over 1 Block of 9 3 do of 8 4 . 6 7 . 9 . 11 Copper Money 53960 Irish half pence 112 . 8 . 4 Canvas viz 33 ps 26 Yds Engh 74 . 18 . 7 7 ps 44 Yds Osenbrigs 36 . 11 . 3 758 Yds Ticklenburgs 36 . 6 . 5 147 . 16 . 3 Cordage viz C qrs lb 1 Shroud Hawser 16 . 2 . 19 6 Inch Cordage 4 . 21 12 Coils 4 do 58 . 1 . 22 10 do 3½ do 44 . 1 . 12 22 do 3½ do 73 . 2 . 4 11 do 3 do 28 . 3 . 12 10½ do 2½ do 21 . 2 . 27 8 do 2 do 9 . 2 . 16	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with blocks, coin, canvas, cordage, small goods and carts. Brought forward, sum left blank Blocks brought forward, sum left blank 1 block of 9 inches and 3 blocks of 8 inches, £0 4s 6d Blocks total, £7 9s 11d Copper coin, 53,960 Irish halfpence, £112 8s 4d Canvas: 33 pieces and 26 yards of English canvas, £74 18s 7d 7 pieces and 44 yards of osnaburg, £36 11s 3d 758 yards of ticklenburg, £36 6s 5d Canvas total, £147 16s 3d Cordage: 1 shroud hawser, 16 hundredweight 2 quarters 19 lb 6-inch cordage, 4 hundredweight 0 quarters 21 lb 19 coils of 4-inch cordage, 58 hundredweight 1 quarter 22 lb 10 coils of 3¾-inch cordage, 44 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 lb 22 coils of 3½-inch cordage, 73 hundredweight 2 quarters 4 lb 11 coils of 3-inch cordage, 28 hundredweight 3 quarters 12 lb 10½ coils of 2½-inch cordage, 21 hundredweight 2 quarters 27 lb 8 coils of 2-inch cordage, 9 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 lb 11 coils of 12-thread ratline, 7 hundredweight 0 quarters 20 lb 8 coils of 9-thread ratline, 4 hundredweight 0 quarters 2 lb

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		11 do 12 thread Ratline 7 . 20 8 do 9 do 4 . 2 White Rope 3 . 7 269 . 1 . 22 534 . 8 Cutlery viz 12 Horse Combs 3 88 Horn do 12 . 10 35 Ivory do 1 . 19 . 4 115 doz 7/8 Shoe Buckles 34 . 16 . 10 35 doz 7/8 Knee do 0 . 5 . 6 8 Butchers Knives 4 . 2 5 Pruning Knives 4 . 7 4 Chopping do 5 . 10 13 Fleams 1 . 15 . 9 9 doz Ivory Hafted Knives & Forks 13 . 19 11 doz 4 Prs Leather Garters 2 . 5 . 4 62 . 12 . [...] Cart Wheels 25 Wheelbarrows 17 . 10 5 Pr Cart Wheels 20 . 4 . 9 11 Axletrees 4 . 16 . 10 10 Spare Sides for Wheelbarrows 16 . 8 43 . 8 . 3 Carried over	White rope, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 7 lb Cordage total weight, 269 hundredweight 1 quarter 22 lb Cordage total value, £534 8s 0d Cutlery and small goods: 12 horse combs, £0 3s 0d 83 horn combs, £0 12s 10d 35 ivory combs, £1 19s 4d 115 dozen and 7 pairs of shoe buckles, £34 16s 10d 35 dozen and 7 pairs of knee buckles, £6 5s 6d 8 butcher's knives, £0 4s 2d 5 pruning knives, £0 4s 7d 4 chopping knives, £0 5s 10d 13 fleams, £1 15s 9d 9 dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, £13 19s 0d 11 dozen and 4 pairs of leather garters, £2 5s 4d Cutlery and small goods total, £62 12s 11d Carts and barrows: 25 wheelbarrows, £17 10s 0d 5 pairs of cart wheels, £20 4s 9d 11 axletrees, £4 16s 10d 10 spare sides for wheelbarrows, £0 16s 8d Carts and barrows total, £43 8s 3d Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The store held almost 54,000 Irish halfpence, valued at exactly their face value of £112 8s 4d. The Company supplied the island's small change itself, since no coins were struck locally and British copper was scarce abroad. Irish halfpence circulated widely in the colonies for the same reason, and the Company could ship them out in bulk at little cost. By holding the coin in its own warehouse, the Company controlled the island's supply of everyday money, issuing it through wages and the store's sales and drawing it back as payment. Nearly 270 hundredweight of cordage, more than 13 tons, lay in store. Rope was graded by its circumference in inches, from the heavy 6-inch cable down to 2-inch line. A shroud hawser was a thick rope laid up for the standing rigging that braced a mast. Ratline was light line, measured by the number of yarns in it, stretched across the shrouds to form the rungs by which sailors climbed aloft. So large a stock pointed to the island's role in refitting the Company's ships, as the heavy sales of cordage to those ships earlier in the account had shown. More than 115 dozen pairs of shoe buckles were in stock, along with 35 dozen pairs of knee buckles. Buckles fastened men's shoes and the knees of their breeches, and were bought in large numbers by soldiers and settlers alike. A horse comb was a coarse currycomb for grooming, while axletrees were the fixed beams on which cart wheels turned.
54	47	1764 Brought over £ Camblet 16½ Yards Blue damaged 7 . 3 Coals 19 Chaldron 31 Bushels 41 . 14 . 2 Corks viz 63 Gross 7 . 9 . 2 4 Sheet Cork 2 . 5 7 . 11 . 7 Deals viz 877 Single Deals 82 . 12 . 7 315 Double do 33 . 4 . 8 14 Wainscot Boards 4 . 14 . 6	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with cloth, fuel, timber, earthenware, flour and glass. Brought forward, sum left blank Camlet, 16½ yards of damaged blue camlet, £7 3s 0d Coal, 19 chaldrons 31 bushels, £41 14s 2d Corks: 63 gross of corks, £7 9s 2d 4 sheets of cork, £0 2s 5d Corks total, £7 11s 7d Timber: 877 single deals, £82 12s 7d 315 double deals, £53 4s 8d 14 wainscot boards, £4 14s 6d 3 elm boards, £1 0s 3d 34½ cuffers, £7 0s 10d 22½ balks, £9 18s 9d 11⅜ pieces of elm plank 4 inches thick, £10 4s 2d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 Elm Boards 1 . 3 34½ Cuffins 7 . 10 22½ Balks 9 . 18 . 9 11⅜ Ps Elm plank of 4 Ins 8 . 4 . 2 1 Oak Plank of 4 Ins 1 . 7 . 10 2 do of 5 do 1 . 1 3½ do of 6 do 7 . 19 . 3 9½ Ash Plank of 5 do 22 . 16 180 Bundles Laths 7 . 10 . 5 10 Pr Barrack Oak plank 1 . 6 . 9 10½ Pr Riga Timber 28 . 3 241 . 17 . 3 Earthen Ware viz 86 Milk pans 3 . 6 . 1 2 Covering do 9 . 4 9 Close Stool do 1 . 10 5 . 5 . 5 Flannel 5 Yds 5 . 6 Flour 751 . 21 497 . 4 . 1 Glass Ware viz 3 . 6 . 6 19 Quart Decanters 1 . 8 . 4 10 Pint do 3 . 12 . 4 62 Wine and Water Glasses 2 . 2 6 doz Wine Glasses 5 5 Rounds 10 3 four Hour Glasses 3 . 4 1 three Hour do 5 . 9 11 Half Hour do 6 . 9 13 Half Minute do 1 . 4 . 9 3 Pr [...] do 1 . 2 . 9 2 Pr do Glass Ware carried over Carried over £	1 oak plank 4 inches thick, £1 7s 10d 2 oak planks 5 inches thick, £4 1s 0d 3½ oak planks 6 inches thick, £7 19s 3d 9½ ash planks 5 inches thick, £22 16s 0d 150 bundles of laths, £7 10s 5d 10 pieces of barrack oak plank, £1 6s 9d 10½ pieces of Riga timber, £28 0s 3d Timber total, £241 17s 3d Earthenware: 36 milk pans, £3 6s 1d 2 covers for milk pans, £0 9s 4d 9 close-stool pans, £1 10s 0d Earthenware total, £5 5s 5d Flannel, 5 yards, £0 5s 6d Flour, 754 hundredweight 0 quarters 21 lb, £497 4s 1d Glass: 19 quart decanters, £3 6s 6d 10 pint decanters, £1 8s 4d 62 wine and water glasses, £3 12s 4d 6 dozen wine glasses, £2 2s 0d 5 funnels, £0 5s 0d 3 four-hour glasses, £0 10s 0d 1 three-hour glass, £0 3s 4d 11 half-hour glasses, £0 5s 9d 13 half-minute glasses, £0 6s 9d 3 pairs of glass salt cellars, £1 4s 9d 2 pairs of glass salt cellars, £0 12s 9d Glass carried forward, sum left blank Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The flour in store came to more than 37 tons, valued at nearly £500. The island grew little wheat of its own, so bread for the garrison, the slaves and the Company's ships depended almost wholly on flour shipped from England or the Cape. Holding so large a reserve guarded against a failed voyage or a wartime blockade. Together with the salt beef and pork recorded on the preceding page, it formed the bulk of the island's food security. Timber worth more than £240 lay in store in many sizes and kinds. Pine deals from the Baltic made up most of it, with oak, elm and ash plank kept for work that needed hard, strong or water-resistant wood. Ash, which was tough and springy, suited cart shafts, wheel spokes and tool handles. Laths were thin strips nailed across walls and ceilings to hold plaster. The island's own trees were too few and too precious to supply such needs, so almost every board used in building came from abroad. Four-hour and three-hour glasses measured longer spans of time than the half-hour watch glasses sold to ships. Ashore, they probably timed the reliefs of sentries and the watches kept at the lookouts, where no clock was at hand. Wine and water glasses were small bowls of glass in which drinkers rinsed their wine glasses at the table between toasts.
55	48	15th October Brought over £ Glass Ware brought over 290 Sqrs 6 by 8 3 . 18 . 6½ 288 Sqrs 8 by 10 8 . 14 154 Sqrs 10 by 12 6 . 8 . 4 59 Sqrs 10½ by 12½ 3 . 11 . 3½ 14 Sqrs 11 by 17½ 18 . 8 55 Sqrs 11 by 19 3 . 19 . 6	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with window glass, grindstones, hats, haberdashery and stockings. Brought forward, sum left blank Glass brought forward, sum left blank 290 window panes 6 by 8 inches, £3 18s 6½d 238 window panes 8 by 10 inches, £8 14s 0d 154 window panes 10 by 12 inches, £6 8s 4d 59 window panes 10½ by 12½ inches, £3 11s 3½d 14 window panes 11 by 17½ inches, £0 18s 8d 55 window panes 11 by 19 inches, £3 19s 6d Glass total, £41 7s 2d Grindstones, 2, £0 12s 3d Hats: 1 officer's hat, £1 11s 1d

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		41 . 7 . 2 Grind Stones 2 12 . 3 Hats viz 1 Officers 1 . 11 . 1 2 Boys 12 . 2 12 Centinels 1 . 14 3 . 17 . 3 Haberdashery 24lb Whalebone 6 . 16 . 7 9½ Silk 16 . 14 . 7 9½ Mohair 14 . 8 . 11 48 doz Silver Waistcoat Buttons 11 21¼ doz do Bt do 2 . 5 . 5½ 3¾ doz Silver Coat do 16 . 4 3 doz do Bt do 6 . 1½ 13 doz 4 Gilt Coat do 2 . 3½ 7 doz do Bt do 10 . 7¼ 11 doz Yellow Coat do 5 . 6 17 Gross 5 doz Mohair Ct do 6 . 19 . 4 2 Gross 6½ doz do Bt do 10 . 2 18 Pr Carnation Tape 3 . 5½ 21 Gross Horn Moulds 2 . 6 . 3½ 461 Cockades 7 . 3 . 8 3 Gross Worsted Lace 2 . 11 7 Pieces Union Cord 16 . 9 5 Pieces Galluns 1 . 5 . 10 7 Pieces White Braids 19 . 3 31 Yds Tabby 13 . 11 4 Yds White Buckram 3 . 1 . 10 94 . 6 . 10 Hosiers Ware viz 50 Prs Girls Stockings 6 Prs do damaged 6 . 2 . 3 5 Engh Cotton 1 . 15 . 10 9 Pr Mens knit 1 . 11 . 2 19 Pr Womens do 2 . 18 . 3 10 Prs Boys do 1 . 9 13 . 8 . 8 Carried over	2 boys' hats, £0 12s 2d 12 sentinels' hats, £1 14s 0d Hats total, £3 17s 3d Haberdashery: 24 lb of whalebone, £6 16s 7d 9½ lb of silk, £16 14s 7d 9½ lb of mohair, £14 3s 11d 48 dozen silver wire coat buttons, £11 0s 0d 21½ dozen silver wire breast buttons, £2 5s 5½d 3¾ dozen silver coat buttons, £0 16s 4d 3 dozen silver breast buttons, £0 6s 1½d 13 dozen and 4 gilt coat buttons, £2 0s 3½d 7 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 10s 7¼d 11 dozen yellow coat buttons, £0 5s 6d 17 gross and 5 dozen mohair coat buttons, £6 19s 4d 2 gross and 6½ dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 10s 2d 16 pieces of carnation tape, £0 3s 5½d 21 gross of horn button moulds, £2 6s 3½d 461 cockades, £7 3s 2d 3 gross of worsted lace, £2 11s 0d 7 pieces of union cord, £0 16s 9d 5 pieces of galloon, £1 5s 10d 7 pieces of white braid, £0 19s 3d 31 yards of tabby, £13 0s 11d 4 pieces of white buckram, £3 1s 10d Haberdashery total, £94 6s 10d Stockings: 50 pairs of girls' stockings and 6 pairs of girls' stockings damaged, £6 2s 3d 5 pairs of cotton stockings, £1 15s 10d 9 pairs of men's knitted stockings, £1 11s 2d 19 pairs of women's knitted stockings, £2 18s 3d 10 pairs of boys' knitted stockings, £1 0s 9d Stockings total, £13 8s 3d Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The store held 461 cockades, rosettes of ribbon worn on the side of a hat. In the British army, a black cockade marked a soldier's loyalty to the Hanoverian crown, and every man's hat carried one. The stock matched the scale of the garrison, whose 351 sentinels had received new hats during the quarter. Buttons, silk, mohair and worsted lace in large quantities likewise pointed to the store's role as the garrison's tailoring supply, holding everything needed to make and repair uniforms on the island. Galloon was a narrow, close-woven braid of silk, wool or metallic thread, used for edging and trimming garments. Union cord was probably a cord woven from mixed fibres, used for the same purpose. Tabby was a heavy silk with a watered finish, valued at over 8s a yard, a luxury fabric kept for the better-off families and officers. Whalebone, cut into flexible strips, stiffened women's stays and bodices and the brims of hats.
56	49	1764 Brought over £ Hooks & Lines viz 77 doz 4 No 2 13 . 4 . 3 35 doz 9 3 Lines	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with fishing tackle, iron and steel, and locks and other ironware. Brought forward, sum left blank Fishing hooks and lines: 77 dozen and 4 fishing lines no. 2, £13 4s 3d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		7 68 doz 2 4 15 . 9 . 7 29 Whip Chord 4 . 6 . 1½ 9 Knots Sash Line 9 . 11 18 Log 6 . 10½ 15 Deep Sea do 3 . 15 17925 No 1 42 . 1 . 5¾ 1300 5 Hooks 1 . 4 . 1½ 4850 12 1 . 2½ 975 14 7 . 8¾ 90 . 5 . 6 Iron & Steel 24 . 1 . 8 Iron 28 . 7 . 6 1 . 1 . 16 Steel 2 . 18 . 6 31 . 6 Iron Ware viz 2 Iron rim Locks A 2 . 5 1 do B 1 . 1 . 1 2 do D 2 . 4 . 2 1 do No 2 17 . 8 33 Iron rim Locks with Brass Knobs 11 . 10 . 10½ 6 Closet Locks 19 . 6 16 St Pitt Locks 5 . 17 . 4 16 Chest do 2 . 12 24 Cupboard do 3 . 8 48 Splinter Locks 1 . 3 14 Pad Locks 1 . 17 7 Barrack Locks 1 . 13 10 do With Brass Knobs 3 . 13 5 Barrack Cupboard Locks 6 . 10½ 60 Stock Locks 8 . 2 . 6 50lb Lead Nails 1 . 2 . 11 46lb Brass Shutter Hinges 3 . 6 46 do Shutter Springs 4 . 16 . 9 4 Pr Planking Cats 1 . 5 . 5 82 Pr Barrack Hinges 6 . 16 . 8 19 Broad Hoes 2 . 3 . 1¼ 3 Garden do 4 3 Grubbing do 8 . 9 10 Gouges 3½ Iron Ware Carried over	35 dozen and 9 fishing lines no. 3, £7 0s 0d 68 dozen and 2 fishing lines no. 4, £15 9s 7d 29 whipcords, £4 6s 6½d 9 knots of sash line, £0 9s 11d 18 log lines, £0 16s 10½d 15 deep-sea lines, £3 15s 0d 17,925 fish hooks no. 1, £42 1s 5¾d 1,300 fish hooks no. 5, £1 4s 1½d 4,850 fish hooks no. 12, £1 0s 2½d 975 fish hooks no. 14, £0 7s 8¼d Fishing hooks and lines total, £90 5s 6d Iron and steel: Iron, 24 hundredweight 1 quarter 8 lb, £28 7s 6d Steel, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 16 lb, £2 18s 6d Iron and steel total, £31 6s 0d Ironware: 2 iron-rimmed locks, pattern A, £2 0s 5d 1 iron-rimmed lock, pattern B, £1 1s 1d 2 iron-rimmed locks, pattern D, £2 4s 2d 1 iron-rimmed lock no. 2, £0 17s 8d 33 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £11 10s 10½d 6 closet locks, £0 19s 6d 16 St Kitt locks, £5 17s 4d 16 chest locks, £2 12s 0d 24 cupboard locks, £3 8s 0d 48 splinter locks, £1 3s 0d 14 padlocks, £1 1s 7d 7 barrack locks, £1 13s 0d 10 barrack locks with brass knobs, £3 18s 0d 5 barrack cupboard locks, £0 6s 10½d 60 stock locks, £8 2s 6d 50 lb of lead nails, £1 2s 11d 4 pairs of brass shutter hinges, £0 3s 6d 46 pairs of shutter hinges, £4 16s 9d 4 pairs of planking [...], £1 5s 5d 82 pairs of barrack hinges, £6 16s 8d 19 broad hoes, £2 3s 1¼d 3 garden hoes, £0 4s 0d 3 grubbing hoes, £0 8s 9d 10 gouges, £0 3s 6½d Ironware carried forward, sum left blank Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The store held more than 25,000 fish hooks, over 17,900 of them in the large no. 1 size. So vast a stock showed how central fishing was to feeding the island. The hooks were issued in hundreds to the slaves each quarter and sold to planters and ships, so the Company kept years of supply against the long gaps between shipments from England. Most of the fishing lines were stocked by the dozen for the same reason. The locks were graded by size and quality, some by letter and others by number, so that a buyer or clerk could order a particular pattern without describing it. Iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs were the finer sort for house doors. Barrack locks and hinges were plain, stout fittings made in bulk for the soldiers' quarters, whose building works appeared throughout the year's accounts. Grubbing hoes were heavy, narrow-bladed hoes for digging out roots and scrub, the tool for clearing furze and spurge from the pastures at Longwood. Lead nails had soft heads that sealed the hole as they were driven, used for fixing sheet lead on roofs and gutters. Sash line was the cord that ran over the pulleys of a sash window, linking each sash to its counterweight.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Carried over	
57	50	1764 Brought over £ Hooks & Lines viz 77 doz 4 No 2 13 . 4 . 3 35 doz 9 3 Lines 7 68 doz 2 4 15 . 9 . 7 29 Whip Chord 4 . 6 . 1½ 9 Knots Sash Line 9 . 11 18 Log 6 . 10½ 15 Deep Sea do 3 . 15 17925 No 1 42 . 1 . 5¾ 1300 5 Hooks 1 . 4 . 1½ 4850 12 1 . 2½ 975 14 7 . 8¾ 90 . 5 . 6 Iron & Steel 24 . 1 . 8 Iron 28 . 7 . 6 1 . 1 . 16 Steel 2 . 18 . 6 31 . 6 Iron Ware viz 2 Iron rim Locks A 2 . 5 1 do B 1 . 1 . 1 2 do D 2 . 4 . 2 1 do No 2 17 . 8 33 Iron rim Locks with Brass Knobs 11 . 10 . 10½ 6 Closet Locks 19 . 6 16 St Pitt Locks 5 . 17 . 4 16 Chest do 2 . 12 24 Cupboard do 3 . 8 48 Splinter Locks 1 . 3 14 Pad Locks 1 . 17 7 Barrack Locks 1 . 13 10 do With Brass Knobs 3 . 13 5 Barrack Cupboard Locks 6 . 10½ 60 Stock Locks 8 . 2 . 6 50lb Lead Nails 1 . 2 . 11 46lb Brass Shutter Hinges 3 . 6 46 do Shutter Springs 4 . 16 . 9 4 Pr Planking Cats 1 . 5 . 5 82 Pr Barrack Hinges 6 . 16 . 8 19 Broad Hoes	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with tools and further ironware. Ironware brought forward, sum left blank 16 pairs of sheep shears, £1 8s 0d 10 adzes, £1 15s 2d 4 caulking irons, £0 18s 8d 3 reeming irons, £0 8s 10½d 66 pickaxes, £10 4s 11d 1 auger, £0 0s 5½d 24 taper bits, £0 7s 7d 63 helves, £1 19s 8d 16 plasterers' trowels, £1 6s 8d 16 bricklayers' trowels, £1 5s 4d 161 packing needles, £1 3s 5½d 10 pairs of H hinges with rising joints, £1 11s 8d 11 pairs of shutter hinges, £1 4s 9d 1 pair of side hinges, £0 1s 0d 22 pairs of iron H hinges, £1 10s 8d 5 scythes, £1 7s 11d 6 scythe stones, £0 1s 6d 8 stone saws, £1 16s 0d 1 crosscut saw, £1 1s 4½d 1 whipsaw, £1 2s 2½d 6 joiners' rubstones, £0 1s 7½d 6 pruning saws, £0 9s 0d 5 pairs of stone-saw [...], £1 7s 6d 3 joiners' hatchets, £0 6s 0d 31 hand hatchets, £3 3s 0d 35 hatchet helves, £0 8s 9d 8 gimlets, £0 1s 8d 4 iron wedges, £0 2s 8d 9 jack spits, £2 11s 7d 224 sail needles and 450 damaged sail needles, £2 16s 11d 222 files, £6 9s 2d 8 smiths' rubbers, £2 0s 9d 7 rasps, £0 5s 3d 11 spades, £2 16s 0d 44 ditching shovels, £3 14s 6d 13 shod shovels, £1 4s 11d 19 setting hammers, £6 8s 4½d 9 drill boxes, £0 1s 7½d 9 drill bows, £1 0s 3d 2 billhooks, £0 4s 11d 76 masons' tools, £5 1s 4d Ironware carried forward, sum left blank Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The tools reflected the island's building methods. Stone saws, setting hammers and 76 masons' tools served the masons who built the Company's forts, barracks and storehouses from the island's own volcanic stone. Timber had to be imported at great cost, but stone lay everywhere, so masonry formed the backbone of construction on St Helena. A whipsaw was a long saw worked by two men, one standing above the log and one in a pit below, for cutting timber into planks. The crosscut saw cut across the grain to shorten lengths. Caulking irons and reeming irons were shipwrights' tools. The reeming iron opened the seams between planks, and the caulking iron then drove oakum into them before they were sealed with pitch. Their presence in store supported the repair of the island's own boats and vessels. Jack spits were the long iron rods on which meat turned before the fire, driven by a roasting jack such as the one issued to the Castle kitchen earlier in the accounts. Shod shovels were wooden shovels edged with iron, cheaper than all-iron ones but still able to cut into hard ground.

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		2 . 3 . 1¼ 3 Garden do 4 3 Grubbing do 8 . 9 10 Gouges 3½ Iron Ware Carried over Carried over	
58	51	1764 Brought over £ Iron Ware brought over 12 Gross 1 doz Wood Screws 2 . 8 . 4 1 Large Jack 7 . 10 . 2 1 Midling do 4 . 18 4 Small do 10 . 1 . 10 31 Small Frying Pans 4 . 3 . 8 1 Large do 3 . 1½ 10 Mauls 4 . 2 . 1 5¼ Corn Emery 3 . 2¼ 8 Garden Rakes 18 . 10 3 Wire Rat Traps 16 . 6 22 Spring do 1 . 13 7 Box Irons 2 . 10 . 2 6¼ Case Hardening 12 3 Plaisterers Sieves 1 . 5 . 4½ 1 Coffee Mill 8 . 6 9 Chafing Dishes 2 . 19 . 9¼ 3 Spare Plane Irons 1 16 Setts Jack Wheels 3 . 7 . 3 11 Jack Chains 19 . ¾ 4 do Weights and Shivers 1 . 16 29 Figured Squares 1 . 15 . 7½ 108 Blank Keys 3 . 7 . 7 8¼ Yellow Solder 6 White do 1 . 7 . 3 6¼ Borax 4 . 3 . 1 Lathing Hammers 9 . 7½ 41 Drill Strings 18 . 9 117 Plate Iron 2 . 8 . 10½ 96¾ Tin'd Iron 1 . 7 1 Pr Steelyards 6 . 10½ 6 Pr Smiths Bellows 31 . 6 . 6 1 Saucepan Plain Iron 11 . 3½	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with further ironware and kitchen equipment. Ironware brought forward, sum left blank 12 gross and 1 dozen wood screws, £2 8s 4d 1 large roasting jack, £7 10s 2d 1 middling roasting jack, £4 18s 0d 4 small roasting jacks, £10 1s 10d 31 small frying pans, £4 3s 8d 1 large frying pan, £0 3s 11½d 10 anvils, £4 2s 1d 5¼ lb of corn emery, £0 3s 2¼d 8 garden rakes, £0 18s 10d 3 wire rat traps, £0 16s 6d 22 spring rat traps, £1 18s 0d 7 box irons, £2 10s 2d 6¼ lb of case-hardening compound, £0 12s 0d 3 plasterers' sieves, £1 5s 4½d 1 coffee mill, £0 8s 6d 9 chafing dishes, £2 19s 9¼d 3 spare plane irons, £0 1s 0d 16 sets of jack wheels, £3 7s 8d 11 jack chains, £0 19s 0¼d 4 sets of jack weights and pulleys, £1 16s 0d 29 figured squares, £1 16s 7½d 108 blank keys, £3 7s 7d 8¾ lb of yellow solder and 6 lb of white solder, £1 7s 3d 6¾ lb of borax, £4 3s 1d [...] lathing hammers, £0 9s 7½d 41 drill strings, £0 18s 9d 117 lb of plate iron, £2 8s 10½d 96¾ lb of rod iron, £1 0s 7d 1 pair of steelyards, £0 6s 10½d 6 pairs of smiths' bellows, £31 6s 6d 1 saucepan and 4 hash pans, £0 [...] 3½d Hoop iron, £6 16s 2d 12 scrapers, £1 0s 8½d 23 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 9s 7d 14 claw hammers, £1 0s 6d 7 dozen file handles, £0 4s 10½d 1 hand vice, £0 3s 10d 1 pair of screw stocks, £0 11s 7d Ironware total, £245 14s 4d Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The store kept roasting jacks in three sizes, together with spare wheels, chains, weights and pulleys to repair them. A jack was a clockwork device driven by a falling weight, which turned a spit before the fire at a steady pace so that meat cooked evenly. Stocking 16 sets of spare wheels showed that such devices were in common use in the island's households, and that local smiths kept them running rather than replacing them. Six pairs of smiths' bellows, valued at more than £31, formed the costliest single line on the page. Bellows drove air into a forge to raise the fire to working heat, and each forge needed a large pair. Case-hardening compound was a mixture of charcoal, bone or horn that smiths packed around iron before heating, giving the surface a hard steel skin while leaving the core tough. Screw stocks held the dies for cutting threads on bolts, and hoop iron supplied the coopers who bound the island's casks.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 Flashpans 5 . 16 . 2 12 Scrapers 1 . 8½ 23 Pr Dovetail Hinges 9 . 7 14 Claw Hammers 1 . 6 7 File Hafts 4 . 10½ 1 Hand Vice 3 . 10 1 Pr Screw Stocks 11 . 7 245 . 14 . 4 Carried over £	Box irons were smoothing irons with a hollow body, into which a heated iron slug was slipped so that the sole stayed clean of soot. Figured squares were carpenters' try squares marked with measurements along the blade. Hash pans were shallow pans for warming cooked meat in a sauce.
59	52	15th October Brought over £ Kersey 6 pieces 17½ Yds 14 . 16 . 6 Iron Pots 5 large Iron Kettles 11 . 5 . 2 Leather viz 7 Calf Skins 3 . 3 3 . 1 . 7 Sole Leather 17 . 2 . 7½ 17 Pumps do 15 . 7½ 21 . 1 . 3 Lead viz 3 . 23 Sheet 1 . 1 1 . 1 . 21 Shot 1 . 10 . 2 10 Yards 2 Inch Pipe 4 . 15 . 6 7 . 6 . 9 Masts viz 1 Teak Topmast 7 1 Boom 5 . 10 1 Bowsprit 8 . 10 . 6 1 Main Cap 1 . 5 . 4 22 . 5 . 10 Nails viz 5 . 13 . 5 2 22 . 6 . 2¼ 13 . 3 . 19 3 65 . 4 . 3½ 4 . 2 . 7 4 14 . 18 . 1 15 . 22 6 43 . 6 . 7¾ 13 . 3 . 25 10 34 . 3 . 10 9 . 2 . 12 20 19 . 17 12 . 1 . 19 40 23 . 4 . 11 1 . 2 . 17 Scupper 4 . 11¼ 2 . 2 . 26 Coopers Rivets 7 . 3¼ 1 . 20 Glazing Brads 4 . 3 15 Tacks 18 . 9 1 . 3 . 3 Barrack Nails 3 . 7 1 . 2 . 11 Flooring Brads 2 . 19 . 8	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with cloth, leather, lead, ships' spars, nails, oil and paint. Brought forward, sum left blank Kersey, 6 pieces and 17½ yards, £14 16s 6d Iron pots, 5 large iron kettles, £11 5s 2d Leather: 7 calf skins, £3 3s 0d Sole leather, 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 7 lb, £17 2s 7½d Pump leather, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 17 lb, £0 15s 7½d Leather total, £21 1s 3d Lead: Lead shot, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 23 lb, £1 0s 1d Sheet lead, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 21 lb, £1 10s 2d 10 yards of 2-inch lead pipe, £4 15s 6d Lead total, £7 5s 9d 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 Nails: 2d nails, 5 hundredweight 3 quarters 5 lb, £22 6s 2¼d 3d nails, 13 hundredweight 3 quarters 19 lb, £65 4s 3½d 4d nails, 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 7 lb, £14 18s 1d 6d nails, 15 hundredweight 0 quarters 22 lb, £43 6s 7¾d 10d nails, 13 hundredweight 3 quarters 25 lb, £34 3s 10d 20d nails, 9 hundredweight 2 quarters 12 lb, £19 17s 0d 40d nails, 12 hundredweight 1 quarter 19 lb, £23 4s 11d Scupper nails, 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 17 lb, £4 0s 11¼d Coopers' rivets, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 26 lb, £7 0s 3¼d Glazing brads, 0 hundredweight 1 quarter 20 lb, £4 3s 0d Tacks, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 15 lb, £0 18s 9d Barrack nails, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 3 lb, £3 7s 0d Flooring brads, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 11 lb, £2 19s 8d Spike nails, 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 0 lb, £7 17s 6d Clench nails, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 24 lb, £2 9s 6d Nails total weight, 89 hundredweight 1 quarter 5 lb Nails total value, £245 17s 7d

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		4 . 2 Spike Nails 7 . 17 . 6 3 . 24 Clench do 2 . 9 . 6 89 . 1 . 5 245 . 17 . 7 Oars 56 10 . 18 . 2 Oil viz 613 Galls Train 96 . 8 . 4¼ 776 Galls Linseed 146 . 11 . 2¼ 20 doz 10 Bottles Florence 32 . 14 . 7 275 . 14 . 2 Paint viz 14 . 1 Whiting 1 . 2 1 . 1 . 13 Umber 1 . 18 . 3 Paint Carried over £ 2 . 18 . 6 Carried over £	Oars, 56, £10 18s 2d Oil: 613 gallons of train oil, £96 8s 4¾d 776 gallons of linseed oil, £146 11s 2¾d 20 dozen and 10 bottles of Florence oil, £32 14s 7d Oil total, £275 14s 2d Paint: Whiting, 14 hundredweight 1 quarter 0 lb, £1 0s 2d Umber, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 13 lb, £1 18s 3d Paint carried forward, £2 18s 5d Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The spars were held in reserve for ships that arrived damaged. A vessel that lost a mast or bowsprit in a storm on the long passage from the east could not easily be repaired at sea. The teak topmast came from India, where teak was prized for its strength and resistance to rot. The main cap was the heavy wooden block that joined the head of the lower mast to the foot of the topmast above it. The boom extended the foot of a sail beyond the ship's side. Keeping such pieces on hand allowed a crippled ship to be refitted at St Helena and sent on its way, rather than waiting months for replacements. Nearly 90 hundredweight of nails, close to four and a half tons, lay in store. Clench nails were soft iron nails used in boatbuilding, driven through overlapping planks and bent over on the inside to hold them tight. Flooring brads had small heads that sank into the boards without catching the foot. The sheer weight of nails matched the building works recorded throughout the year, from the barracks to the new roof at the Castle. Pump leather was thick hide cut into washers and valves for the pumps used on ships and wells. The lead pipe probably served the island's water supply, carrying fresh water from the springs in the valley towards the landing place where ships filled their casks. More than 1,300 gallons of train and linseed oil, together with the Florence oil, made oil the most valuable stock on the page, reflecting its many uses in lighting, painting and preserving timber.
60	53	1764 Brought over £ Paint brought over 2 . 18 . 5 21 Stone Oaker 9 . 2½ 13 Saccarum Saturnia 13 . 11½ 1 . 3 . 12 Indico 13 . 17 75 Barrels Blacking 2 . 3 . 9 14 Prussian Blue 7 . 4 30 . 2 . 14 White Lead dry 50 . 8 . 10 3 . 2 do mixed 6 . 12 . 9 5 . 2 . 14 Stone Color 15 . 1 . 10½ 5 . 1 Olive do 19 . 18 . 5½ 2 . 23 Sky Blue 7 . 6 . 5½ 1 . 18 Verdigrease 25 . 6 . 6½ 1 . 3 . 2 Pearl Colour 4 . 2 . 6 2 . 12 Chocolate do 1 . 19 . 8	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with paints and pigments, pewter, pease and a pump. Paint brought forward, £2 18s 5d Stone ochre, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 21 lb, £0 9s 2½d Sugar of lead, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 18 lb, £0 13s 11½d Indigo, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 12 lb, £13 17s 0d Blacking, 75 barrels, £2 3s 9d Prussian blue, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 14 lb, £0 7s 4d Dry white lead, 30 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb, £50 8s 10d Mixed white lead, 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 0 lb, £6 12s 9d Stone colour, 5 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb, £15 1s 10½d Olive colour, 5 hundredweight 0 quarters 1 lb, £10 18s 5½d Sky blue, 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 23 lb, £7 6s 5¾d Verdigris, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 18 lb, £25 6s 6¾d Pearl colour, 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 2 lb, £4 2s 6d Chocolate colour, 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 12 lb, £1 19s 8d

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		1 . 5 Ven Red mixed 2 . 13 . 7 2 . 7 Yellow Oaker mixed 2 . 3 . 1¼ 2 . 2 . 4 Ven Red dry 2 . 19 . 2 3 . 7 Copperass 4 . 7 . 2¾ 1 . 1 . 14 Red Lead 1 . 12 . 1½ 2 Dry Colours 5 2 . 2 . 19 Blue Smalts 17 . 13 . 7 7 . 3 . 16 Brimstone 8 . 12 21 Yellow Oaker dry 2 . 5 . 11½ 199 . 2 Pewter viz 8 Quart Funnels 17 . 11 2 Quart Pots 5 . 6 3 Half gallon do 16 . 4½ 3 Pint do 6 . 4 3 Cranes 2 . 15 . 2 3 Dishes @ 8/4 1 . 5 11 do 6/6 3 . 11 . 6 1 Worm Tub & Still 10 . 12 . 4 3 Close Stool Pans 14 . 2½ 1 Chamber Pot 2 . 11 3 Bed Pans 1 . 10½ 2 Gall Pots 13 1 Cullender 7 . 7½ 10 Basons 1 . 2 . 11 24 . 16 . 8 Pease 6 Bushels 2 . 3 . 8 Pumps 1 12 . 13 . 5 Carried over	Mixed Venetian red, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 5 lb, £2 13s 7d Mixed yellow ochre, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 7 lb, £2 3s 1¼d Dry Venetian red, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 4 lb, £2 19s 2d Copperas, 0 hundredweight 3 quarters 7 lb, £4 7s 2½d Red lead, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb, £1 12s 1½d Dry colours, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 2 lb, £0 5s 0d Blue smalts, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 19 lb, £17 13s 7d Brimstone, 7 hundredweight 3 quarters 16 lb, £8 12s 0d Dry yellow ochre, 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 lb, £2 5s 11½d Paint total, £199 0s 2d Pewter: 8 quart funnels, £0 17s 11d 2 quart pots, £0 5s 6d 3 half-gallon pots, £0 16s 4½d 3 pint pots, £0 6s 1d 3 siphons, £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 3 close-stool pans, £0 14s 2½d 1 chamber pot, £0 2s 11d 3 bedpans, £1 0s 10½d 2 two-gallon pots, £0 13s 0d 1 colander, £0 7s 7½d 10 basins, £1 2s 11d Pewter total, £24 16s 8d Pease, 6 bushels, £2 3s 8d Pumps, 1, £12 13s 5d Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The pewter worm tub and still formed a complete apparatus for distilling. The still heated the liquid, and the vapour passed through a coiled pipe, the worm, set in a tub of cold water where it condensed. The Company probably used it to distil spirits or medicinal waters under its own control. On an island where the sale of drink was closely regulated, keeping the only still in the Company's store placed the making of spirits firmly in official hands. Prussian blue was a synthetic pigment first made in Berlin early in the century, the earliest modern chemical colour. Its presence in the store showed that new materials reached even this remote island within a few decades of their invention. Sugar of lead was lead acetate, added to oil paint to make it dry faster. Brimstone was sulphur, burned to fumigate ships and buildings against vermin and used in making gunpowder and matches. The paint stock of nearly £200 reflected how much effort went into protecting wood and iron from the island's damp, salty air. White lead alone, the base of most house and ship paints, weighed more than 30 hundredweight. Pewter cranes were bent siphon tubes used to draw wine or spirits from a cask without disturbing the sediment. Bedpans, close-stool pans and basins probably supplied the hospital.
61	54	15th October Brought over £ Pitch & Tar viz 22 Barrels Tar 27 . 2 14¼ Brls Pitch 26 . 4 . 3 4½ Rozen 7 . 16 . 8 4 Turpentine	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with pitch and tar, salt, soap, cloth, clothing and the store's own scales. Brought forward, sum left blank Pitch and tar: 22 barrels of tar, £27 2s 0d 14¼ barrels of pitch, £26 4s 3d 4½ barrels of rosin, £7 16s 8d 4 barrels of turpentine, £10 17s 11d Pitch and tar total, £71 19s 10d

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		10 . 17 . 11 71 . 19 . 10 Starch 2 . 18 4 . 5 . 8 Salt viz 21 Bushels 4 . 6 23 . 1 Cape 9 . 7 . 9 13 . 12 . 3 Shalloon 10 Yds Colored 12 . 4 Sope 24 . 1 . 5 87 . 15 . 3 Serge &ca viz 1 Pr 14½ Sagathy 5 . 14 . 6 6¼ Yds Scarlet Serge 1 . 13 . 9 7 . 8 . 3 Shirts viz 99 Neck Cloths 3 . 1 . 5 26 Ps Irish Linnen 42 . 3 2 Ps 17½ Yds Brown Holland 3 . 5 53 . 2 . 1 Sailors Cloths viz 6 Mens Jackets & Breeches 4 . 2 . 5 5 Boys do & do 3 . 9 . 2 22 Mens Shirts 4 . 2 . 3 10 Boys do 1 . 9 . 2 7 Dutch Caps 10 . 11 13 . 13 . 11 Soldiers Cloths 24 Sentinels Coats & Breeches 35 . 4 . 6 2 Matrosses do & do 4 . 6 2 Centry Coats 2 . 4 . 8 41 . 14 . 8 Scales & Weights viz 3 Pr Scales and Weights Storeuse 1 Pr Scales 15 . 13 . 7 2 Beams 1 do Storeuse 21 . 9 1 Pr Scales Storeuse 2 . 9 . 6 39 . 17 . 1 Carried over	Starch, 2 hundredweight 0 quarters 18 lb, £4 5s 8d Salt: 21 bushels of salt, £4 0s 6d Cape salt, 23 hundredweight 1 quarter 0 lb, £9 7s 9d Salt total, £13 8s 3d Shalloon, 10 yards of coloured, £0 18s 4d Soap, 24 hundredweight 1 quarter 5 lb, £87 15s 3d Serge and similar cloth: 1 piece and 14½ yards of sagathy, £5 18s 6d 6¾ yards of scarlet serge, £1 13s 9d Serge and similar cloth total, £7 12s 3d Shirting: 99 neckcloths, £8 1s 5d 26 pieces of Irish linen, £42 0s 3d 2 pieces and 17½ yards of brown holland, £3 0s 5d Shirting total, £53 2s 1d Sailors' clothing: 6 men's jackets and breeches, £4 2s 5d 5 boys' jackets and breeches, £3 9s 2d 22 men's shirts, £4 2s 3d 10 boys' shirts, £1 9s 2d 7 Dutch caps, £0 10s 11d Sailors' clothing total, £13 13s 11d Soldiers' clothing: 24 sentinels' coats and breeches, £35 4s 6d 2 matrosses' coats and breeches, £4 5s 0d 2 sentry coats, £2 4s 8d Soldiers' clothing total, £41 14s 2d Scales and weights: 3 pairs of scales and weights for store use and 1 pair of scales, £15 13s 7d 2 beams and 1 beam for store use, £21 9s 0d 1 pair of scales for store use, £2 9s 6d Scales and weights total, £39 17s 1d Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The store kept ready-made sailors' clothing, known as slops, for sale to the crews of calling ships. Seamen often arrived after months at sea with their clothes worn out, and the Company's ships could replenish their men's kit at St Helena. Dutch caps were close-fitting knitted woollen caps favoured by sailors. Boys' jackets and shirts supplied the ship's boys who served as servants and apprentices aboard. Sentry coats were long, heavy watch coats kept at the guard posts rather than issued to individual men. Each sentinel put one on when he took his turn on watch at night or in bad weather, then left it for the man who relieved him. Sagathy was a light, hard-wearing woollen cloth, sometimes mixed with silk, used for coats and waistcoats. The scales, weights and beams were the store's own equipment for measuring every issue and sale. The large beams weighed heavy goods such as cordage, nails and salt meat by the hundredweight, while the smaller scales handled tea, sugar and paint by the pound. Accurate weighing lay at the heart of the storekeeper's accountability, since every figure in the quarterly accounts depended on it.
62	55	1764 Brought over Shoes viz 2 pr Chan Pumps 12 . 2 1 Pr Fine Shoes 5 . 6 11 Prs Womens Spanish 2 . 2 . 2 7 Prs do Calf 12 . 1 4 Prs do Calimanco 15 . 4 4 Prs Boys	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 continued with shoes, twine, ticking, thread, tinware and brushes. Brought forward, sum left blank Shoes: 2 pairs of channelled pumps, £0 12s 2d 1 pair of fine shoes, £0 5s 6d 11 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £2 2s 2d 7 pairs of women's calf shoes, £0 12s 1d 4 pairs of women's calimanco shoes, £0 15s 4d 4 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 12s 4d 1 pair of girls' shoes, £0 2s 0d 2 pairs of shoe stretchers, £0 5s 2d

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		12 . 4 1 Pr Girls 2 2 Prs Stretchers 5 . 2 955 Prs Mens Ordinary 189 . 14 195 . 6 . 9 Twine viz 2 . 2 . 24 Twine 15 . 4 25 Cotton Wick 2 . 18 . 4 18 . 2 . 4 Ticking 12 Ps 34¼ Yds 38 . 9 . 1 Thread viz 153lb Colored 24 . 17 . 3 5½ Whited Brown 1 . 16 . 4 26 . 13 . 7 Tin Ware 18 Quart Saucepans 9 20lb Solder [...] . 15 . 10 38 Lamps 2 . 2 . 9 8 Gall Funnels 16 . 4 6 Pudding Pans 3 . 9 12 Patty Pans 4 . 5 14 Canteens 19 . 3 6 Rusted Stern Lanthorns 1 . 9 . 3 11 Small Horn do 1 . 9 . 4 11 Dripping Pans 1 . 9 . 3 6 Watering Pots 1 . 5 . 4 7 Sheets Tin 4 . 8 250 Lanthorn Leaves 2 . 12 . 1 4¾ Sal Armoniac 1 . 2 . 8 2 Globe Lamps 19 . 3 24 . 8 . 2 Turners Ware viz 73 Paint Brushes 1 . 16 . 6 19 Plaisterers do 1 . 4½ Turners Carried over £ 2 . 17 . 5¾ Carried over £	955 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £189 14s 0d Shoes total, £195 6s 9d Twine: Twine, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 24 lb, £15 4s 0d Cotton wick, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 25 lb, £2 18s 4d Twine total, £18 2s 4d Ticking, 12 pieces and 34¼ yards, £38 9s 1d Thread: 153 lb of coloured thread, £24 17s 3d 5½ lb of whitey-brown thread, £1 16s 4d Thread total, £26 13s 7d Tinware: 18 quart saucepans, £0 9s 0d 201 lb of solder, £8 15s 10d 38 lamps, £2 2s 9d 8 gallon funnels, £0 16s 4d 6 pudding pans, £0 3s 9d 12 patty pans, £0 4s 5d 14 canisters, £0 19s 3d 6 pierced horn lanterns, £1 9s 3d 11 small horn lanterns, £1 9s 4d 11 dripping pans, £1 9s 3d 6 watering cans, £1 5s 4d 7 sheets of tin, £0 4s 8d 250 lantern leaves, £2 12s 1d 4¾ lb of sal ammoniac, £1 2s 8d 2 globe lamps, £1 19s 3d Tinware total, £24 8s 2d Wooden goods and brushes: 73 paint brushes, £1 16s 6d 19 plasterers' brushes, £1 0s 9¼d Wooden goods and brushes carried forward, £2 17s 3¼d Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** The 955 pairs of men's ordinary shoes made up almost the entire value of the footwear in store. The garrison had drawn 376 pairs in the quarter just ended, so the stock covered between two and three quarters of normal issue. Shoes wore out quickly on the island's steep, rocky paths, and a reserve of this size guarded against a delay in the next shipment from England. Sal ammoniac was ammonium chloride, a white salt used by tinsmiths and braziers as a flux. Rubbed onto a hot soldering iron or the metal surface, it cleaned away oxide so the solder would flow and bond. Its presence alongside 201 lb of solder and sheets of tin showed that tinware was repaired and made up on the island rather than simply imported finished. Shoe stretchers were wooden forms pushed into a shoe to widen it or hold its shape. Patty pans were small tins for baking pies and tarts, and pudding pans were deeper dishes for baked puddings. A globe lamp had a spherical glass shade around the flame, giving a steady light for a hall or public room. Pierced horn lanterns combined panes of horn with a perforated tin body, letting light and air out while sheltering the candle from wind.
63	56	15th October Brought over £ Turners Ware brought over 16 Hair Brooms 1 . 16 . 8 18 Scrubbing Brushes 2 . 1 . 8 19 Tubmens Yoaks 18 . 6 4 Prs Yoaks for Oxen 8 . 2 . 7¼ 61 Oil Bowls 3 . 10 . 1½	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 closed its European goods with wooden wares, then opened the goods from the east. Wooden goods and brushes brought forward, sum left blank 16 hair brooms, £1 16s 8d 18 scrubbing brushes, £2 1s 3d 19 tubmen's yokes, £0 18s 6d 4 pairs of yokes for oxen, £8 2s 7¼d 61 ox bows, £3 10s 1½d 11 skimming dishes, £0 3s 5¾d 160 shoe brushes, £4 10s 0d 31 wooden ladles, £0 10s 4d

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		11 Skimming Dishes 3 . 5¼ 160 Shoe Brushes 4 . 10 31 Wood Ladles 10 . 4 6 Butchers Trays 1 . 2 2 Pump Boxes 10 do with Iron Staples 2 . 1 . 6 1 Brass Wire Sieve 10 1 Punch Ladle 6½ 9 Birch Brooms 3 . 11¼ 5 Cloth Brushes 6 . 8 17 Mops 1 . 2 . 8 5 Hair Sieves 4½ 1 Wood 1 . 8¾ 25 Flaskets 3 . 11 . 7½ 33 . 9 . 8 5924 . 15 . 7 [...] Materials 64 . 3 . 6 European Goods amounting to 5988 . 19 . 1 India Goods viz Arrack 595 Galls 115 . 5 . 7 China Ware 25 Soup Dishes 3 . 6 408 Meat do 1651 do Plates 63 . 10 31 Sallad Dishes 2 . 19 . ½ 2 Soup do 10 . 8 China Ware carried over £ 67 . 7 . ½ Carried over 6104 . 4 . 8	6 butchers' trays, £1 2s 0d 2 pump boxes and 10 pump boxes with iron staples, £2 1s 6d 1 brass wire sieve, £0 10s 0d 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 6½d 9 birch brooms, £0 3s 11¼d 5 clothes brushes, £0 6s 8d 17 mops, £1 2s 8d 5 hair sieves, £0 4s 0¼d 1 wooden [...], £0 1s 8½d 25 flaskets, £3 11s 7½d Wooden goods and brushes total, £33 9s 8d Running total, £5,924 15s 7d [...] materials, £64 3s 6d European goods in all, £5,988 19s 1d Goods from India and China: Arrack, 595 gallons, £115 5s 7d Porcelain: 23 soup dishes, £0 3s 6d 408 meat dishes and 1,651 plates, £63 10s 0d 31 salad dishes, £2 19s 0½d 2 soup dishes, £0 10s 8d Porcelain carried forward, £67 7s 7½d Carried forward, £6,104 4s 8d **Interpretations** The inventory divided the stock into European goods and goods from India and China. The split mirrored the Company's own trade, in which goods shipped out from England were bought and costed on different terms from those loaded in the east. Separating the two let the Court in London compare the island's stocks against the invoices of each kind of ship. European goods, worth nearly £6,000, far outweighed the eastern ones, since almost everything needed to build, clothe and supply the island came from Britain. The porcelain in store ran to more than 2,000 pieces, including 1,651 plates and 408 meat dishes. Chinese porcelain arrived cheaply as ballast in the holds of homeward ships, packed beneath the valuable tea to keep it dry. The island could therefore stock it in bulk at low cost, which explained why blue and white china appeared so widely in the sales to planters and other buyers. Tubmen's yokes were wooden shoulder yokes from which two tubs or buckets hung, used by the men who carried water and loads through Jamestown. Ox yokes and ox bows formed the harness of draught oxen, the bow being the curved wooden collar that passed under the animal's neck and fixed into the yoke above. Pump boxes were the wooden valve housings fitted inside a pump barrel. The 595 gallons of arrack held in store supplied the drams, punch and sales recorded throughout the year's accounts.
64	57	1764 Brought over £ China Ware brought over 35 Sauce boats 13 . 10½ 56 Cream Soop Plates 1 . 15 425 Blue & White do 8 . 15 . 4 152 Blue & White Sneakers 1 . 8 . 6 50 Bowls 2 . 15 . 2½ 28 Chamber Pots 1 . 15 . 7 43 Guglets and Basons 4 . 12 11 Cream Baking Dishes 1 . 9 . 4 28 Blue & White do 2 . 12 . 4½	The inventory of goods from India and China, held in store on 30 September 1764, continued with porcelain, cloth, groceries and candles. Porcelain brought forward, sum left blank 35 sauce boats, £0 13s 10½d 56 cream-coloured soup plates, £1 15s 0d 425 blue and white soup plates, £8 15s 4d 152 blue and white sneakers, £1 8s 6d 50 bowls, £2 15s 2¼d 28 chamber pots, £1 15s 7d 43 guglets and basins, £4 12s 0d 11 cream-coloured baking dishes, £1 9s 4d 28 blue and white baking dishes, £2 13s 4¼d 18 salt cellars, £0 11s 3d 10 mugs, £0 15s 0d 134 half-pint cups and saucers, £2 1s 10½d 245 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £3 9s 1¼d 137 teapots, £4 7s 0d Porcelain total, £112 13s 0d Chelloes, 153 pieces, £75 9s 3d Coffee, 89 lb, £3 14s 2d

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		18 Salts 11 . 3 10 Mugs 15 134 Half Pint Cups & Saucers 2 . 1 . 10½ 245 Qr Pint do & do 3 . 9 . 1¼ 137 Tea Pots 4 . 7 112 . 13 Chelloes 153 Pieces 75 . 9 . 3 Coffee 89lb 3 . 14 . 2 Sago 141lb 2 . 12 . 10 Pepper 170 4 . 5 Tea viz 1183 Bohea 50 . 10 . 5 393 Singlo 27 . 4 384 Congou 26 . 3 103 . 18 . 9 Hosiers Ware 9 Prs Cotton Stockings 2 . 7 . 3 Candles 23 . 1 . 23 257 . 4 . 6 Desootees 16 Pieces 3 . 6 . 9 Longcloth viz 1½ Ps No 5 3 . 1 . 9 1 do 6 1 . 3 1¼ do 7 1 . 14 . 2 2½ do H 6 . 3 . 9 3¼ do I 4 . 9 . 11 2 do K 1 . 19 . 2 10 do L 49 2 do O 4 . 19 10 do Q 48 10 do R 40 10 do S 32 60 do T 31 . 12 1 do E 3 . 4 . 6 117½ 277 . 12 . 3 Carried over £	Sago, 141 lb, £2 12s 10d Pepper, 170 lb, £4 5s 0d Tea: 1,183 lb of bohea tea, £50 10s 5d 393 lb of singlo tea, £27 0s 4d 384 lb of congou tea, £26 3s 0d Tea total, £103 13s 9d Stockings, 9 pairs of cotton stockings, £2 7s 3d Candles, 23 hundredweight 1 quarter 23 lb, £257 4s 6d Desootees, 16 pieces, £3 6s 9d Longcloth: 1½ pieces of longcloth, no. 5, £3 1s 9d 1 piece of longcloth, no. 6, £1 3s 0d 1¼ pieces of longcloth, no. 7, £1 14s 2d 2½ pieces of longcloth, grade H, £6 3s 9d 3½ pieces of longcloth, grade I, £4 9s 11d 2 pieces of longcloth, grade K, £1 19s 2d 10 pieces of longcloth, grade L, £49 0s 0d 2 pieces of longcloth, grade O, £4 19s 0d 10 pieces of longcloth, grade Q, £48 0s 0d 10 pieces of longcloth, grade R, £40 0s 0d 10 pieces of longcloth, grade S, £32 0s 0d 60 pieces of longcloth, grade T, £31 12s 0d ½ piece of longcloth, grade E, £3 4s 6d Longcloth in all, 114¼ pieces Longcloth total, £277 12s 3d Carried forward, sum left blank **Interpretations** Candles worth more than £257 appeared among the eastern goods rather than the European ones. The Company bought them in India, where tallow and wax were cheap, and landed them at St Helena from ships on the homeward passage. At over 23 hundredweight, the stock covered the heavy issues to the Castle, the Council, the garrison's guards and the hospital, where candles and oil lamps provided all the light after dark. Sago was a starch extracted from the pith of palm trees in the East Indies, sold as small dried pearls. Boiled in water or milk, it made a soft, easily digested food, commonly given to invalids and children. Its presence in store probably supplied the hospital diet of light foods recorded in the quarterly issues. The tea in store came to nearly 2,000 lb, with the cheap bohea making up well over half. Bohea was the tea issued to the garrison and the slaves, while singlo and congou suited the Castle table and the better-off buyers. Cream-coloured porcelain, listed separately from the blue and white, was a plainer Chinese ware with a pale glaze, less costly than the painted pieces.
65	58	15th October Brought over £ Sugar & Candy 166 . 3 . 2 Sugar 219 . 9 . 6 321 . 13 Candy 749 . 5 . 5 968 . 14 . 11 Rice & Paddy 104 . 1 . 14 Rice 58 . 11 . 1 102 Paddy	The inventory of stores held on 30 September 1764 closed with sugar, rice and a set of spars for a snow. Brought forward, sum left blank Sugar and sugar candy: Sugar, 166 hundredweight 3 quarters 2 lb, £219 9s 6d Sugar candy, 321 hundredweight 0 quarters 18 lb, £749 5s 5d Sugar and sugar candy total, £968 14s 11d Rice and paddy:

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		18 . 14 77 . 5 . 1 European and India Goods amounting to £ 7998 . 8 . 5 Snows Materials 1 Mast 18 Ins Diameter 70 Feet long 21 . 7 1 Boom 13 do do 56 do 6 . 12 2 Top-masts 11 do do 32 do 6 . 1 1 Foremast 15½ do do 49 do 7 . 10 1 Bow Sprit 16 do do 34 do 7 1 Topmast 10 do do 31 do 2 . 10 1 Topsail Yard 7 do do 31 do 1 . 5 1 Spritsail Yard 7½ do do 32 do 1 . 5 1 Gaff 7½ do do 26 do 1 . 5 1 Flying Gibb Boom 7½ do 26 do 1 . 5 1 Spar for 2 Top Gallant Masts 32 do 1 . 15 . 7 2 do for 4 Steering Yards 28 do 1 . 11 . 2 1 do for Spritsail Top Yard 24 do 1 . 15 . 8 1 Oak Chock for a Mast 1 . 10 . 3 8 Spars 3 . 10 . 10 £ 64 . 3 . 6 St Helena 30th Septr 1764 Errors Excepted Signed M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick Counted and examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of September 1764 viz	Rice, 164 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb, £58 11s 1d Paddy, 102 hundredweight 0 quarters 0 lb, £18 14s 0d Rice and paddy total, £77 5s 1d European and eastern goods in all, £7,998 8s 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, £1 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, £1 15s 8d 1 oak chock for a mast, £1 10s 3d 3 spars, £3 10s 10d Materials for a snow total, £64 3s 6d Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the inventory at St Helena on 30 September 1764, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for the month of September 1764, as set out below. **Interpretations** The inventory valued the whole of the Company's stores at almost £8,000. That sum exceeded two and a half times the quarter's entire pay bill for officers, servants and soldiers. It represented the island's working capital, the goods on which its garrison, slaves, planters and passing ships all depended. Setting so large a sum under the signatures of two councillors made them answerable to the Court for its accuracy. Sugar candy worth nearly £750 formed the single most valuable item in the eastern goods, far outweighing the ordinary sugar. More than 16 tons lay in store, a quantity far beyond the island's own needs. The Company probably held it for supplying its ships and for sale to passing vessels, since sugar candy kept well at sea and was prized as a sweetener and remedy on long voyages. The snow's materials made up a complete set of masts, yards and spars for a two-masted vessel. The main mast alone measured 70 feet long and 18 inches across. Keeping a full suit of spars on hand meant the island's own snows, the *Groom* and the *Lapwing*, could be re-rigged after damage without waiting for timber from England. Studding-sail yards carried the extra sails set outside the main sails in light winds, and a flying jib boom extended beyond the bowsprit to carry the outermost headsail. The monthly count of cash placed the Company's money under the direct eye of the Council. Rather than relying on the paymaster's own figures, the councillors counted the coin themselves and set the result in the consultation record, checking the books against the chest.

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66	59	Cash Dr 1764 Sept 1 To Balance remaining £ 7731 . 8 . 4 4 To Ship Deptford the Balance of her Account 40 . 8 . 7 7 To Rents 575 . 11 To James Powell received of him for Stores sold in the Quarter ending this day 1577 . 8 . 3 To Plantation for Provisions sold 53 . 5 . 3 To Licences for 16 Public Houses 15 To Joseph Bates decd recd of James Greentree his Heir 18 £ 9993 . 19 . 5 Per Contra Cr 1764 Septr 30th By Sundry Accounts advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &c in the Quarter ending this Day 3041 . 4 . 5½ By Balance remaining viz In Specie 6412 . 19 . 11½ In Cash Notes of no use 539 . 15 6952 . 14 . 11½ £ 9993 . 19 . 5 **Margin Notes:** 1764	The cash account for September 1764 set out the money received and paid by the Company on the island. Cash, debtor: 1 September 1764, balance in hand, £7,731 8s 4d 4 September 1764, the ship *Deptford*, for the balance of her account, £40 8s 7d 7 September 1764, rents, £575 11s 0d James Powell, for stores sold in the quarter ending 30 September 1764, £1,577 8s 3d The plantation, for provisions sold, £53 5s 3d Licences for 10 public houses, £15 0s 0d Joseph Bates, deceased, paid by his heir James Greentree, £0 18s 0d Total, £9,993 19s 5d Cash, creditor: 30 September 1764, various accounts advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other charges in the quarter ending that day, £3,041 4s 5½d Balance in hand in coin, £6,412 19s 11½d Balance in hand in unusable cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £6,952 14s 11½d Total, £9,993 19s 5d **Interpretations** The Company licensed every public house on the island, charging 10 of them £1 10s each for the quarter. Licensing gave the Council a direct hold over the sale of drink, since a keeper who broke the rules could lose his licence and his living. The small fees mattered less than the power to decide who might sell spirits at all, on an island where drunkenness among soldiers and slaves was a constant concern of government. Rents of more than £575 came from the planters who farmed the Company's land under lease. Together with the £1,577 from store sales, they formed the island's main income. The Company thus recovered a substantial part of its costs locally, through the land it let and the goods it sold, rather than relying wholly on funds sent out from London. The *Deptford* paid the balance owing on her account, settling for the stores and services her crew had drawn while at the island. Joseph Bates's debt was recovered after his death from his heir, James Greentree, showing that a debt to the Company passed with the estate and fell on whoever inherited it. Cash notes worth £539 15s were counted in the balance but marked as of no use. These were probably paper notes that could not be passed as currency, whether cancelled, damaged or drawn on a source the Company no longer honoured. Recording them separately from the coin kept the true spendable balance clear, while still accounting for paper the Company held but could not use.
67	60	15th October Mr Matthew Bazett this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Matthew Bazett Sheweth That your Petitioner Leases a piece of Land of the Honorable Companys adjacent to the Longwood and as the said Longwood is not fenced your Petitioner can have no benefit of the said Land as trespasses frequently happen, which makes it very inconvenient both to them and your Petitioner, He therefore requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to take the same into Consideration, and in lieu of the said piece of Land grant him a Lease of some of the Honorable Companys Waste Ground adjoining to his Land at the Woody Ridge.	Matthew Bazett presented a petition to the Council on 15 October 1764, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council of St Helena. Bazett held a lease of a piece of the Company's land lying next to Longwood. Because Longwood had no fence, animals strayed freely between the two, and the resulting trespasses caused constant trouble both to the Company and to Bazett. He could gain no benefit from the land while this continued. Bazett therefore asked the Governor and Council to consider his case and to grant him, in exchange, a lease of some of the Company's waste ground beside his own land at the Woody Ridge. He signed the petition on the same day. The Council ordered that the lands in question be inspected. John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order. **Interpretations** Trespass here meant the straying of livestock onto land where it had no right to graze. The Company kept its cattle on the open pasture at Longwood, and with no fence between them and Bazett's holding, the herds

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		And your Petitioner will ever pray 15th Octr 1764 signed M Bazett Ordered the said Lands to be viewed John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	wandered onto his ground and ate or trampled whatever he planted. Under English custom the owner of straying beasts answered for the damage they caused, so the Company itself stood as the trespasser against its own tenant. Bazett's proposal allowed the Council to end the problem without admitting liability or paying compensation. Waste ground was land belonging to the Company that had never been leased, cleared or cultivated. Granting it on lease brought it into use and produced rent, so an exchange cost the Company little while removing a standing source of dispute. The order to inspect the lands before deciding was the Council's usual safeguard, ensuring that the ground offered in exchange was of fair value and that no other claim lay upon it. Bazett was himself a servant of the Company, serving as secretary and as an overseer. His petition showed that the Company's own officers also held land on lease as private tenants, placing them on both sides of the relationship between the Council and the island's landholders.
68	61	22 October At a Consultation held on Monday the 22 day of October 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 15th October 1764. The Storekeeper brought in his account of Waste upon the Goods for the Year ending the 30th Septr last He declaring the same to be real and unavoidable We ordered it to be entered which is as follows viz Profit and Loss Dr by Leakage Wastage short weight and measure by drawing by the Gallon &c and by weighing by the Pound &c in the Year ending the 30th Septr 1764 viz Cordage 2 . 1 . 4¼ 4 . 10 . 9 Glass Ware viz 1 . 2 2 Tumblers 4 . 8 8 Wine Glasses 2 . 11½ 11 Sqrs 6 by 8 10¾ 17 do 8 by 10 6 . 8 8 do 10 by 12 1 . 5 . 9 Leather 13¾ lb 16 . 9 Paint viz 3½ Olive 6 . 2 2 Sky Blue 3 . 8½ 2½ Verdigrease 9 . 9 2¼ Chocolate Color 1 . 4 12½ W Lead mixed 4 . 10½ 23¼ Ven Red mixed 11 1 . 16 . 10 Pease ¼ Bushel 6 . 6 Carried over £ 8 . 16 . 6	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 22 October 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present as members. The minutes of the previous meeting, held on 15 October 1764, were read, approved and signed. The storekeeper presented his account of the waste suffered on the Company's stores during the year ending 30 September 1764. He declared that the losses were genuine and could not have been avoided. The Council ordered the account to be entered in the record. It charged to profit and loss the goods lost through leakage, wastage and short weight or measure, arising from drawing liquids off by the gallon and weighing goods out by the pound. Cordage, 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb, £4 10s 9d Glass: 2 tumblers, £0 1s 2d 8 wine glasses, £0 4s 8d 11 window panes 6 by 8 inches, £0 2s 11½d 17 window panes 8 by 10 inches, £0 10s 8¾d 8 window panes 10 by 12 inches, £0 6s 8d Glass total, £1 5s 9d Sole leather, 18¾ lb, £0 16s 9d Paint: 3½ lb of olive colour, £0 6s 2d 2 lb of sky blue, £0 3s 8½d 2⅞ lb of verdigris, £0 9s 9d 2¼ lb of chocolate colour, £0 1s 4d 12½ lb of mixed white lead, £0 4s 10½d 23¾ lb of mixed Venetian red, £0 11s 0d Paint total, £1 16s 10d Pease, ¼ bushel, £0 6s 6d Carried forward, £8 16s 6d **Interpretations** The storekeeper received goods in bulk, by the cask, bale or hundredweight, but issued and sold them in small quantities by the gallon, yard or pound. Every time a cask was broached or a coil of rope cut, a little was lost to spillage, evaporation, trimming or the turn of the scale. Over a year these small losses mounted into a real shortfall between the books and the shelves. The annual waste account recognised that shrinkage and wrote it off, so that the storekeeper was not held personally liable for goods he had never been able to account for. The storekeeper's formal declaration that the losses were genuine and unavoidable carried the weight of the account. Once the Council accepted it and charged the sum to profit and loss, the loss passed from James Powell to the Company. Without such a declaration, any gap found in the annual inventory

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			would have stood against him as a debt. Broken glass, dried-out paint and worn cordage were the typical losses of a storehouse in a damp climate, where goods deteriorated steadily while waiting for use.
69	62	22 October Brought over 8 . 16 . 6 Salt viz 9 Bushels Engh 1 . 8 . 6 2 . 23 Cape Salt 4 . 11 2 . 13 . 5 Sope 2 . 2 . 16 9 . 9 . 2 Rice and Paddy viz 4 . 3 Rice 1 . 19 14 Paddy 2 . 10 . 9 4 . 9 . 9 Sugar and Candy viz 3 . 1 . 26 Candy 8 . 2 . 6 1 . 1 . 20 Sugar 2 . 6 . 8 10 . 9 . 2 Coffee 11lb 9 . 2 Pepper 9½ 4 . 9 Arrack 47⅝ Galls 7 . 11 . 9 China Ware viz 1 Soop Dish 6 . 7½ 6 Blue & White Soup Plates 4 . 10½ 3 Tea Pots 2 2 Sauce Boats 9½ 8 Bowls 2 . 2½ 16 . 6 £ 45 . 2 . 2 E Excepted signed Js Powell Storekeepr Messrs Richard Bagley and Orlando Bagley Senr this day presented the following Petitions viz	The storekeeper's waste account for the year ending 30 September 1764 continued with provisions, drink and porcelain. Brought forward, £8 16s 6d Salt: 9 bushels of English salt, £1 8s 6d Cape salt, 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 23 lb, £0 4s 11d Salt total, £1 13s 5d Soap, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 lb, £9 9s 2d Rice and paddy: Rice, 4 hundredweight 3 quarters 0 lb, £1 19s 0d Paddy, 14 hundredweight 0 quarters 0 lb, £2 10s 9d Rice and paddy total, £4 9s 9d Sugar and sugar candy: Sugar candy, 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 26 lb, £8 2s 6d Sugar, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 20 lb, £2 6s 8d Sugar and sugar candy total, £10 9s 2d Coffee, 11 lb, £0 9s 2d Pepper, 9½ lb, £0 4s 9d Arrack, 47⅝ gallons, £7 11s 9d Porcelain: 1 soup dish, £0 6s 7½d 6 blue and white soup plates, £0 4s 10½d 3 teapots, £0 2s 0d 2 sauce boats, £0 0s 9½d 3 bowls, £0 2s 2½d Porcelain total, £0 16s 6d Total, £45 2s 2d James Powell signed the account as storekeeper, reserving the right to correct any errors. Richard Bagley and Orlando Bagley senior then presented petitions to the Council, as set out below. **Interpretations** The year's waste came to £45 2s 2d, set against stores valued at almost £8,000 in the inventory. The loss amounted to little more than half of one per cent of the stock, a modest figure for a warehouse handling perishable goods in a damp climate over a full year. The Council's acceptance of so small a sum suggested confidence in the storekeeper's management. The largest losses fell on goods that were naturally prone to shrink. Arrack evaporated through the wood of its casks and spilled each time it was drawn off by the gallon. Sugar candy and sugar absorbed moisture and clumped, or were lost in breaking the lumps for sale. Soap dried out and lost weight between delivery and issue, so that the same bar weighed less when sold than when first received.
70	63	1764 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Richard Bagley Sheweth That your Petitioner hath lately purchased a piece of Land of the Executors of Mr Samuel Dovelon deceased He therefore requests your Worship & Council will be pleased to give him leave to have the Bill of sale registered. And your Petitioner will ever pray signed Richd Bagley 22 Octr 1764. Granted To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &ca Council The humble Petition of Orlando Bagley	Richard Bagley petitioned Governor Skottowe and the Council on 22 October 1764. He had recently bought a piece of land from the executors of Samuel W[...]ton, who had died. Bagley asked for permission to have the bill of sale entered in the island's register. The Council granted his request. Orlando Bagley presented a similar petition to the Governor and Council on the same day. He had recently bought a piece of land from the executors of Thomas Sh[...], who had also died, and asked leave to register the bill of sale. The Council granted this request as well. **Interpretations** Land on St Helena was held from the Company, which owned the whole island and let it out to the inhabitants. A sale between two private parties therefore required the Council's consent before it could take effect. Registering the bill of sale placed the transfer on the official record, fixing who now held the

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		Shewelth That your Petitioner hath lately purchased a piece of Land of the Executors of Mr Thomas Sharpe deceased he therefore requests your Worship and Council will be pleased to give him leave to have the Bill of Sale for same Registered. And your Petitioner will ever pray 22 October 1764 signed Orlando Bagley Granted **Margin Notes:** [...]	land and who would answer for its rent and obligations. For the buyer, registration gave security of title against any later dispute from the seller's heirs or creditors. For the Company, it kept an accurate account of every holding and prevented land from changing hands without its knowledge. Both purchases came from the estates of men who had died, sold by executors winding up their affairs. Land on so small an island rarely came on the market except through death or departure, when heirs or executors needed cash to settle debts or divide an estate among several claimants. Two members of the Bagley family buying in this way on the same day pointed to a household using such opportunities to build up its holdings, much as the Bazett family had spread across the island's offices.
71	64	22 October There wanting 119 Shirts & 50 Prs Stockings to compleat the Garrisons Cloathing, We directed the Paymaster to pay them for each Shirt 4 . 7¼ and each pr of Stockings two Shillings & ten pence being Invoice price amounting to £34 . 9 . 6 John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th day of October 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 22 Octr 1764 The Accountant Reports that the Honorable Companys Books of Accounts are balanced to the 30th September last We ordered them to be Copied as fast as possible We having viewed the Ground petitioned for by the several Inhabitants in Consultation of the 1st instant and finding the same to be of no sort of Service to the Honorable Company but would be of great utility to the Petitioners as it lies directly behind their respective Houses the Yards to which being very small and as part of the said Ground have already been let to two of the Inhabitants who have Houses on the same side of the Street We for these Reasons agreed to grant the aforesaid Petitioners Leases for the said Ground at the Yearly Rent of five pounds according to the following Proportions viz Mr Matthew Wrling 1 . 4 . 2 Mr James Greentree 1 . 3 Mr Jos Boveton 15 . 3 Mr Fras Wrangham 14 . 4 Mr Richd Bagley 13 . 2 Mrs Martha Scott 12 . 5 £ 6	The garrison still lacked 119 shirts and 50 pairs of stockings to complete its clothing issue. The Council directed the paymaster to pay the soldiers in cash instead, at 4s 7¼d for each shirt and 2s 10d for each pair of stockings. These rates matched the invoice price of the goods, and the payment came to £34 9s 6d in all. John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met again at the Castle on Monday 29 October 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 22 October 1764 were read, approved and signed. The accountant reported that the Company's books had been balanced up to 30 September 1764. The Council ordered fair copies to be made as quickly as possible. At the meeting of 1 October 1764, several inhabitants had asked for leases of a strip of ground lying behind their houses. The Council had since inspected it. The land served no purpose for the Company but would be of real value to the petitioners, whose own yards were very small. Part of the same ground had already been let to two inhabitants whose houses stood on the same side of the street. For these reasons the Council agreed to grant the petitioners leases at a combined yearly rent of £5, shared as follows. Matthew Warling, £1 4s 2d James Greentree, £1 0s 3d [...] Broxton, £0 15s 3d Francis Wrangham, £0 14s 4d Richard Bagley, £0 13s 2d Martha Scott, £0 12s 5d Total, £5 0s 0d **Interpretations** The leases turned idle Company ground into a small but steady source of rent. The Council based its decision on three grounds: the land was useless to the Company, it would greatly benefit the householders, and a precedent already existed in the two leases granted earlier on the same street. Dividing the rent in unequal shares suggested that each tenant paid according to the width of ground behind his own house. Matthew Warling, a sitting member of the Council, appeared first among the new tenants. He thus took part in granting a lease to himself. On an island governed by so small a body, councillors were inevitably also landholders and neighbours, and the Company's rules did little to separate their private interests from their public duties. Balancing the books to 30 September closed the Company's accounts for the year. The fair copies ordered by the Council would go home to the Court in London on the next ship, allowing the directors to examine every figure recorded in the preceding consultations.

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72	65	1764 We having likewise viewed the Land Mr Matthew Bazett requested to exchange in Consultation of the 15th instant for some of the Honorable Companys waste ground adjoining to his Land at the Woody Ridge and finding that piece Adjacent to the Long Wood containing Six Acres to be more Convenient to the Honorable Company We agreed to grant him a Lease for the same Quantity at Woody Ridge for which he is to pay the usual Rent of 8d pr Acre, and all over and above the said Six Acres of the said Waste Land which he desires to have for the Convenience of fencing, he is to pay one shilling per Acre it being almost entirely barren John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th day of November 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 29th October 1764. Thursday the 1st died Elizth Daughter of John and Mary Price Mr John Alexander this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Govr &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of John Alexander Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease for fifteen acres	The Council had also inspected the land that Matthew Bazett, at the meeting of 15 October 1764, had asked to exchange for Company waste ground next to his holding at the Woody Ridge. It found that his six acres beside Longwood would serve the Company better in its own hands. The Council therefore agreed to lease him an equal area at the Woody Ridge at the usual rent of 8s an acre. Bazett also wanted additional waste land there so that he could run his fences conveniently. For any ground beyond the six acres, he would pay only 1s an acre, since that land was almost wholly barren. John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 5 November 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 29 October 1764 were read, approved and signed. Elizabeth Price, daughter of John and Mary Price, died on Thursday 1 November 1764. John Alexander presented a petition to the Governor and Council at the same meeting. He stated that he held a lease of 15 acres. **Interpretations** The exchange took back the six acres beside Longwood, ending the trespass between the Company's cattle and Bazett's holding. With that land restored to the pasture, the Company could manage Longwood as a single block without a tenant's ground cutting into it. Bazett, in turn, received land of the same size away from the herds, where he could farm without constant damage. The consultations served as the island's record of births and deaths as well as of government business. Elizabeth Price was probably the daughter of John Price, the marshal and gaoler named in the pay list earlier in the month. Entering her death in the Council's minutes preserved it in the only official register the island kept, which the Court in London would receive with the rest of the record.
73	66	5 November Acres of Land lying in the West Division of this 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 5th Novr 1764. John Alexander Granted. John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 12 day of November 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 5th of November 1764. The Plantation Gunners & Stewards Accounts for the Month of October last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz	John Alexander's lease of 15 acres in the western division of the island had run out, and he asked Governor Skottowe and the Council to renew it. He signed his petition on 5 November 1764. The Council granted the renewal, and John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 12 November 1764, with the Governor presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 5 November 1764 were read, approved and signed. The accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the steward for October 1764 were presented at the same meeting. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as set out below. **Interpretations** Leases of Company land ran for fixed terms rather than in perpetuity. When a term expired, the land returned to the Company's hands, and the tenant had to apply to the Council for a fresh grant. This gave the Council a regular opportunity to review each holding, to adjust rents and to refuse renewal to tenants who had neglected their land or fallen foul of the government. Alexander's request, granted without condition, suggested that he had kept his holding in good order. The island was divided into districts for purposes of administration, and the western division was one of these. Naming the division in a lease fixed the holding's location for the register, alongside the acreage, in the absence of any detailed survey. The monthly accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the steward placed each department's spending under the Council's regular scrutiny. Examining them every month, rather than only at the

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			quarter's end, allowed the councillors to catch waste or error while it could still be corrected.
74	67	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of October 1764 viz Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Horses, Asses, Poultry [...], Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, He Asses, She Asses, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese Remaining: [...] 31, Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 69, Yearlings 36, Heifers 23, Steers 48, Oxen 21, Total 291, Ewes 330, Wethers 110, Lambs 185, Rams 7, Total 632, Ewes 169, Wethers 48, Kids 77, Rams 9, Total 303, Sows 2, Shoats 4, Pigs 3, Boars 1, Total 10, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 56, Ducks 9, Turkeys 34, Geese 15 Encreased: [...] 0, Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 6, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 6, Rams 0, Total 6, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 24, Ducks 40, Turkeys 0, Geese 4 Total: [...] 0, Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 75, Yearlings 36, Heifers 23, Steers 48, Oxen 21, Total 297, Ewes 330, Wethers 110, Lambs 185, Rams 7, Total 632, Ewes 169, Wethers 48, Kids 83, Rams 9, Total 309, Sows 2, Shoats 4, Pigs 3, Boars 1, Total 10, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 80, Ducks 49, Turkeys 34, Geese 19 Killed: [...] 0, Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 2, Wethers 5, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 2, Wethers 4, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 7, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 7, Ducks 1, Turkeys 1, Geese 3 Died: [...] 0, Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 4, Wethers 2, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 7, Ewes 4, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 2, Boars 0, Total 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 3, Ducks 0, Turkeys 4, Geese 0 Remaining: [...] 31, Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 75, Yearlings 36, Heifers 22, Steers 48, Oxen 21, Total 296, Ewes 324, Wethers 103, Lambs 183, Rams 7, Total 617, Ewes 163, Wethers 44, Kids 81, Rams 9, Total 297, Sows 2, Shoats 3, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 7, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 70, Ducks 49, Turkeys 29, Geese 16 1 Man dead named Islington. Good Yams expended for Slaves 25,000 Refuse for Stock 4,000 29,000 Errors Excepted Matthew Bazett **Margin Notes:** 1764	The monthly account of the Company's livestock for October 1764 recorded the stock at the start of the month, the increase, the animals killed and those that died, and the number remaining. [...] at start of month, 31 [...] remaining, 31 Neat cattle: Bulls: 4 at start, 0 increase, 4 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 4 remaining Cows: 90 at start, 0 increase, 90 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 90 remaining Calves: 69 at start, 6 increase, 75 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 75 remaining Yearlings: 36 at start, 0 increase, 36 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 36 remaining Heifers: 23 at start, 0 increase, 23 total, 1 killed, 0 died, 22 remaining Steers: 48 at start, 0 increase, 48 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 48 remaining Oxen: 21 at start, 0 increase, 21 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 21 remaining Neat cattle in all: 291 at start, 6 increase, 297 total, 1 killed, 0 died, 296 remaining Sheep: Ewes: 330 at start, 0 increase, 330 total, 2 killed, 4 died, 324 remaining Wethers: 110 at start, 0 increase, 110 total, 5 killed, 2 died, 103 remaining Lambs: 185 at start, 0 increase, 185 total, 1 killed, 1 died, 183 remaining Rams: 7 at start, 0 increase, 7 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 7 remaining Sheep in all: 632 at start, 0 increase, 632 total, 8 killed, 7 died, 617 remaining Goats: Nanny goats: 169 at start, 0 increase, 169 total, 2 killed, 4 died, 163 remaining Wether goats: 48 at start, 0 increase, 48 total, 4 killed, 0 died, 44 remaining Kids: 77 at start, 6 increase, 83 total, 2 killed, 0 died, 81 remaining Billy goats: 9 at start, 0 increase, 9 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 9 remaining Goats in all: 303 at start, 6 increase, 309 total, 7 killed, 4 died, 297 remaining Hogs: Sows: 2 at start, 0 increase, 2 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 2 remaining Shoats: 4 at start, 0 increase, 4 total, 1 killed, 0 died, 3 remaining Pigs: 3 at start, 0 increase, 3 total, 0 killed, 2 died, 1 remaining Boars: 1 at start, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 remaining Hogs in all: 10 at start, 0 increase, 10 total, 1 killed, 2 died, 7 remaining Horses: Horses: 8 at start, 0 increase, 8 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 8 remaining Mares: 6 at start, 0 increase, 6 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 6 remaining Horses in all: 14 at start, 0 increase, 14 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 14 remaining Asses: Male asses: 1 at start, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 remaining Female asses: 1 at start, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 remaining Asses in all: 2 at start, 0 increase, 2 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 2 remaining Poultry: Fowls: 56 at start, 24 increase, 80 total, 7 killed, 3 died, 70 remaining

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			Ducks: 9 at start, 40 increase, 49 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 49 remaining Turkeys: 34 at start, 0 increase, 34 total, 1 killed, 4 died, 29 remaining Geese: 15 at start, 4 increase, 19 total, 3 killed, 0 died, 16 remaining Yams: Good yams used for slaves, 25,000 Poor yams used for livestock, 4,000 Yams in all, 29,000 One man named Islington died during the month. Matthew Bazett signed the account, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The first column carried no heading, so the identity of its 31 units could not be read from the page. The death of Islington, recorded beneath the table, suggests that it counted the slaves working on the Company's plantation. Islington was probably a slave, since the Company commonly gave its slaves English place names in place of their own. Yams formed the staple food of the Company's slaves, and the plantation grew them in vast numbers. The 25,000 good yams issued in a single month showed how heavily the slaves' diet depended on this one crop, set beside the salt meat and rice recorded in the quarterly stores accounts. Yams too small or damaged for people went to the livestock, so that nothing grown on the plantation was wasted. Neat cattle was the standard term for bovine livestock, as distinct from sheep, goats or horses. Wethers were castrated males, kept for meat and wool rather than breeding, and shoats were young pigs just weaned. The herd of nearly 300 cattle and more than 600 sheep supplied fresh meat for the Castle table, the garrison and the Company's ships. The monthly count, signed by Bazett as overseer, held him to account for every animal, so that any beast killed or lost had to be shown in the return.
75	68	12 November Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of October 1764 viz Guns Fired, lb 4, lb 3, lb 2, Powder Expended lb oz 25th Fired for the Kings Accession to the Throne: Guns Fired 21, lb 4 2, lb 3 1, lb 2 12, Powder Expended lb oz 23.8 Powder for priming: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, Powder Expended lb oz 3.8 do Fired with small Arms for do: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, Powder Expended lb oz 18 do for Replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, Powder Expended lb oz 2.8 do for the Funeral of Samuel Eagle: Guns Fired 0, lb 4 0, lb 3 0, lb 2 0, Powder Expended lb oz 2.4 Total: Guns Fired 21, lb 4 2, lb 3 1, lb 2 12, Powder Expended lb oz 49.12 Paper for making Cannon Cartridges 4 Tallow for the use of the L Boat Pillory & Carts at the Pl House 12 Sheep Skins for Coating Sponges at Rupperts 5 Trunk Nails for Coat & repairg Sponges at do 357 Sponge Staves for the use of the Long Boat 2 do for Staves for the Officers Spontoons 2 do for the use of the Company 3 Tompeons broke at the Main Fort 1 signed	The artillery stores used during October 1764 were set out in a return with columns for the number of guns fired, the guns fired by weight of shot, and the powder spent. 25 October, royal salute for the King's accession to the throne: 21 guns fired, of which 2 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder and 18 two-pounders, 23 lb 8 oz of powder Priming powder for the salute: 0 guns fired, 3 lb 8 oz of powder Small-arms fire for the salute: 0 guns fired, 18 lb 0 oz of powder Refilling the cartridges at the main guard: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 8 oz of powder Funeral of Samuel Eagle: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 4 oz of powder Total: 21 guns fired, of which 2 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder and 18 two-pounders, 49 lb 12 oz of powder Paper for making cannon cartridges, 4 [...] Tallow for the longboat, pulley and carts at the [...] House, 12 lb Sheepskins for covering sponges at Rupert's, 6 Trunk nails for covering and repairing sponges at Rupert's, 357 Sponge staves for the longboat, 2 Staves for the officers' spontoons, 2 Staves for the use of the company, 3 Tompions broken at the main fort, 1 Thomas Hall signed the return. The provisions used at the Company's table in October 1764 followed. 10 bottles of port wine, £0 15s 0d 20 bottles of Lisbon wine, £1 10s 0d 8 bottles of mountain wine, £0 12s 0d 17 bottles of beer, £0 4s 5¾d

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		Thos Hall Sundrys Expended at the Honble Companys Table in the Month of October 1764 viz 10 Bottles Port Wine 15 20 do Lisbon 1 . 10 8 do Mountain 12 17 do Beer 4 . 5¾ 6 do Arrack 3 . 10 . 10½ Carried Over £ 6 . 12 . 3¾	6 bottles of arrack, sum not entered Subtotal, £3 10s 10½d Carried forward, £6 12s 3¾d **Interpretations** The garrison fired a royal salute of 21 guns on 25 October to mark the anniversary of George III's accession, which had taken place on that date in 1760. Eighteen of the 21 guns were two-pounders, the smallest pieces on the island, with only three heavier guns among them. A salute counted by the number of reports rather than their weight, so firing mostly light guns achieved the full ceremonial effect while using far less powder. The whole salute, with its priming and the accompanying small-arms volleys, consumed 45 lb 8 oz of powder, most of the month's total. Samuel Eagle, whose funeral used 2 lb 4 oz of powder, appeared as a sentinel in the pay list for the quarter just ended. Soldiers were buried with a volley of musketry fired over the grave, the powder for which the artillery charged to its monthly return like any other expenditure. Several items belonged to the working of the guns. A sponge was a wooden head on a long staff, covered with sheepskin, used to swab out the bore after each shot and extinguish any smouldering remains before reloading. Trunk nails, with broad heads, fixed the sheepskin to the sponge head. A tompion was a wooden plug fitted into the muzzle to keep out rain, spray and dirt when the gun was not in use. A spontoon was a short pike carried by infantry officers as a mark of rank and a weapon for directing their men. Rupert's was the battery guarding Rupert's Valley, east of Jamestown. The wines at the Company's table were those stocked in the store, with port, Lisbon and mountain wine each costing about 1s 6d a bottle. The monthly return let the Council check the table's consumption against the diet expenses charged in the quarterly accounts.
76	69	1764 Brought over £ 6 . 12 . 3¾ 256lb Flour 1 . 12 153¼ Beef 3 . 5 . 11¼ 36 Porke 18 11 P Salt Pork 1 . 7 . 11½ 33lb Goat 11 2 Kids 10 60lb Candy 1 193¾lb Mutton 4 . 3 . 1¾ 1 Lamb 10 3 Geese 15 1 Turkey 5 7 Fowls 10 . 6 27½lb Butter 1 . 7 . 6 £ 23 . 8 . 4¼ We this day Executed the Renewal of a Lease to Mr John Alexander for fifteen Acres of Land lying in the West Division of this Island at five shillings pr Acre	The Company's table account for October 1764 continued with meat, poultry and other provisions. Brought forward, £6 12s 3¾d Flour, 256 lb, £1 12s 0d Beef, 153¼ lb, £3 5s 11¼d Pork, 36 lb, £0 18s 0d Salt pork, 11 pieces, £1 7s 11½d Goat, 33 lb, £0 11s 0d Kids, 2, £0 10s 0d Sugar candy, 60 lb, £1 0s 0d Mutton, 193¾ lb, £4 3s 1¾d Lamb, 1, £0 10s 0d Geese, 3, £0 15s 0d Turkey, 1, £0 5s 0d Fowls, 7, £0 10s 6d Butter, 27½ lb, £1 7s 6d Total, £23 8s 4¼d The Council executed the renewal of John Alexander's lease on the same day, covering 15 acres in the western division of the island at a rent of 5s an acre. John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The table account matched the livestock return for the same month animal for animal. The plantation recorded two kids, one lamb, three geese, one turkey and seven fowls killed in October, and exactly those numbers appeared here on the Company's table. The heifer killed that month probably supplied the 153¼ lb of beef, and the eight sheep the mutton. Setting the two accounts side by side allowed the Council to confirm that every animal slaughtered on the Company's land went to its own table, and that none had been diverted elsewhere. The fresh meat was charged at a price, even though it came from the Company's own herds. Valuing it in

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		John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	this way let the diet expenses show the true cost of the public table, and prevented the plantation's stock from being consumed without appearing in the accounts. Alexander's renewed lease carried a rent of 5s an acre, below the standard 8s charged for Bazett's land at the Woody Ridge. Rents thus varied between districts, probably reflecting differences in soil, water and access across the island.
77	70	19 November At a Consultation held on Monday the 19th day of November 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 12 November 1764 We this day Executed the six following Leases viz One to Matthew Wrling Esqr for a piece of Ground contg Thirty seven feet in breadth and one hundred and eigth feet in Depth lying in James's Valley at 1 . 4 . 2 pr Annum One to Mr Francis Wrangham for a piece of Ground containing 22 feet in breadth and 101 feet in Depth lying in James's Valley at 14 . 4 pr Annum One to Mrs Martha Scott for a piece of Ground containing 19 feet in breadth and 110 feet in Depth lying in James's Valley at 12 . 5 pr Annum One to Mr Jonathan Doveton for a piece of Ground containing 24 feet in breadth and 107 feet in Depth lying in James's Valley at 15 . 3 pr Annum One to Mr Richard Bagley for a piece of Ground containing 20 feet in breadth and 110 feet in Depth lying in James's Valley at 13 . 2 pr Annum And One to Mr James Greentree for a piece of Ground containing 30 feet in breadth and 95 feet in Depth lying James's Valley at £1 . 3 pr Annum Counted and examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of October last which is as follows viz **Margin Notes:** [...]	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 19 November 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 12 November 1764 were read, approved and signed. The Council executed leases of ground in James's Valley to the following tenants at the yearly rents shown. Matthew Warling, ground 37 feet wide and 108 feet deep, £1 4s 2d a year Francis Wrangham, ground 22 feet wide and 101 feet deep, £0 14s 4d a year Martha Scott, ground 19 feet wide and 110 feet deep, £0 12s 5d a year Jonathan Doveton, ground 24 feet wide and 107 feet deep, £0 15s 3d a year Richard Bagley, ground 20 feet wide and 110 feet deep, £0 13s 2d a year James Greentree, ground 30 feet wide and 95 feet deep, £1 0s 3d a year The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for October 1764, as set out below. **Interpretations** The measurements confirmed how the rents had been divided when the Council agreed the grant on 29 October 1764. Each tenant paid close to 8d a year for every foot of frontage, whatever the depth of the plot. Warling's 37 feet cost £1 4s 2d, while Martha Scott's 19 feet cost 12s 5d, almost exactly in proportion. Charging by width suited a strip of ground lying behind a row of houses, where each plot ran back from its owner's own yard and the frontage fixed its share of the whole. James's Valley was the narrow steep-sided valley in which Jamestown stood, the island's only town. Space there was scarce, hemmed in by cliffs on either side, which explained why householders sought even a narrow strip of unused ground behind their homes. The leases turned that scarcity into rent for the Company while giving the townspeople room for yards, gardens or outbuildings they could not otherwise obtain.
78	71	Cash Dr 1764 Octr 1 To Balance remaining £ 6952 . 14 . 11½ 6952 . 14 . 11½ Per Contra Cr 1764 Octr 31 By Balance remaining viz In Specie 6412 . 19 . 11½ In Cash Notes of no use 539 . 15 6952 . 14 . 11½ John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 1764	The cash account for October 1764 showed the Company's money on the island at the start and end of the month. Cash, debtor: 1 October 1764, balance in hand, £6,952 14s 11½d Total, £6,952 14s 11½d Cash, creditor: 31 October 1764, balance in hand in coin, £6,412 19s 11½d 31 October 1764, balance in hand in unusable cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £6,952 14s 11½d John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The cash in hand did not change by a single penny during October. No money came in and none went out, so the balance at the end of the month stood exactly where it had at the start. The Company's payments and receipts were gathered into the quarterly accounts, when the paymaster drew funds for wages and the storekeeper paid in the proceeds of his sales. Between those dates the chest sat untouched, serving as a reserve rather than a working fund. The monthly

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			count still went ahead, confirming that the coin and notes remained intact under the councillors' own inspection.
79	72	26th November At a Consultation held on Monday the 26th Day of Novemr 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 19th November 1764 We this day Executed a Lease to Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice for a piece of Ground in James's Valley containing 60 feet in front and 95 feet in Depth at 15s pr Annum John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 26 November 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 19 November 1764 were read, approved and signed. The Council executed a lease to Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice for a piece of ground in James's Valley, 60 feet wide and 95 feet deep, at a yearly rent of 15s. John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** St Maurice's plot was far wider than any of those leased a week earlier, yet his rent worked out at only 3d a foot of frontage. The six householders granted ground on 19 November 1764 had each paid close to 8d a foot. The minute gave no reason for the difference, which probably reflected a less valuable site elsewhere in the valley rather than the strip lying directly behind the town's houses. St Maurice served both as a lieutenant of the First Company and as master at arms, drawing pay for each post. His lease added him to the growing number of the Company's own officers who also held its land as private tenants.
80	73	3 December At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d day of December 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling of Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the the 26th November Mr Isaac Knipe this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Govern &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Isaac Knipe Sheweth That your Petitioner hath three Leases Expired for twenty one and a half Acres of Land lying in the West Division of the said Island, your Petitioner therefore requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to Grant him a renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray 3 Decr 1764 signed Isaac Knipe Granted John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 3 December 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 26 November 1764 were read, approved and signed. Isaac Knipe presented a petition to the Governor and Council on the same day. Three of his leases, covering 21½ acres in the western division of the island, had expired. Knipe asked the Council to renew them. The Council granted his request, and John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Knipe held his 21½ acres under three separate leases rather than one. Holdings on the island were often built up piece by piece, as a tenant acquired neighbouring plots through fresh grants, purchase or inheritance, each carrying its own lease. That all three had run out together suggested they had been granted or renewed at the same time, allowing the Council to review the whole holding in a single decision.
81	74	10th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th Day of December 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed dated the 3d December 1764 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 viz Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 December 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 3 December 1764 were read, approved and signed. The accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the steward for November 1764 were presented at the same meeting. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows, beginning with the provisions used at the Company's table. 7 bottles of port wine, £0 10s 6d 12 bottles of Lisbon wine, £0 18s 0d 13 bottles of mountain wine, £0 19s 6d 6 bottles of beer, £0 1s 6d 60 bottles of arrack, £3 7s 6d

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		Table in November 1764 7 Bottles Port Wine 10 . 6 12 do Lisbon 18 13 do Mountain 19 . 6 6 do Beer 1 . 6 60 do Arrack 3 . 7 . 6 83½lb Beef 1 . 16 . 9½ 7 Ps Salt Porke 17 . 9¼ 150lb Mutton 3 . 2 . 6 34lb Goat 11 . 4 218lb Flour 1 . 7 . 3 33¾lb Butter 1 . 13 . 9 47 Candy 15 . 3 2 Turkeys 10 3 fowls 4 . 6 £ 16 . 16 . 6¾	Beef, 88½ lb, £1 16s 9½d Salt pork, 7 pieces, £0 17s 9½d Mutton, 150 lb, £3 2s 6d Goat, 34 lb, £0 11s 4d Flour, 218 lb, £1 7s 3d Butter, 53¾ lb, £1 13s 9d Sugar candy, 47 lb, £0 15s 8d Turkeys, 2, £0 10s 0d Fowls, 3, £0 4s 6d Total, £16 16s 6¾d **Interpretations** The table's costs fell from £23 8s 4¼d in October to £16 16s 6¾d in November, largely because far less fresh meat was served. Beef dropped from 153¼ lb to 88½ lb and mutton from 193¾ lb to 150 lb, while kids, lamb and geese disappeared from the list altogether. Arrack moved sharply the other way, rising from six bottles in October to 60 in November. The minute gave no reason for the change. A tenfold rise in spirits within a single month, at a table otherwise eating less, pointed to a particular occasion of entertaining rather than a shift in everyday habits. The unit prices held steady from one month to the next. Wine still cost 1s 6d a bottle, salt pork about 2s 6½d a piece and sugar candy 4d a pound. Fixed internal prices of this kind let the Council compare the table's spending month by month on quantities alone, so that any rise in cost could be traced directly to what was consumed.
82	75	Accot of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month November 1764 viz Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Horses, Asses, Poultry Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, He Asses, She Asses, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese Remd 1st: Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 75, Yearlings 36, Heifers 22, Steers 48, Oxen 21, Total 296, Ewes 324, Wethers 103, Lambs 183, Rams 7, Total 617, Ewes 163, Wethers 44, Kids 82, Rams 9, Total 298, Sows 2, Shoats 3, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 7, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 70, Ducks 49, Turkeys 29, Geese 16 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 4, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 4, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 12, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 79, Yearlings 36, Heifers 22, Steers 48, Oxen 21, Total 300, Ewes 324, Wethers 103, Lambs 183, Rams 7, Total 617, Ewes 163, Wethers 44, Kids 86, Rams 9, Total 302, Sows 2, Shoats 3, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 7, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 82, Ducks 49, Turkeys 29, Geese 16 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 1, Ewes 8, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 2, Wethers 0, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 3, Ducks 0, Turkeys 2, Geese 0 Dead: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 5, Wethers [...], Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 7, Ewes 2, Wethers [...], Kids 2, Rams 1, Total 5, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 1, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0 Remd 30th: Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 78, Yearlings 36, Heifers 22, Steers 48, Oxen 21, Total 299, Ewes 311, Wethers 103, Lambs 181, Rams 7, Total 602, Ewes 159, Wethers 44, Kids 83, Rams 8, Total 294, Sows 2, Shoats	The monthly account of the Company's livestock for November 1764 recorded the stock on 1 November, the increase, the animals killed and those that died, and the number remaining on 30 November. Neat cattle: Bulls: 4 on 1 November, 0 increase, 4 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 4 on 30 November Cows: 90 on 1 November, 0 increase, 90 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 90 on 30 November Calves: 75 on 1 November, 4 increase, 79 total, 1 killed, 0 died, 78 on 30 November Yearlings: 36 on 1 November, 0 increase, 36 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 36 on 30 November Heifers: 22 on 1 November, 0 increase, 22 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 22 on 30 November Steers: 48 on 1 November, 0 increase, 48 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 48 on 30 November Oxen: 21 on 1 November, 0 increase, 21 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 21 on 30 November Neat cattle in all: 296 on 1 November, 4 increase, 300 total, 1 killed, 0 died, 299 on 30 November Sheep: Ewes: 324 on 1 November, 0 increase, 324 total, 8 killed, 5 died, 311 on 30 November Wethers: 103 on 1 November, 0 increase, 103 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 103 on 30 November Lambs: 183 on 1 November, 0 increase, 183 total, 0 killed, 2 died, 181 on 30 November Rams: 7 on 1 November, 0 increase, 7 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 7 on 30 November Sheep in all: 617 on 1 November, 0 increase, 617 total, 8 killed, 7 died, 602 on 30 November Goats: Nanny goats: 163 on 1 November, 0 increase, 163 total, 2 killed, 2 died, 159 on 30 November Wether goats: 44 on 1 November, 0 increase, 44 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 44 on 30 November Kids: 82 on 1 November, 4 increase, 86 total, 1 killed, 2 died, 83 on 30 November Billy goats: 9 on 1 November, 0 increase, 9 total, 0 killed, 1 died, 8 on 30 November Goats in all: 298 on 1 November, 4 increase, 302 total, 3 killed, 5 died, 294 on 30 November Hogs:

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		3, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 7, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 78, Ducks 49, Turkeys 27, Geese 16 1 Man Dead Named Ceasar 1 Man Dead Named Cato 1 Girl Born Named Sarah Yams Expended for the Slaves 20,000lb do for the Stock 4.300 Total 24.300 signed Matthw Bazett Overseer **Margin Notes:** 1764	Sows: 2 on 1 November, 0 increase, 2 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 2 on 30 November Shoats: 3 on 1 November, 0 increase, 3 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 3 on 30 November Pigs: 1 on 1 November, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 on 30 November Boars: 1 on 1 November, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 on 30 November Hogs in all: 7 on 1 November, 0 increase, 7 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 7 on 30 November Horses: Horses: 8 on 1 November, 0 increase, 8 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 8 on 30 November Mares: 6 on 1 November, 0 increase, 6 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 6 on 30 November Horses in all: 14 on 1 November, 0 increase, 14 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 14 on 30 November Asses: Male asses: 1 on 1 November, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 on 30 November Female asses: 1 on 1 November, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 on 30 November Asses in all: 2 on 1 November, 0 increase, 2 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 2 on 30 November Poultry: Fowls: 70 on 1 November, 12 increase, 82 total, 3 killed, 1 died, 78 on 30 November Ducks: 49 on 1 November, 0 increase, 49 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 49 on 30 November Turkeys: 29 on 1 November, 0 increase, 29 total, 2 killed, 0 died, 27 on 30 November Geese: 16 on 1 November, 0 increase, 16 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 16 on 30 November Yams: Yams used for the slaves, 20,000 lb Yams used for the livestock, 4,300 lb Yams in all, 24,300 lb Two men named Caesar and Cato died during the month, and a girl named Sarah was born. Matthew Bazett signed the account as overseer. **Interpretations** The births and deaths of the Company's slaves were entered at the foot of the livestock return, in the same document that counted its cattle, sheep and poultry. Caesar, Cato and Sarah thus appeared in the record as part of the plantation's stock, reported by the overseer alongside the calves born and the ewes that died. The classical names Caesar and Cato were typical of those imposed by owners, who commonly replaced a slave's own name with one drawn from ancient history or the Bible. Recording each birth and death allowed the Council to track the Company's holding of slaves as it did any other property on the plantation. The flock of sheep declined steadily across the two months for which returns survived, from 632 at the start of October to 602 by the end of November. No lambs were added in either month, while ewes were both slaughtered and dying. The cattle herd, by contrast, grew through calving from 291 to 299. The table account for November matched the slaughter recorded here, with two turkeys and three fowls killed on the plantation and the same numbers served at the Company's table. The yams issued to the slaves fell from 25,000 in October to 20,000 lb in November. The return gave no reason for the reduction, which came in a month when two of the plantation's men died.
83	76	10th December Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of Novemr 1764 Powder for Replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard lb oz 1.8 Sheep Skins for Coating Sponges at Sandy Bay 3	The artillery stores used during November 1764 were set out in the gunner's return. Powder for refilling the cartridges at the main guard, 1 lb 8 oz Sheepskins for covering sponges at Sandy Bay, 3 Trunk nails for covering and repairing sponges at Sandy Bay, 250

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		Trunk Nails for Coating and repairing Sponges at do 250 Sheep Skins for Coating Sponges at Mundens Point 4 Trunk Nails for Coating and repairing Sponges at do 275 Sponge Staves for Repairing Sponges 3 do for the use of the Bakers 2 Tallow for the Use of the Boats and Carts lb 10 signed Thos Hall John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	Sheepskins for covering sponges at Munden's Point, 4 Trunk nails for covering and repairing sponges at Munden's Point, 275 Sponge staves for repairing sponges, 3 Sponge staves for the bakers, 2 Tallow for the boats and carts, 10 lb Thomas Hall signed the return, and John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Powder used in November fell to just 1 lb 8 oz, against 49 lb 12 oz in October. The difference arose almost entirely from the royal salute of 25 October and the funeral of Samuel Eagle, neither of which had any counterpart in November. With no ceremonies to mark, the only powder spent went to topping up the ready cartridges kept at the main guard. The sponges at the batteries were re-covered in turn from month to month. Rupert's had received new sheepskins in October, and Sandy Bay and Munden's Point followed in November. Working through the island's gun positions one or two at a time spread the labour and materials evenly, while ensuring that every battery's guns could be cleaned and reloaded safely when needed. Munden's Point was the battery on the eastern side of the entrance to James's Valley, covering the approach to the town. Two sponge staves went to the bakers, probably for use as long handles on the peels that slid loaves in and out of the oven. The soldiers who baked the garrison's bread thus drew on the artillery's stores for their tools, another instance of the garrison's materials serving the island's everyday needs.
84	77	17th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th Day of December 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed, dated the 10th December 1764 Saturday the 15th Died Mary Daughter of Frederick Merchant Publican Ordered the following Advertizement to be Published viz Island St Helena 17th December 1764 This is to give Notice to all the Inhabitants upon the said Island that they are hereby required to send into the Secretarys 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 1765 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 Secretarys 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	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 December 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 10 December 1764 were read, approved and signed. Mary, daughter of Frederick Merchant, publican, died on Saturday 15 December 1764. The Council ordered a public notice, dated 17 December 1764, to be issued to the inhabitants of St Helena. Every inhabitant was to deliver a signed and exact account of the cattle he held ready for slaughter in 1765 to the secretary's office by 1 January 1765. Each owner would then be expected to supply those cattle without fail. If any beast suffered an accident, the owner was to report it in writing to the secretary's office within three days. The Council would accept no excuse for failing to report, and an owner who defaulted would have to provide another animal in its place. The notice went on to give the inhabitants further instructions. **Interpretations** The notice set out the machinery by which the Company secured fresh beef from the island's private farmers. Each landholder declared in advance how many cattle he could supply for slaughter in the coming year, and that declaration became a binding obligation. The Company could then plan the meat it would need for the garrison, the Castle table and the ships calling at the island. Owners who lost a beast had only three days to report it, which prevented them from later claiming a loss they had never shown. The penalty of supplying a replacement animal placed the whole risk of a shortfall on the farmer rather than the Company. The rule turned the planters' herds into a public resource under the Council's control. A farmer could not sell or kill his registered cattle as he chose, since each animal counted toward the island's supply. On a small island dependent on passing ships for its trade, securing a steady flow of fresh meat was as vital to the Company's purpose as fortifying the coast.

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			Frederick Merchant was probably one of the licensed publicans whose houses paid the quarterly licence fees recorded in the September cash account.
85	78	17th December 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 We this day Executed the Renewal of a Lease to Mr Isaac Knipe for 21½ Acres of Land lying in the West Division of the Island St Helena at 5s pr Acre Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of November last which is as follows viz	The Council's notice of 17 December 1764 further required the inhabitants to report, by 1 January 1765, the number of horses they owned, listing each kind separately. They were also to report their flocks of sheep and state how many they intended to sell. The Council executed the renewal of Isaac Knipe's lease on the same day, covering 21½ acres in the western division of the island at a rent of 5s an acre. The Council then counted and examined the Company's cash for November 1764, as set out below. **Interpretations** Together with the return of cattle, the reports on horses and sheep gave the Council a full census of the island's private livestock. Knowing how many horses each inhabitant kept, and of what kind, told the Council what transport and mounts could be called upon in an emergency. The declared sheep for sale fixed the mutton available to the Company and to visiting ships over the coming year. The island's food supply and means of movement thus came under the Council's oversight, with every owner's holding a matter of public record. Knipe's rent of 5s an acre matched the rate set for John Alexander's renewed lease in the same western division on 12 November 1764. The two renewals confirmed a standard district rate for that part of the island, below the 8s an acre charged at the Woody Ridge.
86	79	Cash Dr 1764 Novr 1 To Balance remaining £ 6952 . 14 . 11½ Per Contra Cr 1764 Nov 30 By Balance remaining viz In Specie 6412 . 19 . 11½ In Cash Notes of no use 539 . 15 6952 . 14 . 11½ John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** 1764	The cash account for November 1764 showed the Company's money on the island at the start and end of the month. Cash, debtor: 1 November 1764, balance in hand, £6,952 14s 11½d Cash, creditor: 30 November 1764, balance in hand in coin, £6,412 19s 11½d 30 November 1764, balance in hand in unusable cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance in hand total, £6,952 14s 11½d John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account.
87	80	24th December At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th Day of December 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 17th December 1764 As a great Number of pieces of Money called Fanams have been very lately Introduced in this Island to the great prejudice of the Inhabitants by their going for much more than they do in any other of the Honorable Companys Settlements, and as all other Coins pass Current here for pretty near their real Value, We to prevent any further inconvenience from the Importation of the Fanams, came to a resolution to have them lowered in time, the Doubles to four pence and the Singles to two	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 December 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 17 December 1764 were read, approved and signed. A large quantity of the small coins known as fanams had recently entered circulation on the island, to the serious harm of the inhabitants. The fanams passed on St Helena at a far higher value than in any of the Company's other settlements, while every other coin in use changed hands at close to its true worth. To check any further inflow, the Council resolved to reduce their value at once, setting double fanams at 4d and single fanams at 2d. The Council judged that the loss from this reduction would be very small if made now. It therefore ordered a public notice to be issued. The notice, dated 24 December 1764, declared that double and single fanams had been brought to the island over a period of time, and that more were expected to arrive. They were passing as sixpences and threepences. **Interpretations** Fanams were small coins of low-grade gold or silver struck in southern India, where they served as everyday small change in the Company's Madras

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		pence each, as the loss at present will be put very small Therefore Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz Island St Helena 24th December 1764 Whereas a great Number of pieces of Money called Fanams both double and Single have been from time to time, and it is apprehended will be brought into this Island, and as they pass for six pences and three pences which is much more	settlements. Their value there amounted to only a few pence each. On St Helena, where coin was scarce and prices were reckoned in sterling, fanams had come to pass as sixpences and threepences, well above their worth. Ships arriving from India could therefore bring fanams bought cheaply in the east and spend them on the island at an inflated rate. Each such purchase transferred a hidden loss to the islanders who accepted the coins and would later find them worth less elsewhere. By fixing the value of a foreign coin, the Council exercised a power over the island's money that in England belonged to the Crown. The Company controlled the supply of small change through its stock of Irish halfpence, and now controlled the rating of foreign coin as well. This gave the Council the means to protect the island's currency from exploitation by the traffic of passing ships.
88	81	1764 more than their real Value to the great detriment of the Inhabitants, This is therefore to give Notice that in future the Double Fanams are to pass only for four pence, and the Single for two pence John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 31st Day of December 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 24th December 1764 We this day Levied the penalty of £5 for retailing Spirituous Liquors without Licence contrary to an Advertizement published the 9 July 1764 one half of which was paid to the Informer and the other into the Honorable Companys Cash as the Statute directs John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	The notice of 24 December 1764 declared that the fanams passing as sixpences and threepences were valued far above their real worth, to the serious loss of the inhabitants. It announced that double fanams would in future pass for only 4d and single fanams for 2d. John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 31 December 1764, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 24 December 1764 were read, approved and signed. The Council imposed a fine of £5 on the same day for selling spirits without a licence, in breach of a public notice issued on 9 July 1764. Half the fine went to the informer who had reported the offence and half into the Company's cash, as the regulation required. John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Paying half the fine to the informer turned the island's inhabitants into agents of enforcement. The Council had no police force to watch every house for unlicensed drink selling, so it relied on neighbours, customers and rivals to report offenders. A reward of £2 10s was a strong inducement, equal to well over half a sentinel's pay for a quarter. Licensed publicans had a particular motive to inform, since every unlicensed seller took trade from the houses that paid for their licences. The fine of £5 was heavy by the island's standards, exceeding a sentinel's entire wage for three months. Its weight reflected the Council's determination to keep the sale of spirits within the licensed houses it could supervise. Control over drink was central to order on an island crowded with soldiers, seamen and slaves, and the licensing system recorded earlier in the year depended on penalties severe enough to make illicit selling unprofitable.
89	82	7th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 7th day of January 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 31st December 1764 Friday the 4th Arrived the Duke of Albany's Boat at Banks's Nine oClock in the morning do do the Honorable Companys Ship Duke of Albany from Madrass and brought us the following Supplys viz Invoice of Ship Duke of Albany Bales	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 7 January 1765, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 31 December 1764 were read, approved and signed. The boat of the *Duke of Albany* reached Banks's at nine o'clock on the morning of Friday 4 January 1765. The Company's ship *Duke of Albany* arrived from Madras on the same day, bringing supplies for the island. The invoice of the *Duke of Albany*, reckoned in Madras pagodas, fanams and cash, listed the goods as follows. Bale 1, fine longcloth: 2 corges of fine longcloth at 66 pagodas a corge, 132 pagodas Washing of the fine longcloth at 1 pagoda 31 fanams a corge, 3 pagodas 26 fanams

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		1 One Bale containing Long Cloth fine 2 Co @ Pag 66 pr Co 132 Washing @ 1.31 pr Co 3 . 26 Packing 2 5 . 26 137 . 26 1 One Bale containing viz Long Cloth Super fine No 1 5 ps @ P 12 pr ps P 60 2 10 @ 10 100 3 20 @ 7½ 150 Co 1 . 15 P 310 Packing 2 312 Leagr 2 Batavia Arrack 2 Leagrs Containing 300 Galls @ 50 Pags pr Leagr 100 Bags 30 Rice 30 Bags pr [...] C 43 . 3 . 7 Tare of do @ 1lb pr bag 1 . 1 . 8 Nt C 42 . 2 . 37 is 296/18 Mercall @ P 48 pr Garce 24 . 29 . 60 Paddy 25 Bags contg 153 Mercall @ 9 Mercal pr Garce 17 Carrd Over Pags 591 . 19 . 60	Packing of the fine longcloth, 2 pagodas Washing and packing total, 5 pagodas 26 fanams Bale 1 total, 137 pagodas 26 fanams 0 cash Bale 2, superfine longcloth: 5 pieces of superfine longcloth no. 1 at 12 pagodas a piece, 60 pagodas 10 pieces of superfine longcloth no. 2 at 10 pagodas a piece, 100 pagodas 20 pieces of superfine longcloth no. 3 at 7½ pagodas a piece, 150 pagodas Superfine longcloth in all, 1 corge and 15 pieces, 310 pagodas Packing of the superfine longcloth, 2 pagodas Bale 2 total, 312 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers holding 300 gallons at 50 pagodas a leaguer, 100 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Rice: 30 bags of rice, gross weight 43 hundredweight 3 quarters 7 lb Tare of the 30 rice bags, 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 8 lb Net rice, 42 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 lb, equal to 296⅛ mercals at [...] pagodas a garce, 24 pagodas 29 fanams 60 cash Paddy, 25 bags holding 153 mercals at 9 mercals a pagoda, 17 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Carried forward, 591 pagodas 19 fanams 60 cash **Interpretations** The invoice was kept in the money of the Madras settlement, where the pagoda was the principal gold coin, divided into 36 fanams, each of which was divided into 80 cash. Its arithmetic showed that ratio plainly, since two lots of 1 pagoda 31 fanams made 3 pagodas 26 fanams. With the pagoda worth about 8s in sterling, a single fanam came to between 2d and 3d. The Council's ruling of 24 December 1764 that single fanams should pass for 2d therefore brought them close to their real value, removing the premium that had drawn them to the island. The arrival of a ship from Madras within days of that ruling showed how directly the island's currency was exposed to the eastern trade. Several of the measures belonged to Indian commerce. A corge was a bundle of 20 pieces of cloth, the standard unit in which Indian textiles were bought and sold. Longcloth was sent to be washed and bleached before packing, which added a separate charge to the invoice. A leaguer was a large cask of about 150 gallons, the measure used by the Dutch for the arrack distilled at Batavia on Java. The mercal was the Madras dry measure for grain, and the garce, a much larger unit, was used for pricing rice and paddy in bulk. Banks's was the battery and landing place on the coast north of Jamestown. The ship's boat came in there first, ahead of the vessel itself, which allowed the garrison to identify the arriving ship and send word to the Castle before it anchored in the road.
90	83	1765 Brought Over Pags 591 . 19 . 60 Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags for Rice and Paddy 55 at P 3 pr % P 1 . 23 . 32 Weighing Cooley for do 3 . 40 Tin Plate & Nails for Arrack 6 Boat hire 5 Boats @ 8 F pr Boat 1 . 4 Tarpaulin hire 4 Trips at 4 F pr Trip 16 Cooley hire for 4 do at 1 . 20 pr Trip 5 do for 2 Leagrs of Arrack	The invoice of goods sent from Madras on the *Duke of Albany* concluded with the charges incurred in shipping them. Brought forward, 591 pagodas 19 fanams 60 cash Shipping charges: 55 gunny bags for the rice and paddy at 3 pagodas a hundred, 1 pagoda 23 fanams 32 cash Hire of a porter to weigh the rice and paddy, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 40 cash Tin plate and nails for the arrack casks, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Hire of 5 boats at 8 fanams a boat, 1 pagoda 4 fanams 0 cash Hire of tarpaulins for 4 trips at 4 fanams a trip, 0 pagodas 16 fanams 0 cash Hire of porters for 4 trips at 1 fanam 20 cash a trip, 0 pagodas 5 fanams 0 cash

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		12 3 . 33 . 72 Pagodas 595 . 17 . 52 Errors Excepted signed Pr Richd Fairfield Accompt John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	Hire of porters for the 2 leaguers of arrack, 0 pagodas 12 fanams 0 cash Shipping charges total, 3 pagodas 33 fanams 72 cash Invoice total, 595 pagodas 17 fanams 52 cash Richard Fairfield, the accountant at Madras, signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The charges showed how goods reached a ship at Madras. The settlement had no harbour, and vessels lay at anchor well offshore beyond heavy surf. Every bale, bag and cask had to be carried out in local boats, hired by the load, with tarpaulins to keep the cargo dry on the crossing. Porters, known in the Company's records as coolies, weighed the grain and carried it to the boats. Adding these costs to the invoice meant the island paid the full price of the goods delivered aboard, not merely their purchase price in the market. Gunny bags were sacks of coarse jute cloth, the standard packing for rice and grain across India. The arithmetic of the charges confirmed the divisions of Madras money, since four porters' trips at 1 fanam 20 cash made exactly 5 fanams, showing 80 cash to the fanam. The whole invoice came to just over 595 pagodas, or roughly £238 in sterling, most of it for the two bales of longcloth.
91	84	14th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 14th day of January 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 7th January 1765. 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 viz Sundrys Expended at the Honble Compys Table in December 1764 viz 6 Bottles Port Wine £ 9 8 do Lisbon 12 13 do Mountain 19 . 6 8 do Beer 1 . 8 62 do Arrack 3 . 9 . 9 107¼ Beef 2 . 4 . 9¾ 2 Ps Salt Beef 5 . 7½ 8 do Pork 12 . 4 214lb Flour 1 . 6 . 9 186lb Mutton 3 . 17 . 6 10lb Goat 3 . 4 1 Kid 5 40lb Candy 13 . 4 34¼lb Butter 1 . 14 . 3¾ 3 Turkeys 15	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 14 January 1765, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 7 January 1765 were read, approved and signed. The accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the steward for December 1764 were presented at the same meeting. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as follows, beginning with the provisions used at the Company's table. 6 bottles of port wine, £0 9s 0d 8 bottles of Lisbon wine, £0 12s 0d 13 bottles of mountain wine, £0 19s 6d 8 bottles of beer, £0 1s 8d 62 bottles of arrack, £3 9s 9d Beef, 107¼ lb, £2 4s 9½d Salt beef, 2 pieces, £0 5s 7½d Salt pork, 8 pieces, £0 19s 4d Flour, 214 lb, £1 6s 9d Mutton, 186 lb, £3 17s 6d Goat, 10 lb, £0 3s 4d Kid, 1, £0 5s 0d Sugar candy, 40 lb, £0 13s 4d Butter, 34¼ lb, £1 14s 3¾d Turkeys, 3, £0 15s 0d Fowls, 4, £0 6s 0d Total, £17 15s 11d **Interpretations** Arrack stayed at a high level for a second month, with 62 bottles used in December against 60 in November and only six in October. The November rise therefore marked a lasting change in the table's drinking rather than a single occasion of entertainment. Wine consumption, by contrast, remained modest and steady. The record gave no reason for the shift, which came in the months when fanams from the east were circulating and a ship from Madras was expected. Butter cost 1s a pound in December, as it had in October, having dropped to 7½d in November. The table's other prices held constant across all three months, so the movement in butter stood out. Fresh butter depended on the island's dairies and the state of the pasture, and its price probably varied with the season more than salt meat, flour or wine shipped in from abroad.

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		4 Fowls 6 £ 17 . 15 . 11	
92	85	Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of December 1764 viz Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Horses, Asses, Poultry Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, He Asses, She Asses, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese Remaining 1st: Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 78, Yearlings 36, Heifers 22, Steers 48, Oxen 21, Total 299, Ewes 311, Wethers 103, Lambs 181, Rams 7, Total 602, Ewes 159, Wethers 44, Kids 83, Rams 8, Total 294, Sows 2, Shoats 3, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 7, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 78, Ducks 49, Turkeys 27, Geese 16 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 6, Rams 0, Total 6, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 4, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 90, Calves 80, Yearlings 36, Heifers 22, Steers 48, Oxen 21, Total 301, Ewes 311, Wethers 103, Lambs 187, Rams 7, Total 608, Ewes 159, Wethers 44, Kids 87, Rams 8, Total 298, Sows 2, Shoats 3, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 7, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 78, Ducks 49, Turkeys 27, Geese 16 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 3, Ewes 6, Wethers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 10, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 4, Ducks 0, Turkeys 3, Geese 0 Dead: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 1, Total 1, Ewes 1, Wethers 6, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Total 9, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 1, Geese 0 Remaining 31: Bulls 4, Cows 88, Calves 80, Yearlings 36, Heifers 22, Steers 48, Oxen 19, Total 297, Ewes 304, Wethers 93, Lambs 185, Rams 7, Total 589, Ewes 158, Wethers 43, Kids 86, Rams 8, Total 295, Sows 2, Shoats 3, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 7, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 74, Ducks 49, Turkeys 23, Geese 16 1 Boy dead named Jack Good Yam Expended for the Slaves 19,000lb do for the Stock 4,300 Total 23,300 signed Mattw Bazett Ovr **Margin Notes:** 1764	The monthly account of the Company's livestock for December 1764 recorded the stock on 1 December, the increase, the animals killed and those that died, and the number remaining on 31 December. Neat cattle: Bulls: 4 on 1 December, 0 increase, 4 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 4 on 31 December Cows: 90 on 1 December, 0 increase, 90 total, 2 killed, 0 died, 88 on 31 December Calves: 78 on 1 December, 2 increase, 80 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 80 on 31 December Yearlings: 36 on 1 December, 0 increase, 36 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 36 on 31 December Heifers: 22 on 1 December, 0 increase, 22 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 22 on 31 December Steers: 48 on 1 December, 0 increase, 48 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 48 on 31 December Oxen: 21 on 1 December, 0 increase, 21 total, 1 killed, 1 died, 19 on 31 December Neat cattle in all: 299 on 1 December, 2 increase, 301 total, 3 killed, 1 died, 297 on 31 December Sheep: Ewes: 311 on 1 December, 0 increase, 311 total, 6 killed, 1 died, 304 on 31 December Wethers: 103 on 1 December, 0 increase, 103 total, 4 killed, 6 died, 93 on 31 December Lambs: 181 on 1 December, 6 increase, 187 total, 0 killed, 2 died, 185 on 31 December Rams: 7 on 1 December, 0 increase, 7 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 7 on 31 December Sheep in all: 602 on 1 December, 6 increase, 608 total, 10 killed, 9 died, 589 on 31 December Goats: Nanny goats: 159 on 1 December, 0 increase, 159 total, 0 killed, 1 died, 158 on 31 December Wether goats: 44 on 1 December, 0 increase, 44 total, 1 killed, 0 died, 43 on 31 December Kids: 83 on 1 December, 4 increase, 87 total, 1 killed, 0 died, 86 on 31 December Billy goats: 8 on 1 December, 0 increase, 8 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 8 on 31 December Goats in all: 294 on 1 December, 4 increase, 298 total, 2 killed, 1 died, 295 on 31 December Hogs: Sows: 2 on 1 December, 0 increase, 2 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 2 on 31 December Shoats: 3 on 1 December, 0 increase, 3 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 3 on 31 December Pigs: 1 on 1 December, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 on 31 December Boars: 1 on 1 December, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 on 31 December Hogs in all: 7 on 1 December, 0 increase, 7 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 7 on 31 December Horses: Horses: 8 on 1 December, 0 increase, 8 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 8 on 31 December Mares: 6 on 1 December, 0 increase, 6 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 6 on 31 December Horses in all: 14 on 1 December, 0 increase, 14 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 14 on 31 December Asses: Male asses: 1 on 1 December, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 on 31 December Female asses: 1 on 1 December, 0 increase, 1 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 1 on 31 December Asses in all: 2 on 1 December, 0 increase, 2 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 2 on 31 December Poultry: Fowls: 78 on 1 December, 0 increase, 78 total, 4 killed, 0 died, 74 on 31 December

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			Ducks: 49 on 1 December, 0 increase, 49 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 49 on 31 December Turkeys: 27 on 1 December, 0 increase, 27 total, 3 killed, 1 died, 23 on 31 December Geese: 16 on 1 December, 0 increase, 16 total, 0 killed, 0 died, 16 on 31 December Yams: Good yams used for the slaves, 19,000 lb Yams used for the livestock, 4,300 lb Yams in all, 23,300 lb A boy named Jack died during the month. Matthew Bazett signed the account as overseer. **Interpretations** A death among the plantation's slaves appeared in every monthly return from October to December: Islington in October, Caesar and Cato in November and the boy Jack in December. Over the same months the yams issued to the slaves fell from 25,000 to 20,000 lb and then to 19,000 lb, while the allowance for the livestock stayed almost level. The returns gave no reason for the reduction, and no count of the slaves themselves appeared to show whether the ration per head had changed. The steady run of deaths set beside a shrinking food issue nonetheless marks these returns as evidence of the harsh conditions under which the Company's slaves lived and worked. The flock of sheep continued to decline, falling from 602 to 589 during December despite six new lambs, the first recorded in three months. Deaths rose sharply among the wethers, six of which died compared with none in November. December fell in early summer on St Helena, when pasture on the lower ground dried out, and losses among the flock probably reflected the season. The slaughter recorded here again matched the Company's table for December. Three turkeys, four fowls and one kid killed on the plantation appeared in the same numbers on the table account, and the wether goat killed supplied the 10 lb of goat served there. The ten sheep killed and the two cows and one ox slaughtered provided the mutton and beef.
93	86	14th January Artillery Stores Expended in ye Month of Decemr 1764 Powder Expended lb oz Powder Replenishing the Cartridges at the Main Guard: Powder Expended lb oz 2 do for Shooting Goats on Mundens point Hill: Powder Expended lb oz 12 do for Shooting Wild Cats in the Long Wood: Powder Expended lb oz 8 Total: Powder Expended lb oz 3.4 Tallow for the use of the Long Boat lb 10 Hand Spikes broke at the Main Fort 2 Paper for making Cannon Cartridges 2 Sponge Staves for the use of the Haymakers 6 Lead Shot for Shooting Goats on Mundens Point Hill lb 1 signed Thos Hall Mr Matthew Wrling reports that he has been on board the Ship Duke of Albany to muster her Company and enquire for deserters but found none Her Muster Roll is as follows viz Muster Roll of Ship Duke of Albany James Haldane Commandr Chas Dundas Chief Mate Thos Balmain 2d do Robt Snow 3d do George Forbes 4th do	The artillery stores used during December 1764 were set out in the gunner's return, with the powder spent shown in pounds and ounces. Powder for refilling the cartridges at the main guard, 2 lb 0 oz Powder for shooting goats on Munden's Point Hill, 0 lb 12 oz Powder for shooting wild cats at Longwood, 0 lb 8 oz Powder total, 3 lb 4 oz Tallow for the longboat, 10 lb Handspikes broken at the main fort, 2 Paper for making cannon cartridges, 2 quires Sponge staves for the haymakers, 6 Lead shot for shooting goats on Munden's Point Hill, 1 lb Thomas Hall signed the return. Matthew Warling reported that he had gone aboard the *Duke of Albany* to muster her crew and search for deserters, but had found none. He entered the ship's muster roll as follows. James Haldane, commander Charles Dundas, chief mate Thomas Balmain, second mate Robert Snow, third mate George Forbes, fourth mate Peter Oliphant, fifth mate John Wemyss, sixth mate George Chalmers, surgeon John Cranston, purser Robert Waldrum, boatswain Michael Fentoul, gunner John Penny, carpenter Patrick Badenach, surgeon's mate

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		Peter Oliphant 5th do John Wemyss 6th do Geo Chalmers Surgeon John Cranston Purser Robt Waldrum Boatswn Michl Hentoul Gunner John Penny Carpenter Jas Badenach Surgs Mte Thos Tuckett Ships Stewd Thos Murray Capts do John Evans Ships Cook Davd Price Capts do William Scott Cooper James Brown Junr Mr Thos Donaldson Robt Blake Alexr Callandar John Moncrieff Wm Carden John Haldane Charles Gordon James Craw Mids	Thomas Tuckit, ship's steward Thomas Murray, captain's steward John Evans, ship's cook David Price, captain's cook William Scott, cooper James Brown senior, midshipman Thomas Donaldson, midshipman Robert Blake, midshipman Alexander Callander, midshipman John Moncrieff, midshipman William Cowden, midshipman John Haldane, midshipman Charles Gordon, midshipman James Craw, midshipman **Interpretations** Every Company ship calling at St Helena was mustered by a member of the Council to check for deserters. Soldiers tired of garrison life, and slaves seeking escape, could try to hide aboard a homeward ship and leave the island for good. Taking the full muster roll on arrival gave the Council a record of who properly belonged to the crew. Any extra man found aboard before sailing could then be identified and brought ashore. The search mattered all the more on an island whose garrison depended on keeping its trained men. Powder and shot were issued to shoot goats on Munden's Point Hill and wild cats at Longwood. Goats released or escaped in earlier years had run wild on the island, stripping the native vegetation and eroding the steep slopes above the town. Wild cats preyed on poultry and on the birds the islanders kept. The artillery's powder thus served for controlling pests as well as for defence and ceremony. The officers of the *Duke of Albany* were largely Scots, among them Haldane, Dundas, Wemyss, Oliphant and Moncrieff. Scottish families supplied many of the commanders and officers in the Company's maritime service at this date, often placing relatives aboard, as with John Haldane serving as a midshipman under James Haldane.
94	87	1765 James Ward Peter Simmonce Midships Abr Mowatt Js Johnston Mark Dixon Qr Mast John Simpson Hugh Roe James Watson Botsws Mates Thos Hood Armourer Robt Brown Sailmaker Thos Holburn Poulterer Willm Pickers Butcher Edwd Powell Baker John Bateman Caulker Geo Anderson Carpenr 1 Mte Alexr Jones do 2 do John Savage Capt Cooke Mte Honble Wm Fitzwilliam Timothy Eden Clks Donl Walker Capt Mtes do Thos Esplin 2d do do Robt Williams Doctors do Wm Gladhill Gunners do Joseph Barking Btswains do Geo Legg Carpenters do Wm Henry Seaman Danl Mellish Seaman Danl Mellish Wm Sinclair James Bevey Wm Rule Anty Royal Chas Smith	The muster roll of the *Duke of Albany* continued with her remaining crew and her passengers. James Ward, midshipman Peter Lemmonee, midshipman Alexander McKenzie, quartermaster Jo Johnston, quartermaster Mark Dixon, quartermaster John Simpson, quartermaster Hugh Roe, boatswain's mate James Watson, boatswain's mate Thomas Lloyd, armourer Robert Brown, sailmaker Thomas Holburn, poulterer William Bickers, butcher Edward Powell, baker John Bateman, caulker George Anderson, carpenter's first mate Alexander Jones, carpenter's second mate John Savage, captain's cook's mate William Fitzwilliam, the Honourable, [...] Timothy Eden, [...] Donald Walker, first gunner's mate Thomas Esplin, second gunner's mate Robert Williams, cooper's mate William Gladhill, [...] Joseph Parking, [...] George Legg, carpenter's mate William Henry, seaman Daniel Mellish, seaman Daniel Mellish, seaman William Sinclair, seaman James Bewey, seaman William Rule, seaman Anthony Royal, seaman

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		Jas Creas Alexr Brown Jas Anderson Saml Louden Saml Sheade Dunc Robertson John Beveridge Jno Dick 1 Robt Mullion Wm Pitchell Jacob Brewer James Henderson Robt Sherbee Geo Mason Henry Wooselby Thoms Beath Anthy Mitchelson Geo Richardson Jos Churchhill Seaman Josh Gafney Danl Ball Wm Gayther Thos Anderson Lewis King John Davies John Williams Jack Tuffnel John Havens Alexr McLean Robt Castles James Dick 2 David Masterton Richd Beckett John Brooks Robt Ewer Owen Fleming George Lockhart David Ramsey Thos Mead Joseph Weaver Thomas Harbey Francesco Nichl Muns[...] Passengers Joseph Winter Esqr Major Thos Saunders Esqr Capt Lieut Mr Pitt 1 Lieutenants Mr Francs Ward 2 do Mr Jos Sherwan Lieut fireworker Mr Adair Mr Hibert Lieut of ye 79 Regt Mr Blake Capt Compys Servt	Charles Smith, seaman James Creas, seaman Alexander Brown, seaman James Anderson, seaman Samuel Louden, seaman Samuel Steade, seaman Duncan Robertson, seaman John Beveridge, seaman John Dick the elder, seaman Robert Mullion, seaman William Pitchell, seaman Jacob Brewer, seaman James Henderson, seaman Robert Sherber, seaman George Mason, seaman Henry Worsely, seaman Thomas Beath, seaman Anthony Mitchelson, seaman George Richardson, seaman Joseph Churchhill, seaman Joseph Gafney, seaman Daniel Ball, seaman William Gayther, seaman Thomas Anderson, seaman Lewis King, seaman John Davies, seaman John Williams, seaman Zachary Tuffnel, seaman John Havens, seaman Alexander McLean, seaman Robert Castles, seaman James Dick the younger, seaman David Masterton, seaman Richard Beckett, seaman John Brooks, seaman Robert Ewer, seaman Owen Fleming, seaman George Lockhart, seaman David Ramsey, seaman Thomas Mead, seaman Joseph Weaver, seaman Thomas Harvey, seaman Francesco, seaman Richard [...], seaman Passengers: Joseph Winter, major Thomas Saunders, captain-lieutenant Mr Pitts, first lieutenant Francis Wood, second lieutenant Joseph Sherwan, lieutenant fireworker Mr Adair, lieutenant of the 79th Regiment Mr Hebert, lieutenant of the 79th Regiment Mr Blake, captain in the Company's service **Interpretations** The ship carried its own poulterer, butcher and baker. Company ships on the long passage between India and England took live animals aboard, chiefly poultry, pigs, sheep and goats, to supply fresh meat for the officers and passengers. The poulterer tended the birds in their coops on deck, the butcher slaughtered the animals as needed and the baker made bread from flour in the ship's stores. Such men served the captain's table and the passengers as much as the crew, whose own diet rested largely on salt provisions. The passengers included officers of the 79th Regiment of Foot, which had fought in southern India and taken part in the capture of Manila in 1762. With the war ended, the regiment's officers were returning home. The ranks of captain-lieutenant and lieutenant fireworker belonged to the artillery, where a lieutenant fireworker was the junior officer charged with preparing fuses, shells and other explosive stores. Their presence aboard showed a homeward ship serving also as a troop transport, carrying officers back from a campaign that had stretched from the coast of India to the Philippines.

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			Only one seaman, Francesco, was entered by a single name. He was probably a foreign sailor, perhaps Portuguese or Italian, taken on in an eastern port where crews were often made up with men of many nations.
95	88	14th January Mr Catsford Capt Compys Servant Mr Smith late C Mte of the Winchelsea Bart Fishwigg Serjeant John Stevens Corporal John McNeal George Collier Bombardier Thos Davidson Gunner Geo Rosse Matross David Gillies Matross Wm Street Drummer Mottingham Fifer Companys Invalids Geo Wakeman Joseph Marshall Thos Lindigreen Marmd Dinneson signed Jas Haldane We this granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn on the Honorable the Court of Directors viz One set to Mr Robert Barclay for £120 payable to Capt Charles Mears or Order One set to Lieut Joseph Sherwin for £140 payable to himself or Order One set to Major Joseph Winter for £83 payable to himself, or Order One set to Lieut Francis Ward for £129 . 17 . 9 payable to himself Or Order One Set to Messrs Matthew Wrling and Matthew Bazett for £101 . 13 . 4 payable to Mrs Mary Darvall or Order One Set to Mr Geo Chalmers for £30 payable to himself or Order all drawn at Ninety days sight Bought of Capt James Haldane on Account of the Honorable Company 1145 Pieces of Meat for which we paid him 2 Shillings each amounting to £114 . 10	The passengers aboard the *Duke of Albany* also included the following. Mr Catesford, captain in the Company's service Mr Smith, formerly chief mate of the *Winchelsea* Bartholomew Fishwigg, sergeant John Stevens, corporal John McNeal, bombardier George Collier, bombardier Thomas Davidson, gunner George Roscoe, matross David Gillis, matross William Street, drummer Mottingham, fifer The Company's invalids: George Wakeman, invalid Joseph Marshall, invalid Thomas Lindigreen, invalid Marmaduke Dennison, invalid James Haldane signed the muster roll. The Council issued the following bills of exchange on the same day, drawn on the Court of Directors in London and payable 90 days after sight. Robert Barclay, £120 0s 0d, payable to Captain Charles Mears or his order Lieutenant Joseph Sherwin, £140 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order Major Joseph Winter, £83 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order Lieutenant Francis Wood, £129 17s 9d, payable to himself or his order Matthew Warling and Matthew Bazett, £101 13s 4d, payable to Mary Darvall or her order George Chalmers, £30 0s 0d, payable to himself or his order The Council also bought 1,145 pieces of salt meat from Captain James Haldane for the Company at 2s a piece, paying him £114 10s 0d. **Interpretations** The bills of exchange allowed individuals on the island to send money home without shipping coin. Each person paid cash into the Company's treasury at St Helena and received a bill ordering the Court of Directors to pay the same sum in London, 90 days after the bill was presented. The system spared travellers the risk of carrying coin on a long voyage, and it gave the island's treasury a supply of ready cash for its own spending. Each bill was issued in a set of several copies sent by different ships, so that the loss of one vessel would not destroy the payment. The officers returning on the *Duke of Albany* used the bills to remit their savings from India. Major Joseph Winter, Lieutenant Joseph Sherwin and Lieutenant Francis Wood drew bills payable to themselves, to be collected on arrival in England. Warling and Bazett remitted money to Mary Darvall, and Robert Barclay, the island's surgeon, directed his bill to Captain Charles Mears. The words or order made each bill transferable, since the named payee could endorse it to someone else as a form of payment. The 1,145 pieces of salt meat bought from Captain Haldane were surplus provisions left over from the voyage. At 2s a piece, the Company paid less than the 2s 6½d at which salt pork was valued on the table accounts. Buying from a homeward ship at the end of its passage replenished the island's stocks cheaply, while the captain turned unneeded stores into cash. The Company's invalids were soldiers from its Indian armies discharged as unfit for further service and sent home at its expense. The small detachment of artillerymen, with their sergeant, corporal, bombardiers,

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			gunner, matrosses, drummer and fifer, probably accompanied the officers of artillery listed among the passengers.
96	89	1765 and likewise 17 . 2 . 15lb Rice at 10 Shillings pr C amounting to £8 . 16 . 4 The Storekeeper this Day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from Ship Duke of Albany Account of Stores received short from Ship Duke of Albany viz C qrs lb 2 . 2 . 7 Rice 2 . 3 . 21 Paddy short Weight One Leagr Arrack Gags 153 wants to fill Gs 12 One do do 141 do 2 294 14 14 Gs 283 net Signed Js Powell Storekr John Skottowe M Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 21 day of January 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 14th January 1765 This day sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Duke of Albany for England The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collections and the Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1 October and ending Decemr the 31. 1764 which were Examined and approved and are as follows viz	The Council also bought 17 hundredweight 2 quarters 15 lb of rice from Captain Haldane at 10s a hundredweight, paying £8 16s 4d. The storekeeper presented an account of the stores received short from the *Duke of Albany*. Rice short in weight, 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 7 lb Paddy short in weight, 2 hundredweight 3 quarters 21 lb 1 leaguer of arrack gauged at 153 gallons, wanting 12 gallons to fill 1 leaguer of arrack gauged at 144 gallons, wanting 2 gallons to fill Arrack gauged in all, 297 gallons Arrack wanting in all, 14 gallons Arrack received net, 283 gallons James Powell signed the account as storekeeper, and John Skottowe, Matthew Warling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the Castle on Monday 21 January 1765, with Governor Skottowe presiding and Matthew Warling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The minutes of 14 January 1765 were read, approved and signed. The *Duke of Albany* sailed for England on the same day. The storekeeper presented his collections and the paymaster his accounts for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1764. The Council examined and approved them, and they were entered as set out below. **Interpretations** The account of short stores protected the storekeeper from answering for goods he had never received. The Madras invoice listed two leaguers holding 300 gallons of arrack, but only 283 gallons reached the storehouse. The rice and paddy likewise weighed less on landing than when shipped. Arrack seeped through the staves of its casks on a long voyage, and grain dried out and lost weight in the hold. Recording the shortfall on arrival fixed the loss at the ship's account, so that it would not later appear as a deficiency in Powell's own stock. Gauging meant measuring a cask with a graduated rod to find how much liquid it held. The quantity wanting to fill each leaguer showed the space left by leakage, measured against the cask's full capacity. The same method allowed the Council to check every cask of spirits landed on the island against the invoice that accompanied it. The *Duke of Albany* stayed at the island for 17 days, from her arrival on 4 January 1765 to her sailing on 21 January. In that time her crew was mustered, her passengers remitted their money home by bill of exchange, and her captain sold his surplus meat and rice to the Company. The visit showed how a single homeward ship bound the island's supply, money and security to the wider traffic of the Company's trade.
97	90	21 January Collections of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Companys Warehouses from the 1 Octr to the 31 Decemr 1764 viz Sold to the Honorable Companys Servants at 10 pCent viz Beef and Pork viz 1034 Pd Beef 103 . 8 3941 Pd Pork 394 . 2 497 . 10	The storekeeper's collections for goods sold and delivered from the Company's warehouses between 1 October and 31 December 1764 began with the sales to the Company's own servants, priced at 10 per cent above cost. Beef and pork: 1,034 pieces of beef, £103 8s 0d 3,941 pieces of pork, £394 2s 0d Beef and pork total, £497 10s 0d Flour: 2,231 lb of flour, £16 5s 4d 333 hundredweight 3 quarters 0 lb of baked flour, £311 10s 0d

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		Flour viz 2231lb Flour 16 . 5 . 4 333 . 3 do Baked 311 . 10 327 . 15 . 4 Blankets 9 2 . 18 . 10 Sugar and Candy viz 2973 Sugar 43 . 7 . 1 725 Sugar 18 . 2 . 6 61 . 9 . 7 Pepper 51lb 1 . 8 . 8 Candles 151lb 16 . 7 . 2 Rice and Paddy viz 455 Rice 1 . 13 . 6 300 Paddy 12 . 6 2 . 6 Starch 54lb 1 . 2 . 8 Kersay 2 Yards 3 . 4 Arrack 16¼ Galls 4 . 3 . 9 Buckram 11 Yards 11 Salt viz 96lb Cape Salt 3 . 6 1½ Bushels Europe do 4 . 9 Pease 1½ Bushels 3 . 10 . 9 Shalloon 6½ Yds Coloured 18 13 . 3 Carried over £ 920 . 18 . 4	Flour total, £327 15s 4d Blankets, 9, £2 13s 10d Sugar and sugar candy: 2,973 lb of sugar, £43 7s 1d 725 lb of sugar candy, £18 2s 6d Sugar and sugar candy total, £61 9s 7d Pepper, 51 lb, £1 8s 8d Candles, 151 lb, £16 7s 2d Rice and paddy: 455 lb of rice, £1 13s 6d 300 lb of paddy, £0 12s 6d Rice and paddy total, £2 6s 0d Starch, 34 lb, £1 2s 8d Kersey, 2 yards, £0 3s 4d Arrack, 16¾ gallons, £4 3s 9d Buckram, 11 yards, £0 11s 0d Salt: Cape salt, 9[...], £3 6s 0d 1⅛ bushels of European salt, £0 4s 9d Salt total, £3 10s 9d Pease, 1⅛ bushels, £0 13s 0d Shalloon, 6½ yards of coloured, £0 13s 3d Carried forward, £920 18s 4d **Interpretations** The heading showed that the Company's own servants bought from the store at 10 per cent above cost. Together with the planters' rate of 25 per cent and the rate of 40 per cent charged to other buyers, recorded in the previous quarter's collections, it completed a three-tier scale of prices. The servants, whose salaries the Company kept deliberately low, received the smallest markup, making cheap goods from the store a hidden part of their pay. The planters, whose farms fed the island, came next, and outsiders paid the most. Salt meat dominated the servants' purchases, with more than 1,000 pieces of beef and nearly 4,000 pieces of pork bought in a single quarter. Baked flour, meaning bread or biscuit made up from the Company's flour by its bakers, came to a further £311. Together these two lines accounted for almost nine-tenths of the page. The figures showed that the Company's servants and their households lived largely on imported provisions drawn from the store, rather than on food grown on the island.
98	91	1764 Brought over £ 920 . 18 . 4 Twine viz 32 Sks Twine 1 . 3 . 9 1½ Cotton Wick 3 . 3 1 . 7 Sope 36lb 1 . 5 . 5 Chelloes 41 Pieces 21 . 15 . 7 Cordage 354¼ 7 . 5 Oars 12 2 . 11 . 6 Leather viz 117½ Sole Leather 6 . 2 . 5 2 Calf Skins 19 . 10 7 . 2 . 3 Flannel 3 Yds 4 . 1 Sago 5lb 2 . 1 Desootees 5 Pieces 2 . 15 . 10 Coffee 12	The collections of goods sold to the Company's servants between 1 October and 31 December 1764 continued. Brought forward, £920 18s 4d Twine: 32 skeins of twine, £1 3s 9d 1½ lb of cotton wick, £0 3s 3d Twine total, £1 7s 0d Soap, 36 [...], £13 5s 5d Chelloes, 41 pieces, £21 15s 7d Cordage, 354¾ lb, £7 0s 5d Oars, 12, £2 11s 6d Leather: 117½ lb of sole leather, £6 2s 5d 2 calf skins, £0 19s 10d Leather total, £7 2s 3d Flannel, 3 yards, £0 4s 1d Sago, 5 lb, £0 2s 1d Desootees, 5 pieces, £2 15s 10d Coffee, 12 lb, £0 11s 0d Shirting: 62¼ yards of brown holland, £6 7s 1d 2 pieces and 5 yards of Irish linen, £3 18s 2d Shirting total, £10 5s 3d Shoes: 35 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £7 14s 7d 5 pairs of women's calf shoes, £0 14s 7d 1 pair of girls' shoes, £0 2s 2½d 6 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £1 5s 6d 2 pairs of boys' shoes, £0 6s 10d

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		11 Shirts viz 62½ B Holland 6 . 7 . 1 2 Ps 5 Yds I Linnen 3 . 18 . 2 10 . 5 . 3 Shoes viz 35 Prs Mens Ordinary 7 . 14 . 7 5 Prs Womens Calf 14 . 7 1 Pr Girls 2 . 2½ 6 Prs Womens Spanish 1 . 5 . 6 2 Prs Boys 6 . 10 1 Pr Calimanco 4 . 3½ 10 . 8 Tea viz 138 Congo 10 . 9 . 10½ 183 Singlo 13 . 18 . 3½ 233 Bohea 13 . 16 38 . 4 . 2 Carried over £ 1036 . 10 . 1	1 pair of calimanco shoes, £0 4s 3½d Shoes total, £10 8s 0d Tea: 138 lb of congou tea, £10 9s 10½d 183 lb of singlo tea, £13 18s 3½d 233 lb of bohea tea, £13 16s 0d Tea total, £38 4s 2d Carried forward, £1,036 10s 1d **Interpretations** Congou tea sold to the servants at about 1s 6d a pound, the same rate as in the general collection for the quarter ending 30 September 1764. That earlier collection carried no heading stating its terms, but the matching price shows it was probably sold on the same 10 per cent basis to the same class of buyer. The servants therefore formed the store's largest body of customers in both quarters, well ahead of the planters and the buyers paying 40 per cent. The purchases reflected households rather than single men. Women's calf and Spanish leather shoes, girls' and boys' shoes, and yards of holland and Irish linen for making shirts and shifts all pointed to wives and children living with the Company's servants on the island. Tea bought in three grades, from cheap bohea to the finer singlo and congou, suggested buyers choosing according to rank and means within the same service.
99	92	21 January Brought over £ 1036 . 10 . 11 Pitch and Tar viz 29lb Rozin 6 . 7¼ 4 Pitch 10¼ 20lb Turpentine 4 . 7 11 Gs Tar 10 . 1 1 . 2 . 2 Glass Ware viz 4 Sqrs 10 by 12 3 . 3 39 do 8 by 10 1 . 6 87 do 6 by 8 1 . 7 . 2 4 doz Wine Glasses 1 . 10 . 10 10 Beer do 12 . 11 5 . 7 China Ware viz 2 Guglets and Basons 5 21 Meat Dishes 4 16 Bowls 1 . 4 34 Sneakers 8 . 6 4 Chamber Pots 6 . 3 7 Tea Pots 7 7 Setts Dishes and Plates 6 . 16 . 2½ 14 doz Half P Cups and Saucers 3 . 3 4 Salts 2 . 9	The collections of goods sold to the Company's servants between 1 October and 31 December 1764 continued. Brought forward, £1,036 10s 11d Pitch and tar: 29 lb of rosin, £0 6s 7½d 4 lb of pitch, £0 0s 10¼d 20 lb of turpentine, £0 4s 7d 11 gallons of tar, £0 10s 1d Pitch and tar total, £1 2s 2d Glass: 4 window panes 10 by 12 inches, £0 3s 8d 39 window panes 8 by 10 inches, £1 6s 0d 87 window panes 6 by 8 inches, £1 7s 2d 4 dozen wine glasses, £1 10s 10d 10 beer glasses, £0 12s 11d Glass total, £5 0s 7d Porcelain: 2 guglets and basins, £0 5s 0d 2 meat dishes, £0 4s 0d 16 bowls, £1 4s 0d 34 sneakers, £0 8s 6d 4 chamber pots, £0 6s 8d 7 teapots, £0 7s 0d 7 sets of dishes and plates, £6 16s 2½d 1½ dozen half-pint cups and saucers, £0 3s 3d 4 salt cellars, £0 2s 9d 1 dozen soup plates, £0 6s 1d 6 blue and white baking dishes, £0 14s 6d 4 blue and white salad dishes, £0 3s 4d 2 sauce boats, £0 0s 10½d 6 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 1s 11d 1 soup dish, £0 7s 4d Porcelain total, £11 16s 5d Wheelbarrows, 3, £2 6s 3d Corks, 1 sheet, £0 0s 2d Carried forward, £1,056 17s 0d

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		1 doz Soop Plates 6 . 1 6 B and White Baking Dishes 14 . 6 4 B and White Sallad do 3 . 4 2 Sauce Boats 10½ 6 Q Pint Cups and Saucers 1 . 11 1 Soop Dish 7 . 4 Cart Wheels 3 Wheel Barrows 11 . 16 . 5 Corks 1 Sheet 2 . 6 . 3 2 Carried over £ 1056 . 17	
100	93	1765 Brought over £ 1056 . 17 Broad Cloth viz 8¼ Yds Blue 8 . 16 . 5 1⅛ Yds Pompadore 1 . 4 . 9 2 Yds Scarlet 2 . 2 . 9 4¾ Yds Fr Grey 4 . 15 . 9 16 . 19 . 8 Bunting 2½ Yds Red 2 Iron Ware viz 3 Pickaxes 10 . 4½ 2 H Hatchets 3 . 10½ 12 Prs D Tail Hinges 5 . 6 10 Splinter Locks 5 . 5 1 Pr Planking Cards 7 2 Spring Rat Traps 3 . 4 2 Iron rimd Locks with Brs Knobs 15 . 5 5 Stock Locks 16 . 2½ 2 Barrk Hinges 3 . 8 7 Helves 4 . 6 1 Box Iron 7 . 11 9 Sm Fr Pans 1 . 6 . 9¼ 1 Garden Rake 2 . 7 1 Plaisterers Trowell 1 . 10 1 Maul 9 . ½ 1 Bricklayers Trowell 1 . 8 ½ doz Wood Screws 1 . 6 3 Chest Locks 9 . 4½ 1 Pr Sheep Shears 1 . 11½ 4 Shod Shovels 8 . 6	The collections of goods sold to the Company's servants between 1 October and 31 December 1764 continued. Brought forward, £1,056 17s 0d Broadcloth: 8¾ yards of blue broadcloth, £8 16s 5d 1⅛ yards of pompadour broadcloth, £1 4s 9d 2 yards of scarlet broadcloth, £2 2s 9d 4¾ yards of French grey broadcloth, £4 15s 9d Broadcloth total, £16 19s 8d Bunting, 2½ yards of red, £0 2s 0d Ironware: 3 pickaxes, £0 10s 4½d 2 hand hatchets, £0 3s 10½d 12 pairs of dovetail hinges, £0 5s 6d 10 splinter locks, £0 5s 5d 1 pair of planking [...], £0 7s 0d 2 spring rat traps, £0 3s 4d 2 iron-rimmed locks with brass knobs, £0 15s 5d 5 stock locks, £0 16s 2½d 2 barrack hinges, £0 3s 8d 7 helves, £0 4s 6d 1 box iron, £0 7s 11d 9 small frying pans, £1 6s 9½d 1 garden rake, £0 2s 7d 1 plasterer's trowel, £0 1s 10d 1 maul, £0 0s 9½d 1 bricklayer's trowel, £0 1s 8d 4 dozen wood screws, £0 1s 6d 3 chest locks, £0 9s 4½d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 1s 11½d 4 shod shovels, £0 8s 6d 1 claw hammer, £0 1s 1½d 1 gimlet, £0 0s 3d 3 files, £0 1s 8d Ironware carried forward, £7 9s 1d Carried forward, £1,073 18s 8d

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		1 Claw Hamr 1 . 7½ 1 Gimblet 3 3 Files 1 . 8 Iron Ware Carried over £ 7 . 9 . 1 Carried over £ 1073 . 18 . 8	
101	94	21 January Brought over £ 1073 . 18 . 8 Iron Ware brought over £ 7 . 9 . 1 2 Blank Keys 1 . 6 1 Cupboard Lock 3 . 1½ 2 Spades 3 . 10 1 Closet Lock 3 . 7 1 Rasp 10 1 Pad Lock 1 . 8½ 8 . 8 . 8 Paint viz 123 Whiting 3 . 9½ 3 Barls Blacking 1 . 11 2 Stone Colour 1 . 1 9 Ven Red mixed 4 . 8 6½ Yell Oaker dry 1 . 4 14½ Blue Smalts 19 . 4 25½ Indico 2 . 11 12 W Lead mixed 5 1 Sky Blue 2 . 0½ ½ Copperas 2 . 3 9 Ven Red dry 2 . 1 ½ Verdigrease 2 . 1½ ¼ Chocolate 1½ 25 White Lead dry 10 . 3 2½ Red Lead 7 5 . 5 . 7 Oil viz 27½ Gs Train 4 . 16 . 3 12½ Linseed 2 . 14 . 2 12 Bottles Florence 1 . 15 9 . 5 . 5 Hats 2 Boys 13 . 5 Carried over £ 1097 . 11 . 9	The collections of goods sold to the Company's servants between 1 October and 31 December 1764 continued. Brought forward, £1,073 18s 8d Ironware brought forward, £7 9s 1d 2 blank keys, £0 1s 6d 1 cupboard lock, £0 3s 1½d 2 spades, £0 8s 10d 1 closet lock, £0 3s 7d 1 rasp, £0 0s 10d 1 padlock, £0 1s 8½d Ironware total, £8 8s 8d Paint: 123 lb of whiting, £0 3s 9½d 3 barrels of blacking, £0 1s 11d 2 lb of stone colour, £0 1s 1d 9 lb of mixed Venetian red, £0 4s 8d 6½ lb of dry yellow ochre, £0 1s 4d 14½ lb of blue smalts, £1 9s 4d 25½ lb of indigo, £2 11s 0d 12 lb of mixed white lead, £0 5s 0d 1 lb of sky blue, £0 2s 0½d ½ lb of copperas, £0 2s 3d 9 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 2s 1d ½ lb of verdigris, £0 2s 1½d ¼ lb of chocolate colour, £0 0s 1½d 29 lb of dry white lead, £0 10s 3d 2¼ lb of red lead, £0 0s 7d Paint total, £5 5s 7d Oil: 27½ gallons of train oil, £4 16s 3d 12⅓ gallons of linseed oil, £2 14s 2d 12 bottles of Florence oil, £1 15s 0d Oil total, £9 5s 5d Hats, 2 boys' hats, £0 13s 5d Carried forward, £1,097 11s 9d

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102	95	1765 Brought over £ 1097 . 11 . 9 Nails viz 7¾ 2 6 8 3 6 . 6 15 4 9 . 8 46½ 6 1 . 7 . 1 30 10 15 8 20 3 . 4 4 40 1 . 7 2 Glg Brads 3 . 10 ½ Tacks 8 3 . 13 . 8 Books viz 1 Primmer 1 . 3½ 3 Common Prayer Books 9 . 3 2 Testaments 2 . 7½ 4 Spelling Books 5 . 2 2 Horn Books 3 1 . 7 . 7 Hooks and Lines viz 1500 No 1 100 3 1375 12 Hooks 450 14 75 5 4 . 12 . 6 16 doz No 2 11½ doz 3 Lines ½ doz 4 5 . 12 . 11 6 Log do 6 . 3 2 Deep Sea 11 11 . 2 . 8 Thread 4lb Coloured 14 . 4 Carried over £ 1114	The collections of goods sold to the Company's servants between 1 October and 31 December 1764 continued. Brought forward, £1,097 11s 9d Nails: 7¾ lb of 2d nails, £0 6s 0d 8 lb of 3d nails, £0 6s 6d 15 lb of 4d nails, £0 9s 8d 46½ lb of 6d nails, £1 7s 1d 30 lb of 10d nails, £0 15s 0d 8 lb of 20d nails, £0 3s 4d 4 lb of 40d nails, £0 1s 7d 2 lb of glazing brads, £0 3s 10d ½ lb of tacks, £0 0s 8d Nails total, £3 13s 8d Books: 1 primer, £0 0s 3½d 3 Books of Common Prayer, £0 9s 3d 2 New Testaments, £0 2s 7½d 4 spelling books, £0 5s 2d 2 hornbooks, £0 0s 3d Books total, £0 17s 7d Fishing hooks and lines: 1,500 fish hooks no. 1, 100 no. 3, 1,375 no. 12, 450 no. 14 and 75 no. 5, £4 12s 6d 16 dozen fishing lines no. 2, 11½ dozen no. 3 and ½ dozen no. 4, £5 12s 11d 6 log lines, £0 6s 3d 2 deep-sea lines, £0 11s 0d Fishing hooks and lines total, £11 2s 8d Coloured thread, 4 lb, £0 14s 4d Carried forward, £1,114 0s 0d
103	96	21st Janry Brought over£ 1114 Pewter viz 1 Gallon Pot 9 . 11 1 Chamber Do 3 . 2 1 Quart Funnel 2 . 6 15 . 7 Hosiers Ware viz 6 Pr Boys Stockings 13 . 9 3 Pr Ing: Cotton Do 1 . 3 . 9 1 Pr Womens . Do 3 . 5 2 . 11 Serge viz 25 yds Sagathy	The account for 21 January picked up from a running total of £1,114 0s 0d and went on to list further goods by category. Brought forward, £1,114 0s 0d Pewter: 1 gallon pewter pot, £0 9s 11d 1 pewter chamber pot, £0 3s 2d 1 quart pewter funnel, £0 2s 6d Pewter subtotal, £0 15s 7d Stockings and hosiery: 6 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 13s 9d 3 pairs of ingrain cotton stockings, £1 3s 9d 1 pair of women's stockings, £0 3s 5d Hosiery subtotal, £2 0s 11d Serge and woollen cloth: 25 yards of sagathy, £3 8s 0d 5½ yards of scarlet cloth, £1 16s 7d Woollen cloth subtotal, £5 4s 7d Sewing goods and trimmings: 1 piece of carnation tape, £0 0s 7½d

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		3 . 3 5½ yds Scarlet 1 . 16 . 7 5 . 4 . 7 Haberdashers Ware viz 1 Pr Carnation Tape 7½ 62 Sks Silk 1 . 13 . 7 39 Sks Mohair 1 . 1 . 1 6 doz: Silr Wire Coat Butts 1 . 14 6 doz: do do Bt Do 14 . 6 1½ doz: Gilt Breast Do 2 . 6½ 3 doz: Yell. Metal Coat Do 1 . 8 ½ doz Mohair Coat Do 4½ 2 yds Tabby 13 . 7 4 Whale Bone 1 . 5 . 2 1 Pr W. Braid 3 . ½ 7 . 15 . 2 Canvas viz 23½ yds E. Canvas 1 . 9 . 4 71½ yds Ozenbrigs 2 . 19 . 7 14½ yds Ticklenburgs 16 5 . 4 . 11 Carried over £ 1135 . 1 . 2	62 skeins of silk, £1 13s 7d 39 skeins of mohair thread, £1 1s 1d 6 dozen silver wire coat buttons, £1 14s 0d 6 dozen silver wire breast buttons, £0 14s 6d 1½ dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 2s 6½d 3 dozen yellow metal coat buttons, £0 1s 8d ½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 0s 4½d 2¼ yards of tabby, £0 13s 7d 4 pounds of whalebone, £1 5s 2d 1 piece of white braid, £0 3s 0½d Sewing goods subtotal, £7 15s 2d Canvas and linen: 23½ yards of E. canvas, £1 9s 4d 71½ yards of osnaburgs, £2 19s 7d 14½ yards of tecklenburgs, £0 16s 0d Canvas subtotal, £5 4s 11d Carried forward, £1,135 1s 2d **Interpretations** Several of the fabrics were cheap continental linens and light woollens rather than English broadcloth. Osnaburg was a coarse, unbleached linen named after Osnabrück in north-west Germany, and tecklenburg was a similar plain linen from the county of Tecklenburg nearby. Both were bought in bulk by trading companies because they were hard-wearing and inexpensive, and they served for work shirts, trousers, sacking and the clothing of labourers and slaves. The canvas listed alongside them carried a qualifying letter E whose meaning is not certain. Sagathy was a light twilled woollen, sometimes mixed with silk, used for coats and linings where full serge would have been too heavy. Tabby was a plain-woven silk with a watered or ribbed finish, used for waistcoats and gowns. The trimmings show what a clothing trade on the island required. Carnation tape was a narrow woven band in a pink-red shade used for binding seams and edges. Whalebone, the horny baleen plates from the mouths of whales, gave stiffness to stays, bodices and hoops, and was sold by weight. Silver wire buttons were cores wrapped in fine silver thread, a mark of a better coat, while yellow metal buttons were a cheaper brass imitation of gilt. Ingrain stockings were knitted from yarn dyed before weaving, which made the colour fast. The running totals formed a check on the whole account. Each category closed with its own subtotal, and the page added those subtotals to the figure brought forward to produce the sum carried to the next leaf. The combined subtotals came to £21 1s 2d, which reconciled exactly with the difference between the two running figures. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploaded files, so no cross-reference against it was possible.
104	97	1765 Brought over£ 1135 . 1 . 2 Turners Ware viz 3 Pr Brushes 4 . 6 4 Hair Brooms 10 . 1 5 Scrubing Brushes 12 . 7 12 Shoe Brushes 7 . 6 5 Plaisterers Trowell 6 . 2 4 Hair Sieves 4 . 7 1 Flasket 3 . 2 1 Tray 3 2 . 11 . 7	The account for 21 January 1765 continued from a total of £1,135 1s 2d with household hardware, timber and metal goods. Brought forward, £1,135 1s 2d Wooden and turned goods: 3 paint brushes, £0 4s 6d 4 hair brooms, £0 10s 1d 5 scrubbing brushes, £0 12s 7d 12 shoe brushes, £0 7s 6d 5 plasterers' trowels, £0 6s 2d 4 hair sieves, £0 4s 7d 1 flasket, £0 3s 2d 1 tray, £0 3s 0d Wooden goods subtotal, £2 11s 7d Tinware: 3 two-quart saucepans, £0 1s 8d 3 watering cans, £0 14s 0d 3 pudding tins, £0 4s 10d 2 lamps, £0 2s 6d 1 gallon funnel, £0 2s 3½d

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		Tin Ware viz 3 Qt Sauce Pans 1 . 8 3 Watering Pots 14 3 Pudding Pans 4 . 10 2 Lamps 2 . 6 1 Galln Funnel 2 . 3½ 6 Lanthorn Leaves 1 . 4½ 6 Sheets Tin 4 . 6 1 Small H: Lanthorn 3 1 . 14 . 2 Deals viz 2 Single 4 . 3 1 Double 3 . 9 8 Braziers Ware viz 3 Pr Cand: Sticks 1 . 5 . 4½ 3 Pr Snuffers 10 . ½ 2 A. T. Kettleys 17 3 . 2 . 5 Lead viz 6lb Shot 1 . 4 39½ Sheet 8 . 3 9 . 7 Carried over £ 1143 . 6 . 11	6 lantern panes, £0 1s 4½d 6 sheets of tin, £0 4s 6d 1 small hand lantern, £0 3s 0d Tinware subtotal, £1 14s 2d Deal boards: 2 single deals, £0 4s 3d 1 double deal, £0 3s 9d Deal boards subtotal, £0 8s 0d Brass and copper goods: 3 pairs of candlesticks, £1 5s 4½d 3 candle snuffers, £0 10s 0½d 2 I. T. kettles, £1 7s 0d Brass and copper subtotal, £3 2s 5d Lead: 6 pounds of lead shot, £0 1s 4d 32½ pounds of sheet lead, £0 8s 3d Lead subtotal, £0 9s 7d Carried forward, £1,143 6s 11d **Interpretations** The category names followed the trade that made each group of goods rather than the use to which it was put. Turners' ware covered anything shaped on a lathe or made by a woodworking craftsman, which is why brooms, brushes, sieves, trays and trowel handles sat together. Braziers were workers in brass and copper, so candlesticks, snuffers and kettles formed a separate group from the cheaper tinned sheet-iron goods. The letters I. T. before the kettles are legible, but their expansion is not certain. Deals were sawn planks of softwood, usually Baltic fir or pine, shipped in standard sizes. A single deal was the thinner board and a double deal roughly twice the thickness, which explains why one double board cost almost as much as two singles. St Helena had very little native timber fit for building, so imported deals mattered for repairs to houses, stores and fortifications. Lantern leaves were the thin translucent panes fitted to a lantern to shield the flame. These were commonly shaved horn rather than glass, since horn was cheaper and did not shatter. A flasket was a shallow basket, often with two handles, used for carrying linen or food. The five subtotals came to £8 5s 9d, which matched exactly the rise between the figure brought forward and the one carried to the next leaf.
105	98	21st January Brought over £ 1143 . 6 . 11 Cuttlery Ware viz 1 Pr Knee Buckles 4 . 4 15 Iv: Combs 13 . 9 11 Horn Do 1 . 10 12 Iv. Handle Knives & Forks 1 . 14 . 1 2 Prs Shoe Buckles 0 . 12 2 . 16 . 2 Long Cloth viz 29 Ps . . I 43 . 10 3 Ps . . R 13 . 4 2 Ps . . O 5 . 9 1 Ps S 3 . 10 . 5 65 . 13 . 5 £ 1211 . 16 . 6	The account for 21 January 1765 resumed from £1,143 6s 11d with small metal and personal goods, then a consignment of Indian cotton cloth. Brought forward, £1,143 6s 11d Cutlery and small wares: 1 pair of knee buckles, £0 4s 4d 15 ivory combs, £0 13s 9d 11 horn combs, £0 1s 10d 12 ivory-handled knives and forks, £1 14s 1d 2 pairs of shoe buckles, £0 2s 2d Cutlery subtotal, £2 16s 2d Long cloth: 29 pieces of long cloth, sort I, £43 10s 0d 3 pieces of long cloth, sort R, £13 4s 0d 2 pieces of long cloth, sort C, £5 9s 0d 1 piece of long cloth, sort S, £3 10s 5d Long cloth subtotal, £65 13s 5d Grand total, £1,211 16s 6d **Interpretations** Long cloth was a plain white or unbleached cotton woven on the Coromandel coast of south-east India. It took its name from the unusual length of each piece, commonly around 36 to 40 yards, and it was sold by the piece rather than by the yard. Company ships carried it in quantity on the homeward run from Madras, which made it one of the goods most readily landed at St Helena. The cloth was widely used for shirts, shifts, sheeting and linings.

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			The single letters beside each batch were sorting marks, grading the pieces by quality or fineness. The prices confirm this. The 29 pieces of sort I averaged £1 10s 0d each, while the three pieces of sort R cost £4 8s 0d each, nearly three times as much. Cutlery ware in this period meant more than knives. The cutlers of Sheffield and London also made buckles, combs and similar small personal goods, so knee buckles and shoe buckles sat naturally under the same heading as table knives. Knee buckles fastened breeches below the knee and were a standard part of men's dress. The long cloth alone accounted for well over three-quarters of the goods added across these three leaves. Taken with the earlier pages, the entry closed with a grand total of £1,211 16s 6d, and each running figure brought forward matched the sum of the subtotals beneath it.
106	99	1765 Sold to the Planters at 25 pr Cent Shoes viz 1 Pr Boys 3 . 10 1 Pr Womens Spanish 19 . 2 1 Pr Calimanco 4 . 9½ 2 Pr Claf 6 . 5½ 1 . 14 . 3 Chelloes 2 Ps 4 . 18 . 6 Deesotees 2 Ps 1 . 4 Spirits 1 yd B Holland 2 . 3 Hozers Ware viz 2 Pr Boys Stockings 5 . 2 Long Cloth viz 2 Ps S 8 3 Ps I 5 . 2½ 13 . 2 . 1 Sold at 40 pr Cent viz Sugar and Candy viz 38¼lb Sugar 8 22 Candy 14 . 8 [...] . 14 . 8 Flour 631lb 7 . 4 . 7 Tea viz 6½lb Congo 6 . 16 115 [S]inglo 1 . 10 57 Bohea 3 . 11 . 3 21 . 17 . 3 Oil viz 1½ Gs Train 6 . 9 9½ Gs Linseed 2 . 11 . 1 2 . 17 . 10 Carried over £ 62 . 9	Goods from the same stock went on sale in 1765, some to the planters at a markup of 25 per cent and others at 40 per cent. Sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost: Shoes: 1 pair of boys' shoes, £0 3s 10d 1 pair of women's Spanish leather shoes, £0 19s 2d 1 pair of calamanco shoes, £0 4s 9½d 2 pairs of calf leather shoes, £0 6s 5½d Shoes subtotal, £1 14s 3d 2 pieces of chelloes, £4 18s 8d 2 pieces of dosootees, £1 4s 0d 1 yard of brown holland for shirts, £0 2s 3d Hosiery: 2 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 5s 2d Long cloth: 2 pieces of long cloth, sort S, £8 0s 0d 3 pieces of long cloth, sort I, £5 2s 1d Long cloth subtotal, £13 2s 1d Sold at 40 per cent above cost: Sugar and sugar candy: 38¼ pounds of sugar, £8 0s 0d 22 pounds of sugar candy, £0 14s 8d Sugar subtotal, £8 14s 8d 631 pounds of flour, £7 4s 7d Tea: 64 pounds of congou tea, £16 16s 0d 1½ pounds of hyson tea, £1 10s 0d 57 pounds of bohea tea, £3 11s 3d Tea subtotal, £21 17s 3d Oil: 1½ gallons of train oil, £0 6s 9d 9½ gallons of linseed oil, £2 11s 1d Oil subtotal, £2 17s 10d Carried forward, £62 0s 9d **Interpretations** The two percentages were the markup added to the prime cost of the goods, and the split between them showed a deliberate pricing policy. Clothing, footwear and cloth went to the planters at 25 per cent above cost, while food, tea and oil carried 40 per cent. The Company's store was the main source of manufactured goods on the island, so these rates were in effect the price of clothing a household and its slaves. Keeping the lower rate on cloth and shoes held down the cost of necessities that planters could obtain nowhere else, while consumables bore the heavier charge. Several of the textiles came from India. Chelloes were cotton cloths, usually checked or striped in blue and white, woven on the Coromandel coast and in Bengal. Dosootees were a coarse, strong Bengal cotton woven with doubled threads, suited to sacking, working clothes and sailcloth linings. Brown holland was an unbleached linen, originally from the Low Countries, used for shirts, aprons and blinds.

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			Calamanco was a glossy worsted woollen, often patterned, which made light uppers for women's shoes. The three teas were Chinese grades brought home on the Canton ships. Bohea was the cheapest black tea and the common drink of ordinary households. Congou was a better black tea, and hyson a fine green tea, which explains why the small quantity of hyson cost almost as much per pound as the whole of the bohea. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised slowly in large clear lumps, valued for sweetening tea and as a remedy for coughs. Train oil was rendered from whale or seal blubber and burned in lamps, while linseed oil served for mixing paint and preserving timber. Flour was the largest single weight on the page at 631 pounds, a reminder that the island depended on shipped grain for its bread.
107	100	21st January Brought over £ 62 . 9 Hooks & Lines viz 250 No . . 1 425 . . 12 50 . . 14 Hooks 19 . 8 36 . . 2 60 . . 3 Lines 2 . 2 . 6 1 Deep Sea . Do 7 1 Log Do 2 . 3 3 . 11 . 10 Nails viz lbs Nos 12 . . 4 1 26 . . 6 10 10 . . 10 1 . ½ 1 . . 20 6 . 10½ 2 Glazing Brads 4 . 11½ 2 . 3 . 5 Paint viz 1 Barrel Blacking 10 67lb Whiting 4 . 2 12 Stone Colour 1 . 14 ½ Verdigrease 2 . 9 12 Ven: Red mixd 5 . 8 1½ Y. Oker dry 4 . 5 12 White Lead dry 10 . 1 ½ Sky Blue 1 . 3 ½ Umber 2 . ½ 3 Olive Colour 7 . 6 4 Indico 10 . 7 1 White Lead mixed 6 . 6½ 1 Barrel Smalts 1 . 9	Sales on 21 January 1765 continued from £62 0s 9d with fishing tackle, nails and painters' materials. Brought forward, £62 0s 9d Fishing hooks and lines: 250 fish hooks, size 1 425 fish hooks, size 12 50 fish hooks, size 14 Hooks of sizes 1, 12 and 14 together, £0 19s 8d 36 fishing lines, size 2 60 fishing lines, size 3 Lines of sizes 2 and 3 together, £2 2s 6d 1 deep-sea line, £0 7s 0d 1 log line, £0 2s 3d Fishing tackle subtotal, £3 11s 10d Nails: 1 pound of size 2 nails, £0 1s 0d 12 pounds of size 4 nails, £0 10s 0d 26 pounds of size 6 nails, £1 0s 1½d 10 pounds of size 10 nails, £0 6s 10½d 1 pound of size 20 nails, £0 0s 6½d 2 pounds of glazing brads, £0 4s 11½d Nails subtotal, £2 3s 5d Paint and pigments: 1 barrel of blacking, £0 0s 10d 67 pounds of whiting, £0 4s 2d 12 pounds of stone colour, £1 14s 0d ½ pound of verdigris, £0 2s 9d 2 pounds of Venetian red, ready mixed, £0 5s 8d ½ pound of dry yellow ochre, £0 6s 5d 12 pounds of dry white lead, £0 10s 1d ½ pound of sky blue, £0 1s 3d ½ pound of umber, £0 2s 0½d 3 pounds of olive colour, £0 7s 6d ¼ pound of indigo, £0 10s 7d 1 pound of white lead, ready mixed, £0 6s 6½d 1 barrel of smalts, £0 1s 9d Paint subtotal, £3 19s 9d Carried forward, £71 15s 9d **Interpretations** The quantity of fishing tackle, more than 700 hooks and nearly 100 lines, reflected how heavily the island relied on the sea for its food. Fresh meat was scarce and closely controlled, so fish caught from small boats close inshore formed a staple of the diet for planters, soldiers and slaves alike. The small hook sizes suited the rock fish taken near the coast, while the deep-sea line was a much longer, heavier line for fishing in open water. A log line, by contrast, had nothing to do with fishing. It was the knotted line paid out astern with a wooden float to measure a ship's speed, and its presence here suggests a sale to a local boatman or a vessel in the road. Nails were graded by number, and the larger the number the longer and heavier the nail. The prices per pound fell as the nails grew larger, since small nails took more labour to make for the same weight of iron. Glazing brads were small headless nails used

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		3 . 19 . 9 Carried over £ 71 . 15 . 9	to hold panes of glass in window frames before the putty was applied. The paints were mostly sold as dry pigments to be ground into oil on the spot, which is why linseed oil appeared on the previous page. Whiting was powdered chalk used for whitewash and as a cheap filler. Stone colour was a ready-mixed pale grey or buff paint for imitating stonework on walls and woodwork. Verdigris was a green copper acetate, while Venetian red, yellow ochre and umber were earth pigments giving red, yellow and brown. White lead was the standard white base of oil paint in the period. Smalts was powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, used as a blue pigment and for tinting laundry, and indigo was the blue vegetable dye imported from India or the Americas. Blacking here meant a black paint or lampblack preparation for ironwork and woodwork. The strong showing of pigments points to regular upkeep of houses and public buildings against the salt air.
108	101	1765 Brought over £ 71 . 15 . 9 Cordage 230lb 6 Salt 300 Cape 1 . 6 . 5 Pitch and Tar viz 20 Rozin 5 . 10 2 Galln Tar 2 7 . 10 Deals 1 Single 11 Canvas 27 yds Ozenbrigs 1 . 9 . 3 Pepper 7lb 5 . 3 Sope 6lb 5 . 3 Blankets 1 7 . 5 Twine 7 Sks 5 . 10 Glass Ware viz 34 Sqr . 8 by 10 1 . 3 . 4 4 Sqr . 10 by 12 4 . 8 1 . 13 Thread 2lb Coloured 9 . 2 Starch 2lb 1 . 2 Oars 1 5 . 6 Leather 1 Sole 1 . 4 Lead 28 Sheet 5 . 10 Iron Ware viz 3 Spr: Rat Traps 6 . 6 4 Shod Shovels 7 1 Pr Sheep Shears 2 . 6 2 Hd Hatchets 5 2 Helves 1 . 8 1 . 2 . 3 China Ware 12 Dr Pr Cups and Saucers 5 Tin Ware 1 Lamp	Sales on 21 January 1765 went on from £71 15s 9d with ship's stores, household goods and tools. Brought forward, £71 15s 9d 230 pounds of cordage, £6 0s 0d 300 pounds of Cape salt, £1 6s 5d Pitch and tar: 20 pounds of rosin, £0 5s 10d 2 gallons of tar, £0 2s 0d Pitch and tar subtotal, £0 7s 10d 1 single deal board, £0 11s 0d 27 yards of osnaburg canvas, £1 9s 3d 7 pounds of pepper, £0 5s 3d 6 pounds of soap, £0 5s 8d 1 blanket, £0 7s 5d 7 skeins of twine, £0 5s 10d Glass: 34 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £1 8s 4d 4 panes of glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 4s 8d Glass subtotal, £1 13s 0d 2 pounds of coloured thread, £0 9s 2d 2 pounds of starch, £0 1s 2d 1 oar, £0 5s 6d 1 piece of sole leather, £0 1s 4d 28 pounds of sheet lead, £0 5s 10d Ironware: 3 spring rat traps, £0 6s 6d 4 iron-shod shovels, £0 7s 0d 1 pair of sheep shears, £0 2s 6d 2 hand hatchets, £0 5s 0d 2 tool handles, £0 1s 8d Ironware subtotal, £1 2s 8d 12 pairs of china cups and saucers, £0 5s 0d 1 tin lamp, £0 1s 7d 1 wheelbarrow, £0 19s 8d 1 New Testament, £0 1s 7d Carried forward, £88 0s 11d **Interpretations** Cape salt came from the salt pans near the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, the nearest large source of supply to St Helena. Salt was essential on the island for curing fish and meat, so a ready supply from the Cape spared the store from depending on shipments out of England. Much of the page consisted of ship's and boat stores. Cordage was rope of all sizes, sold by weight. Rosin was the solid resin left after distilling turpentine from pine, and it was melted with tar and pitch to caulk seams and waterproof rigging. Together with the oar and the sheet lead, these goods point to buyers who kept and repaired their own boats, which fits the heavy sale of fishing tackle on the previous page. A shod shovel was a wooden shovel with an iron edge fitted to the blade, cheaper than one forged wholly of iron and adequate for soft ground. Helves

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		1 . 7 Cart Wheels 1 Wheel Barrow 19 . 3 Books 1 Testament 1 . 7 Carried over £ 33 . 11	were the wooden handles for axes and hatchets, sold separately because they broke far more often than the heads. Sole leather was thick, heavily tanned hide cut for the soles of shoes and for patching harness, which suggests that at least some shoemaking and repair was carried out locally. The sheep shears show that the planters kept flocks as well as cattle. The glass was sold as ready-cut panes in standard sizes measured in inches, matching the glazing brads on the previous page. Window glass of this kind had become common in English towns by the 1760s. Its sale here, alongside china cups and saucers, shows island households adopting the same domestic comforts, though every pane had to be carried several thousand miles by sea. Where the same goods appear in both the purchase and sale records, the markup is visible. The osnaburgs earlier cost just under 10d a yard, while the 27 yards here sold at a little over 1s 1d a yard.
109	102	21st January Brought over £ 33 . 11 Haberdashery viz 4½ doz Mohr Coat Buttons 4 . 6 3 Sks Silk 2 2 Sks Mohair 1 . 2 1 doz Mohr Bt Buttons 6 8 . 2 Turners Ware viz 3 Paint Brushes 2 . 3 2 Plaisterers Do 3 . 2 2 Flaskets 8 13 . 5 Cuttlery Ware 4 Horn Combs 1 Pewter 1 Bason 3 . 2 £ 39 . 6 . 8	The last sales for 21 January 1765 added small haberdashery and household goods to the running figure of £88 0s 11d. Brought forward, £88 0s 11d Sewing goods and trimmings: 4½ dozen mohair coat buttons, £0 4s 6d 3 skeins of silk, £0 2s 0d 2 skeins of mohair thread, £0 1s 2d 1 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 0s 6d Sewing goods subtotal, £0 8s 2d Wooden and turned goods: 3 paint brushes, £0 2s 3d 2 plasterers' brushes, £0 3s 2d 2 flaskets, £0 3s 0d Wooden goods subtotal, £0 13s 5d 4 horn combs, £0 1s 0d 1 pewter basin, £0 3s 2d Total, £89 6s 8d **Interpretations** The day's sales closed at £89 6s 8d, against goods valued at £1,211 16s 6d in the purchase account for the same date. Most of the stock therefore stayed in the store to be drawn on over the following months. The sales were spread across a great many small lots, which suggests individual planters and households buying what they needed rather than a few large buyers taking whole consignments. A plasterer's brush was a broad, heavy brush used to lay on whitewash and to wet walls before plastering. Its sale alongside whiting and stone colour on earlier pages points to steady work on limewashing buildings. The horn combs allow the markup to be traced directly. The 11 horn combs in the purchase account cost 1s 10d, or 2d each, and the four sold here fetched 3d each.
110	103	1765 Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1764 viz Nails viz 59lb . . 3 2 . 3 52 . . 4 1 . 10 . ½ 71 . . 6 for the Castle, Repairing one of 1 . 17 63 . . 10 the Compys Houses, Farms 1 . 9 . 9 13 . . 20 for the Jury, Pidgeon House 4 . 10½ 92 . . 40 and Pillory 1 . 12 . 7 10 Spike 3 . 1½	The general expenses account of the island was charged with the stores issued from the warehouse between 1 October and 31 December 1764. The nails went to work on the castle, the repair of one of the Company's houses, new benches for the jury, the pigeon house and the pillory. Nails: 59 pounds of size 3 nails, £2 3s 0d 52 pounds of size 4 nails, £1 10s 4d 71 pounds of size 6 nails, £1 17s 0d 63 pounds of size 10 nails, £1 9s 9d 13 pounds of size 20 nails, £0 4s 10½d 92 pounds of size 40 nails, £1 12s 7d 10 spikes, £0 3s 1½d 4 back nails, £0 1s 4d 1½ pounds of glaziers' brads, £0 2s 7d 1 pound of tacks, £0 0s 4d Nails subtotal, £9 4s 11d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		4 Brads 1 . 4 1½ Glazrs Brads 2 . 7 4 Tacks 4 9 . 4 . 11 Arrack Galls 5¾ for Sundrys Drams to the Workmen Hauling up the Long Boat and Killing Wild Cats 11 . 7 . 2 Oil 7½ Galls Train for the Armourer and Castle 1 . 3 . 9 4⅛ Galls Linseed to Paint one of the Company Houses and Pidgeon House 1 . 7 . 6 4 Bottles Florence for the Castle Armourer Armory and Store use 10 . 6 2 . 11 . 9 Iron Ware viz 2 Rasps for the Armourer 1 . 6 5 Bricklayers Trowells for the Masons 7 . 11 1 Scythe Stone for the Armourer 3 3 Smiths Rubbers for Do 15 . 4 4 Locks for the Stocks. Bake House and Stable Door 10 . 10 Iron Ware Carried over £ 1 . 15 . 10 Carried over £ 23 . 3 . 10	58½ gallons of arrack, given as drams to workmen who hauled up the longboat and hunted wild goats, £11 7s 2d Oil: 7½ gallons of train oil, for the armourer and the castle, £1 3s 9d 4½ gallons of linseed oil, for painting a Company house and the pigeon house, £0 17s 6d 4 bottles of Florence oil, for the castle, the armourer, the armoury and household use, £0 10s 6d Oil subtotal, £2 11s 9d Ironware: 2 rasps, for the armourer, £0 1s 6d 5 bricklayers' trowels, for the masons, £0 7s 11d 1 scythe stone, for the armourer, £0 0s 3d 3 smiths' rubbers, for the armourer, £0 15s 4d 4 locks, for the stores, the bakehouse and the stable door, £0 10s 10d Ironware subtotal, carried to the next page, £1 15s 10d Carried forward, £23 3s 10d **Interpretations** Charges General was the ledger heading for the running costs of the settlement. Goods drawn from the warehouse for public works, garrison needs and government buildings were charged to it at cost, while goods sold to the planters went through the sales account at a markup. The nails show the difference plainly. Size 4 nails were issued here at 7d a pound, while the same size sold to private buyers on 21 January 1765 at 10d a pound. The arrack was the largest single charge on the page, more than all the nails together. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East Indies from palm sap, rice or sugar, and Company ships carried it cheaply. Handing out drams was a customary way to reward men for heavy or unpleasant labour outside their normal duties, such as dragging a longboat up the shore or hunting feral goats across the hills. Paying in spirits cost the Company far less than cash wages, and the practice treated alcohol as a routine instrument of labour management. The nails for jury benches and a pillory show the island's machinery of justice being kept in repair. Trial by jury operated under the Company's government, and the pillory was the standard public punishment for lesser offences. Both depended on the same storehouse that supplied the castle and the Company's farms. Florence oil was olive oil from Tuscany, shipped in thin glass flasks wrapped in straw. It served for cooking and lamps and, in the armoury, for keeping gun locks and blades free of rust. Smiths' rubbers were coarse files used to dress rough iron, and a scythe stone was a whetstone for sharpening blades. Back nails were perhaps short nails for fixing backing boards, though the precise sense is not certain.
111	104	21st January Brought over £ 23 . 3 . 10 Iron Ware brought over £ 1 . 15 . 10 29 Helves for the Masons Baker and Armorer 16 . 11 ½ of Spelter 10½ ¼ Borax 3 . 4 2 Sail Needles to make Cots 2 1 Packg Do 1½ 3lb Corn Emery for the Armr 5½ 2 Lathing Hammers Masons	Further stores issued to the general expenses account in the last quarter of 1764 were added to the running figure of £23 3s 10d. Brought forward, £23 3s 10d Ironware brought forward, £1 15s 10d 29 tool handles, for the masons, the baker and the armourer, £0 16s 11d ½ pound of spelter, £0 0s 10½d ¼ pound of borax, £0 3s 4d 2 sail needles, for making cots, £0 0s 2d 1 packing needle, for making cots, £0 0s 1½d ¾ pound of corn emery, for the armourer, £0 0s 5½d 2 lathing hammers, for the masons, £0 2s 9d 36¼ pounds of rod iron, for the castle and for horseshoe nails, £0 3s 4d 1 pack line, for the castle, £0 1s 0d

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		2 . 9 36¼ Rod Iron for the Castle and to make Nails to Shoe Horses 3 . 4 1 Pack Line for the Castle 1 1 Plaistr Trowell for the Masons 1 . 8 3 Black Keys for the Doct Shop &c 2 6 Pickaxes for the Masons 13 . 9 1 Tin: Fr: Pan to Stew the Fish fiend 2 . 3½ 1 Hd Hammr Helve for the Masons 7 1 Shod Shovel Do 1 . 11 1 Sledge Hammer Armorers Shop 8 . 2 1 Joyners Rubstones Coopers use 2 . 10 12 File Hafts Armr & Carpentr use 9 1 Chafing Dish for the Castle 6 . [...] 1 Closet Lock for the Plantr House 3 . 3 1 Spade for the Armr Shop 4 6 . 3 . 1 Turners Ware viz 5 Birch Brooms for the Castle and Armorer 2 . 2 4 Shoe Brushes Castle & Groom 2 . 3 8 Mops 10 . 8 6 Hair Brooms 13 . 9 2 Scrubg Brushes 4 . 7 1 . 13 . 5 Candy 30lb for the Groom and Gardener 1 . 10 Carried over £ 32 . 1 . 2	1 plasterer's trowel, for the masons, £0 1s 8d 3 blank keys, for the doctor's shop and elsewhere, £0 2s 0d 6 pickaxes, for the masons, £0 13s 9d 1 iron frying pan, for skimming the fish pond, £0 2s 3½d 1 hand hammer handle, for the masons, £0 0s 7d 1 iron-shod shovel, for the masons, £0 1s 11d 1 sledgehammer, for the armourer's shop, £0 8s 2d 1 joiner's rubstone, for the cooper, £0 2s 10d 12 file handles, for the armourer and the carpenter, £[...] 1 chafing dish, for the castle, £0 6s 9d 1 closet lock, for the plantation house, £0 3s 3d 1 spade, for the armourer's shop, £0 4s 0d Ironware subtotal, £6 3s 1d Wooden and turned goods: 5 birch brooms, for the castle and the armourer, £0 2s 2d 4 shoe brushes, for the castle and the groom, £0 2s 3d 8 mops, £0 10s 8d 6 hair brooms, £0 13s 9d 2 scrubbing brushes, £0 4s 7d Wooden goods subtotal, £1 13s 5d 30 pounds of sugar candy, for the groom and the gardener, £1 0s 10d Carried forward, £32 1s 2d **Interpretations** The armourer's shop worked metal on the island rather than relying solely on finished goods from England. Spelter was zinc, and borax served as the flux that let brass solder flow cleanly when joining or repairing metal parts. Corn emery was emery ground into grains and used with oil to scour and polish gun barrels, locks and blades. The rod iron issued to make horseshoe nails shows the same self-reliance, since it was cheaper to ship bar and rod iron and let a local smith cut and forge the nails. Cots here were hanging beds of canvas stretched on a wooden frame, slung like hammocks but more comfortable for the sick. The sail needles and packing needle issued for making them suggest the canvas was sewn locally, probably for the hospital or the garrison. A chafing dish was a small portable brazier that held burning charcoal beneath a dish, keeping food warm at table or heating it in a room without a fire. A rubstone was a coarse whetstone for sharpening edged tools, and file handles were the wooden grips fitted to the tangs of files. The frying pan issued to skim the fish pond shows that the castle kept a pond stocked with fish, and a long-handled pan was the simplest tool for clearing weed and scum from its surface. The sugar candy was charged at roughly 8d a pound, almost exactly the price at which sugar candy was sold to the planters on 21 January 1765. The nails on the previous page, by contrast, were charged well below their sale price. The general expenses account therefore did not apply one consistent basis of valuation to every item it drew from the store.
112	105	1765 Brought over £ 32 . 1 . 2 Lines viz 2 doz No 4 for the Masons 9½ ½ doz 2 1 . 3½ 1 Log for the Gardener 11½ 1 W Cord 2 . 11½ 14 . 9	Stores issued to the general expenses account continued from a running figure of £32 1s 2d, with the paint going to one of the Company's houses, the pigeon house and repairs at the castle. Brought forward, £32 1s 2d Lines: 2 dozen size 4 lines, for the masons, £0 9s 0½d ½ dozen size 2 lines, for the masons, £0 1s 3½d 1 log line, for the gardener, £0 0s 11½d 1 [...] line, £0 2s 11½d Lines subtotal, £0 19s 9d

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		Thread 1lb Coll for the Secretarys Office 3 . 3 Paint viz 64 Whiting 1 . 4 ½ Verdigrease 1 . 11½ 4 Brown Black to paint one of the 2 . 4 5 St Colour Companys Houses 2 . 4½ 5 W. Lead mixed Pidgeon House 1 . 10 8 Do dry and Repairs in 2 . 6 2 Indico the Castle 3 . 7½ 3 Ven. Red mixed 1 . 4½ 1 B Smalts 1 . 2½ 18 . 7 Glass Ware viz 7 Sqs 8 by 10 for the Hospl & Apartments Home 4 . 3 65 Sqs 6 by 8 for two of the Cos Houses 17 . 7 1 Sq 11 by 19 Castle 1 . 6 1 Sq 11 by 17¾ 1 . 4 1 . 4 . 8 Tar 2 Galls for Pidgeon House 1 . 8 Sope 5lb for the Linen 1 . 3 . 11 Starch 1lb 2 . 6 Cordage 166 for a Crane Rope, Fort Garden and Scaffolding 2 . 13 . 9 Tin Ware 2 Lamps for the Armr 2 . 3 Blankets 2 to Iron Liners upon 11 . 10 Cart Wheels 4 Wheel Barrows for the Masons 2 . 16 Carried over £ 42 . 19 . 4	1 ball of thread, for the Secretary's office, £0 3s 3d Paint: 64 pounds of whiting, £0 1s 4d ½ pound of verdigris, £0 1s 11½d 4 pounds of [...] black, £0 2s 4d 5 pounds of stone colour, £0 2s 4½d 5 pounds of white lead, ready mixed, £0 1s 10½d 8 pounds of dry white lead, £0 2s 6d 2 ounces of indigo, £0 3s 7½d 3 pounds of Venetian red, ready mixed, £0 1s 4½d 1 pound of smalts, £0 1s 2½d Paint subtotal, £0 18s 7d Glass: 7 panes, 8 by 10 inches, for the hospital and the apothecary's house, £0 4s 3d 65 panes, 6 by 8 inches, for two of the Company's houses, £0 17s 7d 1 pane, 14 by 19 inches, for the castle, £0 1s 6d 1 pane, [...] by 17¾ inches, for the castle, £0 1s 4d Glass subtotal, £1 4s 8d 2 gallons of tar, for the pigeon house, £0 1s 8d 35 pounds of soap, for the linen, £1 3s 11d 7 pounds of starch, for the linen, £0 2s 6d 166 pounds of cordage, for a crane rope, the fort garden and scaffolding, £2 13s 9d 2 tin lamps, for the armourer, £0 2s 3d 2 blankets, for ironing linen on, £0 11s 10d 4 wheelbarrows, for the masons, £2 16s 0d Carried forward, £42 19s 4d **Interpretations** The lines issued to the masons were builders' lines, stretched between pegs to keep courses of stone level and walls straight. The log line issued to the gardener was probably put to the same use of setting out straight rows and beds, since its knots at fixed intervals made it a ready measuring cord. Thread for the Secretary's office served to tie up bundles of letters and papers, the standard way of filing official records before boxes and binders came into use. The blankets were not for bedding. They were laid on a table as a padded surface for ironing, and together with the soap and starch they show the Company paying for the washing and finishing of linen in its own establishment, probably at the castle. The crane rope points to a working crane, perhaps at the landing place, where cargo and stores had to be lifted from boats onto the shore. On an island with no harbour and a heavy swell, such lifting gear carried much of the traffic between the ships in the road and the town. Items that appear in both the sale and issue records confirm that goods drawn for public use were charged well below the sale price. The 8 by 10 inch panes cost the Company about 7d each here, against about 10d each when sold to planters. Each wheelbarrow was charged at 14s, while a single wheelbarrow sold on 21 January 1765 for 19s 8d. Both gaps sit close to the 40 per cent markup applied to general goods.
113	106	21st January Brought over £ 42 . 19 . 4 Candles viz 38 Castle 3 . 14 . 5 90 Council 8 . 16 . 3 4 Doctors Shop 7 . 10 12 for the Officer that lays in the Castle when the Governr is in Country	The general expenses account for the last quarter of 1764 closed with candles, cloth and a large quantity of timber, added to £42 19s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £42 19s 4d Candles: 38 pounds of candles, for the castle, £3 14s 5d 90 pounds of candles, for the Council, £8 16s 3d 4 pounds of candles, for the doctor's shop, £0 7s 10d

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		1 . 3 . 6 14 . 2 Canvas 1¾ English for a Black Armr Apron 2 Coals 11¼ Bushels Armourers Shop 6 . 13 Long Cloth viz 10 L for Surplices for the Chapl 4 . 13 ½ Pr K for Window Curtains in the Castle 4 . 11 5 . 2 . 11 Deals viz 83 Double for the Castle Scaffold and repairing the Pidgeon House 13 . 13 . 7 226 Single for the Castle and to repair the Pidgeon House and Pillory 21 . 5 . 10 18 Cuffs for the Castle & Scaffolding 3 . 13 . 6 3 Wainscot for the Castle 1 . 3 2 Elm Planks 7 . 19 2 Oak Do of 6 Inch for Do 1 . 15 10½ Pr Riga Timber for Do 4 . 11 13 Baulks for Do 23 . 3 31 . 13 . 5 £ 150 . 17 . 8	12 pounds of candles, for the officer who slept in the castle while the Governor was in the country, £1 3s 6d Candles subtotal, £14 2s 0d 1¾ yards of English canvas, for the armourer's black apron, £0 2s 0d 11½ bushels of coal, for the armourer's shop, £6 18s 0d Long cloth: 1 piece of long cloth, sort L, for surplices for the chapel, £4 13s 0d ½ piece of long cloth, sort K, for window curtains in the castle, £0 9s 11d Long cloth subtotal, £5 2s 11d Timber: 83 double deals, for the castle scaffolding and repairs to the pigeon house, £13 13s 7d 226 single deals, for the castle and repairs to the pigeon house and pillory, £21 5s 10d 18 spars, for the castle and scaffolding, £3 13s 6d 3 wainscot boards, for the castle, £1 0s 3d 2 elm planks, for the castle, £7 19s 0d 2 oak planks, 6 inches thick, for the castle, £1 15s 0d 10½ pieces of Riga timber, for the castle, £4 11s 0d 13 baulks, for the castle, £23 0s 3d Timber subtotal, £81 13s 5d Total, £150 17s 8d **Interpretations** The candles show where the settlement's business was done after dark. The Council received 90 pounds, more than twice the castle's own allowance, which suggests that its meetings and the clerical work behind them ran regularly into the evening. A separate issue went to the officer who slept in the castle whenever the Governor was away at his country residence. The castle held the arms, the treasury and the records of the settlement, so it was never left without a commissioned officer in charge overnight. Timber made up more than half the quarter's charges. St Helena's native woods could not supply sawn boards in any quantity, and every deal, plank and beam had to come by sea. Wainscot was high-quality oak board, usually from the Baltic, used for panelling rooms and making doors. Riga timber was fir or pine shipped from the Baltic port of Riga and prized for its straight grain and length. Baulks were large squared beams roughly hewn from whole trees, used for main framing, and their cost here reflects both their size and the difficulty of carrying them so far. Spars were long poles suited to scaffolding. The coal for the armourer's shop was carried from England, since the island had no coal of its own and charcoal from its limited timber was too precious to burn freely in a forge. Surplices for the chapel were the white linen or cotton gowns worn by the chaplain over his dark clothes during services, here made from long cloth drawn from the store rather than bought ready made.
114	107	1765 Diet Expences Dr, for the following Stores Issued for the 31st December 1764 viz Flour 632 4 . 5 . 3 Beef and Pork viz 5 Ps Beef 15 . 8 37 Ps Pork 4 . 6 . 4 5 . 2 Tea viz 11 Congo 15 . 1½	The account for the Company's table was charged with the provisions issued from the store up to 31 December 1764. 632 pounds of flour, £4 5s 3d Beef and pork: 5 pieces of salt beef, £0 15s 8d 37 pieces of salt pork, £4 6s 4d Beef and pork subtotal, £5 2s 0d Tea: 11 pounds of congou tea, £0 15s 1½d 1 pound of singlo tea, £0 1s 4½d Tea subtotal, £0 16s 6d 76 gallons of arrack, £14 14s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £0 7s 3d

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		1 Singlo 1 . 4½ 16 . 6 Arrack 76 Gallons 14 . 14 . 6 Salt 2 Bushels 7 . 8 Sugar and Candy viz 12 Sugar 3 143 Candy 3 . 1 . 8 3 . 4 . 8 Rice 150lb 11 . 3 Pease ½ Bushel 4 . 4 Pepper 2lb 1 Coffee . 10 8 . 4 Oil 2 Bottles Florence 5 . 3 £ 30 . 9	Sugar and sugar candy: 12 pounds of sugar, £0 3s 0d 143 pounds of sugar candy, £3 1s 3d Sugar subtotal, £3 4s 3d 150 pounds of rice, £0 11s 3d ½ bushel of pease, £0 4s 4d 2 pounds of pepper, £0 1s 0d 10 pounds of coffee, £0 8s 4d 2 bottles of Florence oil, £0 5s 3d Total, £30 0s 9d **Interpretations** Diet expenses was the ledger heading for the cost of feeding the Company's own establishment, the common table at which its senior servants and officers ate at the Company's charge rather than their own. Providing board in kind formed part of their remuneration, and charging the provisions to a separate heading kept that cost distinct from public works and from goods sold. Arrack alone took almost half the total, at 76 gallons. It was charged at about 3s 10½d a gallon, the same rate as the 58½ gallons issued to workmen under general expenses in the same quarter. The store therefore valued the spirit on a single basis whether it went to the Company's table or to labourers as a reward. Salt beef and pork were counted by the piece, the standard measure for meat packed in casks for long voyages, each piece cut to a fixed weight before salting. The pork far outnumbered the beef, which probably reflects what the ships in the road had to spare rather than the preference of the table. Singlo was a green tea named after the Sung-lo hills of China, cheaper than hyson and widely drunk in England. Pease were dried field peas, a keeping staple boiled into pottage or soup.
115	108	21st January Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Octob. to the 31st Janry 1764 Oil 141 Galls Train 22 . 6 . 6 Tea 97lb Bohea 4 . 2 . 10 Iron Ware viz 6 Hand Hatchets 10 . 6 1 Large Fr. Pan out forts 3 . 11½ 4 Small Do 10 . 10 1 St. Lock 3 Company 2 . 3½ 1 S Bill Do Banks's 7 . 4 1 Helve Do 7 1 . 15 . 11 Turners Ware viz 1 Wood Bowl for the out Fort 1 . 3½ 2 Birch Brooms 10½ 2 . 2 Blankets 4 1 . 3 . 8 Glass Ware viz 10 Sqrs . 6 by 8 for Mundens Point and Baracks 2 . 3½ 2 Sqs . 8 by 10 Officers Gd Room 1 . 2½ 3 . 11 Tin Ware viz 4 Lamps for the Serjts Guards 4 . 6 Paint viz	The garrison account was charged with the stores issued to the troops between 1 October and 31 December 1764. 141 gallons of train oil, £22 6s 6d 97 pounds of bohea tea, £4 2s 10d Ironware: 6 hand hatchets, £0 10s 6d 1 large frying pan, for the outlying forts, £0 3s 11½d 4 small frying pans, for the outlying forts, £0 10s 10d 1 padlock, for the 3rd Company, £0 2s 8½d 1 billhook, for Banks's, £0 7s 4d 1 tool handle, for Banks's, £0 0s 7d Ironware subtotal, £1 15s 11d Wooden goods: 1 wooden bowl, for the outlying fort, £0 1s 3½d 2 birch brooms, £0 0s 10½d Wooden goods subtotal, £0 2s 2d 4 blankets, £1 3s 8d Glass: 10 panes, 6 by 8 inches, for Munden's Point and the barracks, £0 2s 8½d 2 panes, 8 by 10 inches, for the officers' guardroom, £0 1s 2½d Glass subtotal, £0 3s 11d 4 tin lamps, for the [...] guards, £0 4s 6d Paint, for cleaning the soldiers' belts and equipment: 20 pounds of dry yellow ochre, £0 3s 9d 30 pounds of whiting, £0 0s 7d Paint subtotal, £0 4s 4d 2 lengths of whipcord, for whips, £0 5s 11d 1 pair of calf leather shoes, for a recruit, £0 4s 0d 1 corporal's hat, £0 2s 10d 1 pound of tacks, for drums, £0 0s 4d Carried forward, £30 16s 11d **Interpretations**

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		20 Yell. Oker dry to clean their [...] 3 . 9 30 W. [...] 7 4 . 4 Lines 2 W Cord for Whips 5 . 11 Shoes 1 Pr Os for a Recruit 4 Hats 1 Corporals 2 . 10 Nails 4 Tacks for Creams 4 Carried over £ 30 . 16 . 11	Train oil accounted for nearly three-quarters of the garrison's charge for the quarter. The oil burned in the lamps of the barracks, guardrooms and forts, where sentries kept watch through the night along the coast. A garrison spread across batteries and lookouts on the island's cliffs needed light at every post, and on this scale lighting cost far more than equipment or clothing. The yellow ochre and whiting were not for painting buildings. Soldiers rubbed pigment into their buff leather belts and pouches to keep them an even colour, and whiting brightened white facings and equipment. Issuing these at public cost reflected how much weight the army placed on appearance at parade and inspection. The frying pans and wooden bowl sent to the outlying forts show that the detachments posted there cooked for themselves instead of drawing ready meals from the main barracks. Munden's Point and Banks's were among these posts, and their supplies came from the same central store as the castle's. The 97 pounds of bohea issued to the garrison shows tea already treated as a regular part of the soldiers' provisions on the island. This was perhaps ahead of practice in England, where soldiers at that date generally bought such comforts from their own pay. Tacks for drums secured the heads of the regimental drums, which beat the calls that governed the soldiers' day.
116	109	1765 Brought over £ 30 . 16 . 11 Soldiers Cloath viz 2 Centry Coats 2 . 4 . 8 1 Centinel Coat & Breeches for a Recruit 1 . 9 . 4 3 . 14 £ 34 . 10 . 11 Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st Decemr 1764 viz Tea 73lb Bohea 3 . 6 . 7 Arrack 66½ Galls for Drams and their usual Allowance at Xmas 12 . 17 . 8 Sugar 230 2 . 17 . 6 Long Cloth viz ½ Ps No 7 4 . 7 ½ Ps K 3 . 4 7 . 11 Beef and Pork viz 820 Ps Beef 128 . 19 . 7 675 Ps Pork 78 . 15 207 . 14 . 7 Rice 1069lb 8 35 . 9 . 8 Flour 39 4 . 10 Oil 1⅓ Train 5 . 11 Salt 25 Cape 1 . 9 Carried over £ 263 . 6 . 5	The garrison account for the last quarter of 1764 closed with an issue of soldiers' clothing, added to £30 16s 11d brought forward. Brought forward, £30 16s 11d Soldiers' clothing: 2 sentry coats, £2 4s 8d 1 soldier's coat and breeches, for a recruit, £1 9s 4d Clothing subtotal, £3 14s 0d Total, £34 10s 11d **Interpretations** Sentry coats were heavy, full-length greatcoats kept at the guard posts and handed from one man to the next as the watch changed, rather than issued to any one soldier. They were public property of the post, which is why they were charged as stores. The recruit, by contrast, received his own coat and breeches, matching the shoes issued to a recruit on the previous page. The account for the Company's slaves was charged with the stores issued to them between 1 October and 31 December 1764. 73 pounds of bohea tea, £3 6s 7d 66½ gallons of arrack, for drams and the customary Christmas allowance, £12 17s 8d 230 pounds of sugar, £2 17s 6d Long cloth: ½ piece of long cloth, sort N, £0 4s 7d ½ piece of long cloth, sort K, £0 3s 4d Long cloth subtotal, £0 7s 11d Beef and pork: 820 pieces of salt beef, £128 19s 7d 675 pieces of salt pork, £78 15s 0d Beef and pork subtotal, £207 14s 7d 10,108 pounds of rice, £35 9s 8d 30 pounds of flour, £0 4s 10d 1⅞ gallons of train oil, £0 5s 11d 25 pounds of Cape salt, £0 1s 9d Carried forward, £263 6s 5d **Interpretations** The Company owned slaves of its own, who worked on its plantations, public works and fortifications. Their food and clothing were charged to a separate heading, so that the cost of maintaining them as a labour force could be seen apart from the garrison and the civil establishment. For this quarter

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			that cost already exceeded the garrison's charge several times over. The contrast between rice and flour shows how the slaves' diet was set apart from that of the Europeans. More than 10,000 pounds of rice were issued against only 30 pounds of flour, whereas the Company's own table drew 632 pounds of flour and just 150 pounds of rice in the same period. Rice came cheaply by sea from India and the East, while wheat flour was the costlier bread grain reserved largely for the free population. The meat was valued on exactly the same basis as elsewhere in the store. A piece of salt beef was charged at a little over 3s 1½d and a piece of pork at 2s 4d, the same rates applied to the Company's table. The arrack likewise matched the rate of about 3s 10½d a gallon used across the other accounts. The arrack and sugar reflected customary allowances as well as rations. A dram of spirits was given for particular labour, and an extra allowance at Christmas marked one of the few holidays in the working year. Such issues served as an inducement and a means of control, rewarding compliance at little cost to the Company.
117	110	21st Janry Brought over £ 263 . 6 . 5 Shoes viz 1 Pr Boys Govr Servants 3 . 1 30 Pr Ordinary for the Handycraftsmen 6 6 . 3 . 1 Cuttlery 6 Butchers Knives 3 . 1 Hooks and Lines viz 200 . . 1 100 . . 12 Hooks for the Fishermen 9 . 11 24 . . 3 Lines 7 . 10 17 . 9 Twine 1 Skain Do 6 Deals 2 Single for a Coffin 3 . 10 Nails 1lb 6 6 Iron Ware viz 1 Stock Lock for one of their Houses 2 . 8½ 5 Tin: Fr: Pans 13 . 6½ 16 . 3 Blankets 17 . 9 Hosiers Ware 2 Pr Thr Stockings 7 £ 272 . 16 . 2	The account for the Company's slaves continued from £263 6s 5d with clothing, tools and household goods. Brought forward, £263 6s 5d Shoes: 1 pair of boys' shoes, for the Governor's servants, £0 3s 1d 30 pairs of plain shoes, for the craftsmen, £6 0s 0d Shoes subtotal, £6 3s 1d 6 butchers' knives, £0 3s 1d Fishing hooks and lines, for the fishermen: 200 fish hooks, size 1 100 fish hooks, size 12 Hooks of sizes 1 and 12 together, £0 9s 11d 24 fishing lines, size 3, £0 7s 10d Fishing tackle subtotal, £0 17s 9d 1 skein of twine, for the fishermen, £0 0s 6d 2 single deals, for a coffin, £0 3s 10d 1 pound of size 6 nails, for a coffin, £0 0s 6d Ironware: 1 stock lock, for one of the slaves' houses, £0 2s 8½d 5 iron frying pans, £0 13s 6½d Ironware subtotal, £0 16s 3d Blankets, £0 17s 9d 2 pairs of thread stockings, £0 7s 0d Total, £272 16s 2d **Interpretations** The issues show the Company's slaves divided by occupation. Thirty pairs of shoes went to the craftsmen, who worked as masons, carpenters, smiths and in similar trades, while no shoes were issued to the general body of labourers. Skilled slaves were more valuable to the Company and their work often required protected feet, so they received goods that others did not. A separate group served as fishermen, supplied with hooks, lines and twine, and their catch helped feed the settlement. The deals and nails for a coffin show that the Company bore the cost of burying its slaves as well as maintaining them while alive. The stock lock was a heavy wooden-cased lock fitted to an outer door, issued for one of the houses in which the slaves lived. Their housing was therefore Company property, secured and repaired from the public store like any other building.
118	111	1765 Brought over £ Arrack 3¾ Galls	Another set of stores was entered in 1765 with no sum recorded as brought forward. Brought forward, £0 0s 0d

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		14 . 6 Rice 192lb 13 . 1 Sugar 32 8 Beef 16 Pieces 2 . 10 . 4 Oil 1 Gn Train 3 . 2 Sope 8lb 5 . 2 Tea 4lb Bohea 3 . 5 Shoes 1 Pr Chamr Pumps 6 . 1 Broad Cloth 2¼ yds Scarlet 2 . 3 . 8 Long Cloth ½ Ps T 13 . 8 Hosiers Ware 2 Pr E. Cott Stockings 14 . 4 China Ware viz 6 Meat Plates 2 . 1 6 Saucers 1 . 3 2 Bowls 2 . 8 2 Dishes 4 1 Tea Pot 10 11 . 3 Tin Ware 1 Quart Sauce Pan 6 Blanket 1 5 . 11 Pepper 1 6 Oil 1 Bottle Florence 2 . 7 Salt 25 Cape 1 . 9 Shirts 2 yds B. Holland 3 . 8 Haberdashery viz 2 Sk Silk 1 2 Sk: Mohr 10 1 . 10 £ 10 . 3 . 10	3¾ gallons of arrack, £0 14s 6d 192 pounds of rice, £0 13s 1d 32 pounds of sugar, £0 8s 0d 16 pieces of salt beef, £2 10s 4d 1 gallon of train oil, £0 3s 2d 8 pounds of soap, £0 5s 2d 4 pounds of bohea tea, £0 3s 5d 1 pair of channel pumps, £0 6s 1d 2¼ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £2 3s 8d ½ piece of long cloth, sort T, £0 13s 8d 2 pairs of ingrain cotton stockings, £0 14s 4d China: 6 meat plates, £0 2s 1d 6 sneakers, £0 1s 3d 2 bowls, £0 2s 8d 2 dishes, £0 4s 0d 1 teapot, £0 0s 10d China subtotal, £0 11s 3d 1 tin quart saucepan, £0 0s 6d 1 blanket, £0 5s 11d 1 pound of pepper, £0 0s 6d 1 bottle of Florence oil, £0 2s 7d 25 pounds of Cape salt, £0 1s 9d 2 yards of brown holland, for shirts, £0 3s 8d Sewing goods: 2 skeins of silk, £0 1s 0d 2 skeins of mohair thread, £0 0s 10d Sewing goods subtotal, £0 1s 10d Total, £10 3s 10d **Interpretations** A sneaker was a small china bowl or large handleless cup, used for tea or for individual servings of punch. Meat plates were flat dinner plates, as distinct from the deeper dishes used to bring food to the table. Chinese porcelain of this kind came home in bulk on the Canton ships, often packed low in the hold as ballast beneath the tea, which kept it cheap enough for everyday use. Channel pumps were light, low shoes whose soles were stitched through a groove cut in the leather, so the thread lay hidden and protected from wear. Scarlet broadcloth was a heavy, fine woollen of English manufacture, closely woven and felted to a smooth finish, and its dye made it one of the dearest cloths in the store. At almost £1 a yard it cost more than the 16 pieces of beef that stand beside it. The provisions were charged at the same rates found throughout the quarter's accounts. Salt beef stood at a little over 3s 1½d a piece, sugar at 3d a pound and Cape salt at 1s 9d for 25 pounds, confirming that the store applied fixed internal prices to every heading it supplied.
119	112	21st January Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st Decemr 1764 viz Iron Ware viz 9 Helves Plantations 5 . 3 1 Hd Hatchet Pastures 1 . 9 4 Stock Locks for the Gardener Stone Hole and House point 10 . 10 2 Pad Locks Pasture Gates 3 . 1 1 . 11 Rice and Paddy viz 220 Rice 15 4053 Paddy 6 . 15 . 3 7 . 10 . 3 Oil 1½ G: T for the Overseer in the Wood 4 . 9 Cordage 63 for Break: Oxen and Horse Ropes	The Company's plantation account was charged with the stores issued to it between 1 October and 31 December 1764. Ironware: 9 tool handles, for the plantations, £0 5s 3d 1 hand hatchet, for the pastures, £0 1s 9d 4 stock locks, for the gardener, Stone Hole and Horse Point, £0 10s 10d 2 padlocks, for the pasture gates, £0 3s 1d Ironware subtotal, £1 0s 11d Rice and paddy: 220 pounds of rice, £0 15s 0d 4,053 pounds of paddy, £6 15s 3d Rice and paddy subtotal, £7 10s 3d 1½ gallons of train oil, for the overseer in the wood, £0 4s 9d 23 pounds of cordage, for ropes to break oxen and horses, £1 2s 4d Cutlery: 1 pruning knife, £0 0s 11d 2 butchers' knives, £0 1s 1d Cutlery subtotal, £0 2s 0d Tinware:

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		1 . 2 . 4 Cuttlery Ware viz 1 Prung Knife 11 2 Butcher Do 1 . 1 2 Tin Ware viz 1 Quart Sauce Pan 6 2 Water: Pots Garden 8 . 6 9 Nails viz ½ . . 6 for the Fort Garden 3 2½ . . 10 Plantation House 1 . 1 2 . . 40 Great Wood 3 2 Tar 2½ Galls Carts 2 . 1 Bunting 4 yds White for milk Strains 2 . 1 Wheat 110 for the Poultry 3 . 9 Twine 1 Sk. Groom 6 Carried over £ 11 . 1	1 tin quart saucepan, £0 0s 6d 2 watering cans, for the garden, £0 8s 6d Tinware subtotal, £0 9s 0d Nails: ½ pound of size 6 nails, for the fort garden, £0 0s 3d 2½ pounds of size 10 nails, for the plantation house, £0 1s 1d 2 pounds of size 40 nails, for the Great Wood, £0 0s 8d Nails subtotal, £0 2s 0d 2½ gallons of tar, for the carts, £0 2s 1d 4 yards of white bunting, for milk strainers, £0 2s 1d [...] pounds of wheat, for the poultry, £0 3s 9d 1 skein of twine, for the groom, £0 0s 6d Carried forward, £11 0s 1d **Interpretations** The plantation drew most of its grain as paddy, rice still in its husk, rather than as cleaned rice. The two were entered side by side, and the difference in price is plain. Paddy cost well under ½d a pound, while the cleaned rice cost about 0¾d, nearly twice as much. Buying unhusked grain and having it pounded on the plantation turned slave labour into a saving on the store, since husking was slow work that the Company could perform with hands it already fed. The small quantity of cleaned rice was probably kept for purposes where time did not allow for pounding. The ropes for breaking oxen and horses show draught animals being trained on the Company's own land. On an island of steep valleys and no navigable water, oxen hauled the carts that carried timber, stone and produce, so a steady supply of broken animals mattered to every public work. The overseer in the wood was the man in charge of the Great Wood, the Company's reserve of standing timber, which received its own nails in the same issue. Stationing an overseer there reflected the value placed on the island's scarce native trees, which supplied fuel and rough timber and needed protecting from cutting and from grazing animals. Bunting was a thin, loosely woven woollen cloth best known for flags. Its open weave suited it for straining milk, and its issue here shows the plantation running a dairy.
120	113	1765 Brought over £ 11 . 1 Turners Ware viz 2 Pr Ox Bows for the Oxen 5 . 6 1 Tubmans Yoake 1 . 6 7 Cart Wheels 1 Axletree for the Carts 8 . 9 Iron Ware viz 4 Pr Sheep Sheers for Shear Sheep 7 2 Scythe Stones for the Gardener 6 7 . 6 £ 12 . 3 . 4 Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1 October to the 31st Decemr 1764 viz Nails viz 2 . . 3 1 . . 4 to repair the Fishing Yaul 1 . . 6 2 . 7 Cordage 154lb for the L Boat and Yaul 2 . 14 . 6 Tar 36 Galls for Do and Do 1 . 10 Leather 10½ Sole for the Oars	The plantation account for the last quarter of 1764 closed with equipment for the oxen, carts and sheep, added to £11 0s 1d brought forward. Brought forward, £11 0s 1d Wooden goods: 2 pairs of ox bows, for the oxen, £0 5s 6d 1 carrying yoke, £0 1s 6d Wooden goods subtotal, £0 7s 0d 1 axletree, for the carts, £0 8s 9d Ironware: 4 pairs of sheep shears, for shearing the sheep, £0 7s 0d 2 scythe stones, for the gardener, £0 0s 6d Ironware subtotal, £0 7s 6d Total, £12 3s 4d **Interpretations** Ox bows were U-shaped pieces of bent wood that passed under each animal's neck and fastened into the wooden yoke above, so that the oxen pulled from their shoulders. The carrying yoke was a different article, a shaped wooden bar laid across one person's shoulders with a tub or pail hung from each end. It suited the carrying of water or milk over the steep, rough paths of the plantation, where a cart could not easily go. The axletree was the fixed beam on which a cart's wheels turned, and it was the part most often broken on uneven ground.

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		9 . 10 Oars 6 1 . 3 . 4 Bunting 3 Yards Red 2 . 2 Oil ½ Train for the L Boat 9 £ 6 . 3 . 2	The Company's boats were charged with the stores issued to them between 1 October and 31 December 1764. Nails, for repairing the fishing yawl: 2 pounds of size 3 nails 1 pound of size 4 nails 1 pound of size 6 nails Nails together, £0 2s 7d 154 pounds of cordage, for the longboat and the yawl, £2 14s 6d 36 gallons of tar, for the longboat and the yawl, £1 10s 0d 10½ pounds of sole leather, for the oars, £0 9s 10d 6 oars, £1 3s 4d 3 yards of red bunting, £0 2s 2d ¼ gallon of train oil, for the longboat, £0 0s 9d Total, £6 3s 2d **Interpretations** The Company kept its own boats as a working part of the settlement. The longboat carried stores, water and passengers between the ships in the road and the shore, since vessels could not come alongside a quay. The fishing yawl supplied the Company's establishment with fish and was probably crewed by the slave fishermen who received hooks and lines in the same quarter. The sole leather was not for footwear. Strips of thick leather were nailed round each oar where it rested in the rowlock, protecting the wood from being worn away by constant rowing. The red bunting perhaps made a flag or pennant for the longboat, so that it could be recognised from the ships and from the shore.
121	114	21st January Hospital Dr, for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Oct. to the 31st December 176[5] viz Sugar 214lb 2 . 13 . 6 Flour 214 1 . 6 . 9 Oil 11⅓ Galls Train 1 . 17 . 7 Tea 6lb Bohea 5 . 2 Twine ½lb Cotton Yarn 1 Rice 306lb 1 . 7 Iron Ware viz 1 Helve 7 1 Sto: Lock 2 . 8 3 . 3 Turners Ware viz 1 Mop 1 . 4 Salt 75lb Cape 5 . 3 £ 7 . 14 . 5 Fly Cutter Dr, for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1764 viz Beef and Pork viz 3 Ps Beef 9 . 5 13 Ps Pork 1 . 10 . 5 1 . 19 . 9 Flour 96lb 12 £ 2 . 11 . 9	The hospital was charged with the stores issued to it between 1 October and 31 December 1764. 214 pounds of sugar, £2 13s 6d 214 pounds of flour, £1 6s 9d 11⅞ gallons of train oil, £1 17s 7d 6 pounds of bohea tea, £0 5s 2d ½ pound of cotton yarn, £0 1s 0d 306 pounds of rice, £1 0s 7d Ironware: 1 tool handle, £0 0s 7d 1 stock lock, £0 2s 8d Ironware subtotal, £0 3s 3d 1 mop, £0 1s 4d 75 pounds of Cape salt, £0 5s 3d Total, £7 14s 5d **Interpretations** The hospital drew no salt beef or pork at all, while every other establishment on the island took meat by the piece. The sick received sugar, flour, rice and tea instead, the soft and easily digested foods thought fit for invalids, and the sugar matched the flour pound for pound. Salt meat was regarded as heavy and harmful to men already weakened, and fresh meat for patients was presumably supplied from another source rather than from the store. The train oil kept lamps burning through the night on the wards, where the sick had to be watched and tended after dark. The cotton yarn perhaps served for lamp wicks or for sewing dressings and bedding. The cutter *Fly* was charged with the stores issued to it between 1 October and 31 December 1764. Beef and pork: 3 pieces of salt beef, £0 9s 5d 13 pieces of salt pork, £1 10s 5d Beef and pork subtotal, £1 19s 9d 96 pounds of flour, £0 12s 0d Total, £2 11s 9d **Interpretations** A cutter was a small, fast single-masted vessel suited to carrying messages and keeping watch along

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			the coast. The *Fly* drew its crew's salt meat and flour from the island store at the same fixed rates charged to the garrison and the Company's table, which shows it was maintained as part of the settlement's own establishment rather than as a visiting ship.
122	115	1765 Fortification Dr, for the following Stores Issued from the 1st October to the 31st December 1764 viz Bunting viz 1 Ps Red 1 . 12 . 10 2 Ps White 2 . 6 . 10 2 Ps Blue 2 . 10 . 7 6 . 10 . 3 Thread 2lb Coloured 6 . 6 Canvas 7½ yds English 8 . 9 Lines viz 1 Deep Sea 5 C N. 4 2 . 4 7 . 4 Twine 2 Skains 1 Cordage 28lb 9 . 11 £ 8 . 3 . 9 St Helena December 31st 1764 E. Excepted (signed) Jo Powell Storekeepr	The fortifications account was charged with the stores issued to it between 1 October and 31 December 1764. Bunting: 1 piece of red bunting, £1 12s 10d 2 pieces of white bunting, £2 6s 10d 2 pieces of blue bunting, £2 10s 7d Bunting subtotal, £6 10s 3d 2 pounds of coloured thread, £0 6s 6d 7½ yards of English canvas, £0 8s 9d Lines: 1 deep-sea line, £0 5s 0d 6 lines, size 4, £0 2s 4d Lines subtotal, £0 7s 4d 2 skeins of twine, £0 1s 0d 28 pounds of cordage, £0 9s 11d Total, £8 3s 9d James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 31 December 1764, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** Powell's signature closed the whole quarter's record of issues, from general expenses through the Company's table, the garrison, the slaves, the plantation, the boats, the hospital, the *Fly* and the fortifications. The storekeeper had written every heading in his own person as the man who issued the goods, and by signing he made himself answerable for each entry. The customary reservation of errors protected him against the arithmetic slips that inevitably crept into so many figures, allowing a mistake to be put right without the account being treated as false. Most of the bunting was bought in red, white and blue, the colours needed for flags. The forts and lookout posts signalled the approach of ships to the castle by hoisting flags in agreed combinations, so a steady supply of bunting, coloured thread and halyard line was a practical part of the island's defence. Bunting was a thin, light woollen that flew well and dried quickly, and flags of this kind wore out fast in the constant wind.
123	116	21st January List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants on the Island St Helena with their Several Salarys (Diet Money) &c for the Quarter Commencing the first day of October and ending the thirty first day of December 1764. John Skottowe Esqr Governor Saly 125 Do Allowance for Servants as usual 31 . 14 . 9 156 . 14 . 9 Matthew [...] of Council Saly 15 Do Accountant 17 . 10 Do Diet Money 15 47 . 10 Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Saly 7 . 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 10 John Thackeray Chaplain Saly 25	The Company's officers and servants on St Helena were listed with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December 1764, beginning with Governor Skottowe. John Skottowe, salary as Governor, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, customary allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe, total, £156 14s 9d Matthew [...]rling, salary as member of Council, £15 0s 0d Matthew [...]rling, salary as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew [...]rling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew [...]rling, total, £47 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, salary as member of Council, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, total, £10 0s 0d John Thackeray, salary as chaplain, £25 0s 0d John Thackeray, diet money, £15 0s 0d John Thackeray, total, £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, salary as Secretary, £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, salary as storekeeper, £17 10s 0d

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		Do Diet Money 15 40 Matthew Ba[zett] Secretarys Salary 17 . 10 Do Diet Money 15 Do House Rent 2 . 10 35 James Powell Storekeeper Saly 17 . 10 Do Diet Money 15 Do House Rent 2 . 10 35 William Wrangham Factors Salary 7 . 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 Do Assistant to the Stores 5 25 Francis Wrangham Factor Saly 7 . 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 20 Richard Law Factor Salary 7 . 10 Do Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 Do Assistant to the Governor 10 30 Carried Over £ 339 . 4 . 9	James Powell, diet money, £15 0s 0d James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Powell, total, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, salary as factor, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, assistant at the stores, £5 0s 0d William Wrangham, total, £25 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, salary as factor, £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, salary as factor, £7 10s 0d Richard Law, diet money, £10 0s 0d Richard Law, house rent, £2 10s 0d Richard Law, assistant to the Governor, £10 0s 0d Richard Law, total, £30 0s 0d Carried forward, £399 4s 9d **Interpretations** Basic salaries formed only part of what each officer received, and often the smaller part. A factor's salary was just £7 10s 0d a quarter, while diet money and house rent together brought him £12 10s 0d more. Officers raised their income further by holding a second post alongside the first. Matthew [...]rling drew more as accountant than as a member of Council, William Wrangham took an extra £5 0s 0d for helping at the stores, and Richard Law added £10 0s 0d as assistant to the Governor. This stacking of offices let the Company staff a small settlement with few men while keeping each nominal salary low. Diet money was a cash allowance for board, paid on a fixed scale by rank. Senior officers received £15 0s 0d a quarter and factors £10 0s 0d. Thomas Kirkpatrick, though a member of Council, received no diet money at all, which suggests he was fed at the Company's table or maintained himself in some other way, rather than drawing the cash in its place. James Powell appears here as storekeeper, drawing £35 0s 0d for the quarter. He was the officer who signed the quarter's store accounts on 31 December 1764, and his salary matched the Secretary's exactly, a sign of how much responsibility the Company attached to the charge of its warehouse. The Governor's salary of £125 0s 0d a quarter came to £500 0s 0d a year, with a further allowance for household servants paid on the customary scale. He alone received more than the whole of the Council and the factors combined.
124	117	1765 Brought over £ 339 . 4 . 9 David Alcock Writer Salary 7 . 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 17 . 10 Brittanicus Wright Writer Salary 7 . 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 17 . 10 Robert Barclay Surgeon Salary 9 . 15 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 22 . 5 John Pritchard Surgeons Mate Salary	The list of the Company's officers and servants for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued from £339 4s 9d. Brought forward, £339 4s 9d David Alcock, salary as writer, £7 10s 0d David Alcock, diet money, £10 0s 0d David Alcock, house rent, £2 10s 0d David Alcock, total, £17 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, salary as writer, £7 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £10 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, house rent, £2 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, total, £17 10s 0d Robert Barclay, salary as surgeon, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, diet money, £10 0s 0d Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Barclay, total, £22 5s 0d John Pritchard, salary as surgeon's mate, £6 5s 0d John Pritchard, diet money, £10 0s 0d John Pritchard, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Pritchard, total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, salary as judge advocate, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, salary as schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d

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		6 . 5 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 18 . 15 Richard Beale Judge Advocate 10 Do Schoolmaster 3 . 8 . 3 13 . 8 . 3 Samuel Alexander Overseers 7 . 10 Matthew Bazett 12 . 10 20 John Bland Master Mason 17 . 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 1 . 10 29 Thomas Townsend Stone Mason Saly 19 . 10 John Robinson Carpenters Salary 12 . 10 Do House Rent 15 13 . 5 Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace 10 Joseph Chamberlain Carpenters Mate 7 . 10 David Pelsford Gardener 10 James Forbes Cooper 8 . 15 36 . 5 Carried Over £ 607 . 13	Richard Beale, total, £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, salary as overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, salary as overseer, £12 10s 0d Overseers together, £20 0s 0d John Bland, salary as master mason, £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, salary as stonemason, £19 10s 0d John Robinson, salary as carpenter, £12 10s 0d John Robinson, house rent, £0 15s 0d John Robinson, total, £13 5s 0d Phillip Mahoney, salary as clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain, salary as carpenter's mate, £7 10s 0d David Pulford, salary as gardener, £10 0s 0d James Forbett, salary as cooper, £8 15s 0d Last four together, £36 5s 0d Carried forward, £546 13s 0d **Interpretations** Richard Beale's two posts show again how the Company combined unrelated offices in one man. As judge advocate he advised on and conducted proceedings in courts martial, a legal office essential to discipline in a settlement governed largely as a garrison. He also ran the school, for a separate and much smaller payment. Phillip Mahoney, as clerk of the peace, kept the records of the island's civil courts and justices, so the settlement maintained a distinct officer for its ordinary criminal and civil business alongside the military one. The list drew a clear line between officers and tradesmen. Writers, surgeons and the master mason received diet money and house rent on top of their salaries, marking them as part of the Company's establishment. The stonemason, carpenter's mate, gardener and cooper drew a single wage with no allowances. These European craftsmen worked alongside the slave craftsmen whose shoes were charged to the slaves' account in the same quarter, and they probably supervised them. Writers were the most junior rank of the Company's civil servants, employed as clerks copying letters, accounts and consultations. The office was the usual point of entry for young men who might later rise to factor and eventually to a seat on the Council.
125	118	21st January Brought over £ 607 . 13 William Moore Steward 7 . 10 Michael Frost Clock and Instrt Cleaner 1 . 5 Zedekiah Saunderson Groom 2 George Streight Armorer 9 Solomon St Maurice Master at Arms 6 . 5 John Criswell Patron of the Long Boat 7 . 10 John Price Marshall and Goaler 7 . 10 William Smith Clark 5 46 First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Capt. Saly 45 . 12 . 6 Solomon St Maurice Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½	The list of the Company's officers and servants for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued from £606 13s 0d with the household staff and the officers and men of the First Company. Brought forward, £606 13s 0d William Moore, steward, £7 10s 0d Michael Frost, cleaner of clocks and instruments, £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Saunderson, groom, £2 0s 0d George Straight, armourer, £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, master-at-arms, £6 5s 0d John Criswell, master of the longboat, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d William Smith, clerk, £5 0s 0d Staff together, £46 0s 0d First Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, salary as captain, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, salary as lieutenant, £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, salary as lieutenant, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, diet money, £6 16s 10½d

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		Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Samuel Desfountain Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Solomon Jacob Adjutant Salary 22 . 16 . 3 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ 29 . 13 . 1½ Serjeants Robert Cager 7 . 12 . 1 John Fell 7 . 12 . 1 John Steward 7 . 12 . 1 Phillip Mahoney 7 . 12 . 1 30 . 8 . 4 Corporals Jonath Lake 5 . 6 . 5½ Thomas Bayne 5 . 6 . 5½ William Bannister 5 . 6 . 5½ Anthony Reynolds 5 . 6 . 5½ 21 . 5 . 10 Carried over £ 834 . 16 . 6½	Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Desfountain, total, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob, salary as adjutant, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacob, total, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants: Robert Cager, £7 12s 1d John Tell, £7 12s 1d John Steward, £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney, £7 12s 1d Sergeants together, £30 8s 4d Corporals: Jonathan Lake, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Bayne, £5 6s 5½d William Bannister, £5 6s 5½d Anthony Reynolds, £5 6s 5½d Corporals together, £21 5s 10d Carried forward, £834 16s 6½d **Interpretations** Civil and military offices on St Helena were held by the same men. Thomas Kirkpatrick sat on the Council and commanded the First Company as captain, and his military pay far exceeded his councillor's salary. Solomon St Maurice drew pay both as master-at-arms and as lieutenant. Phillip Mahoney, already listed as clerk of the peace, also served as a sergeant. The settlement was in effect a garrison under Company government, and the overlap meant that the men who kept the courts and sat in council were the same men who commanded the troops. John Price combined the offices of marshal and gaoler. As marshal he served writs, made arrests and carried out the sentences of the courts, including punishment at the pillory repaired earlier in the quarter. As gaoler he held prisoners in custody. Placing both functions in one paid officer concentrated the island's everyday enforcement in a single pair of hands. The master of the longboat was the man in charge of the boat that carried stores, water and people between the ships in the road and the shore, and whose cordage, tar and oars were charged to the boats account. His pay of £7 10s 0d matched that of a factor's salary, a measure of how much the Company depended on safe landings through the surf.
126	119	1765 Brought over £ 834 . 16 . 6½ Drummers Richard Platfoott 5 . 6 . 5½ Henry Howell 5 . 6 . 5½ Joseph Beckham 5 . 6 . 5½ 15 . 19 . 4½ Centinels John Allman 3 . 16 . ½ John Allis 3 . 16 . ½ John Ashinstall 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Berwick 3 . 16 . ½ John Brown 3 . 16 . ½ William Blackman 3 . 16 . ½ John Beckmans 3 . 16 . ½ John Bunn 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Blake	The list for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued from £834 16s 6½d with the drummers and private soldiers of the First Company. Brought forward, £834 16s 6½d Drummers: Richard Platfoot, £5 6s 5½d Henry Howell, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Beecham, £5 6s 5½d Drummers together, £15 19s 4½d Carried forward, £850 15s 11d Privates: John Allman, £3 16s 0½d John Allis, £3 16s 0½d John Ashinstall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Berwick, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d John Backmans, £3 16s 0½d John Bunn, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Blake, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 0½d Henry Crabb, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, £3 16s 0½d John Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Drake, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 . 16 . ½ Edward Cocker 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Crabb 3 . 16 . ½ Isaac Day 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Dudley 3 . 16 . ½ John Davis 3 . 16 . ½ John Drake 3 . 16 . ½ John Dowe 3 . 16 . ½ David Davis 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Durham 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Eales 3 . 16 . ½ Adam Evans 3 . 16 . ½ John Firien 3 . 16 . ½ Cornelius Fish 3 . 16 . ½ William French 3 . 16 . ½ Jonathan Godby 3 . 16 . ½ James Hall 3 . 16 . ½ William Hooks 3 . 16 . ½ William Hebert 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carried over £ 102 . 13 . 1½ Carried over £ 850 . 15 . 11	Thomas Durham, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, £3 16s 0½d John Firrin, £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 Hibbert, £3 16s 0½d Privates so far, carried forward separately, £102 13s 1½d **Interpretations** The privates were entered as a running sub-total of their own, kept apart from the main figure carried forward. The clerk could then list the whole body of rank and file across several leaves before adding their combined pay to the establishment total in a single sum. Each private received £3 16s 0½d for the quarter, which came to almost exactly 10d a day. A private of foot in the British army at home was paid 8d a day at this date, much of it lost to deductions for food and clothing. The Company paid more, perhaps as the price of persuading men to serve on a remote island with little prospect of leave or discharge. Drummers were paid at the same rate as corporals rather than as privates. Their drums sounded the calls that ordered the soldiers' day and passed signals across the garrison, so they held a recognised position above the ordinary soldier.
127	120	21st January Brought over £ 850 . 15 . 11 Centinels brought over £ 102 . 13 . 1½ William Henderson 3 . 16 . ½ James Hedges 3 . 16 . ½ William Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ George Kidbett 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Knight 3 . 16 . ½ William Luke 3 . 16 . ½ Duncan McCloron 3 . 16 . ½ William Mumford 3 . 16 . ½ John May 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Marshall 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Mars 3 . 16 . ½ John Pickering 3 . 16 . ½ William Paxton 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Price 3 . 16 . ½ Michael Reed 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Roberts 3 . 16 . ½ Anthony Reed	The roll of privates for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued, with the main figure standing unchanged at £850 15s 11d. Brought forward, £850 15s 11d Privates brought forward, £102 13s 1½d 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 Duncan McCloon, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d John May, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mars, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, £3 16s 0½d William Paxton, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Price, £3 16s 0½d Michael Reed, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Reed, £3 16s 0½d William Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransome, £3 16s 0½d George Roe, £3 16s 0½d William Rowlands, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Rolf, £3 16s 0½d William Swaby, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp, £3 16s 0½d John Stewart, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Stacey, £3 16s 0½d Edward Tovey, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tokington, £3 16s 0½d William Tipper, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 . 16 . ½ William Robinson 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Ransome 3 . 16 . ½ George Roe 3 . 16 . ½ William Rowlands 3 . 16 . ½ Silvanus Rolf 3 . 16 . ½ William Swaby 3 . 16 . ½ John Springthorp 3 . 16 . ½ John Stewart 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Stacey 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Terry 3 . 16 . ½ John Taylor 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Tottington 3 . 16 . ½ William Tipper 3 . 16 . ½ Luke Vernon 3 . 16 . ½ John Whittingdale 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Wheeler 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carrd over £ 228 . 2 . 6 Carrd over £ 850 . 15 . 11	John Whittingdale, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler, £3 16s 0½d Privates so far, carried forward separately, £228 2s 6d Carried forward, £850 15s 11d
128	121	1765 Brought over £ 850 . 15 . 11 Centinels brought over £ 228 . 2 . 6 Benjamin Rose 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Windall 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Warne 3 . 16 . ½ John Webster 3 . 16 . ½ George Wall 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Youcas 3 . 16 . ½ William Yates 3 . 16 . ½ 254 . 14 . 9½ Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Saly 45 . 12 . 6 Michael Frost Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ John Ware Welch Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ 25 . 01 . 10½ Serjeants John Bazett 7 . 12 . 1 William Bell to October 3 Reduced 5 Do Centinel from October 4 3 . 14 . 1	The list for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued from £850 15s 11d, closing the First Company's privates and opening the Second Company. Brought forward, £850 15s 11d Privates brought forward, £228 2s 6d Benjamin Rose, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Warne, £3 16s 0½d John Weston, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, £3 16s 0½d Richard Youcas, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, £3 16s 0½d Privates of the First Company, total, £254 14s 9½d Second Company: Henry Bazett, salary as captain, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, salary as lieutenant, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Michael Frost, total, £27 11s 10½d John Ware Welch, salary as lieutenant, £18 5s 0d John Ware Welch, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Ware Welch, total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: John Bazett, £7 12s 1d William Bell, as sergeant to 3 October, then reduced, £0 5s 0d William Bell, as private from 4 October, £3 14s 1d Thomas Woffington, £7 12s 1d William Hayes, as sergeant to 17 December, then reduced, £6 10s 0d William Hayes, as private from 18 December, £0 11s 8d Sergeants together, £26 5s 0d Corporals: William Clay, as corporal to 4 October, when he gave up the rank, £0 4s 8d

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		Thomas Wassington 7 . 12 . 1 William Hayes December 17 Reduced 6 . 10 Do Centinel from 18 December 11 . 8 26 . 5 Corporals William Clay October 4th Resignd 4 . 8 Do Centinel from Octr 5th 3 . 13 . 4 William Greenough Octr 4th made Serjt 3 . 6 Do Serjeant from Octob 5 7 . 8 . 4 John Fish Decemr 17th made Serjt 4 . 11 Do Serjeant from 18th December 1 . 3 . 4 Corporal Carrd over £ 17 . 4 . 2 Carrd over £ 1230 . 1 . 11½	William Clay, as private from 5 October, £3 13s 4d William Greenough, as corporal to 4 October, when promoted sergeant, £0 3s 6d William Greenough, as sergeant from 5 October, £7 3s 4d John Fish, as corporal to 17 December, when promoted sergeant, £4 11s 0d John Fish, as sergeant from 18 December, £1 3s 4d Corporals so far, carried forward separately, £17 4s 2d Carried forward, £1,230 1s 11½d **Interpretations** Pay was calculated to the day according to the rank each man actually held, so every change of rank during the quarter split his entry in two. Reduction to the ranks was therefore a financial penalty as well as a disgrace. William Bell and William Hayes each lost roughly half their daily pay the moment they were broken from sergeant to private, and the account recorded the exact date on which the loss began. The vacancies were filled at once from the corporals. William Greenough became a sergeant on 5 October, the day after Bell's reduction took effect, and John Fish was promoted on 18 December, the same day Hayes began serving as a private. The Company kept its establishment of sergeants at full strength rather than leaving posts open, and it promoted from within the company instead of bringing in men from elsewhere. William Clay stands apart as the only man who gave up his rank of his own accord, returning to the ranks on 5 October. Three men named Bazett appear across the establishment: Henry as captain of the Second Company, John as one of its sergeants and Matthew as Secretary. They were perhaps related, and their spread across civil and military posts would reflect how a small settlement's appointments tended to run through a handful of families.
129	122	21st January Brought over £ 1230 . 1 . 11½ Corporals brought over £ 17 . 4 . 2 John Tucker Decemr 15th Resignd 4 . 8 . 8 Do Centinel Decr 16 13 . 4 22 . 6 . 2 Drummers Robert Davis 5 . 6 . 5½ Francis Soane 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels Samuel Alstone 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Banks 3 . 16 . ½ William Beech 3 . 16 . ½ William Brookes 3 . 16 . ½ Jacob Brown 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Brown 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Bott 3 . 16 . ½ Nicholas Baskel 3 . 16 . ½ Daniel Bye 3 . 16 . ½ James Byrne 3 . 16 . ½	The Second Company's entries for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued from £1,230 1s 11½d. Brought forward, £1,230 1s 11½d Corporals brought forward, £17 4s 2d John Tucker, as corporal to 15 December, when he gave up the rank, £4 8s 8d John Tucker, as private from 16 December, £0 13s 4d Corporals of the Second Company, total, £22 6s 2d Drummers: Robert Davis, £5 6s 5½d Francis Soane, £5 6s 5½d Drummers together, £10 12s 11d Privates: Samuel Alstone, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d William Beck, £3 16s 0½d William Brookes, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bott, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Baskel, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bye, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, £3 16s 0½d John Carr, £3 16s 0½d Edward Couzens, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Curd, as private to 4 October, when promoted corporal, £0 3s 4d Samuel Curd, as corporal from 5 October, £5 2s 8d Robert Perkins, £3 16s 0½d

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		John Carr 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Cousens 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Cheverly 3 . 16 . ½ William Conquest 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Curd October 4th made Corpl 3 . ½ Do Corpl from Oct 5 5 . 2 . 8 Robert Deckens 3 . 16 . ½ John Dobson 3 . 16 . ½ David Dennis 17th December [...] 3 . 5 William Drinnan 3 . 16 . ½ George Exton 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Esex 3 . 16 . ½ William Finch 3 . 16 . ½ William Isaac Ford 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carrd over £ 88 . 7 . 10½ Carried over £ 1263 . 1 . ½	John Dobson, £3 16s 0½d David Dennis, to 17 December, when discharged, £3 5s 0d William Drinnan, £3 16s 0½d George Exton, £3 16s 0½d Richard Essex, £3 16s 0½d William Finch, £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Ford, £3 16s 0½d Privates so far, carried forward separately, £88 7s 10½d Carried forward, £1,263 1s 0½d **Interpretations** Samuel Curd's promotion completed the chain of changes that began among the corporals earlier in the quarter. William Clay gave up his corporal's rank on 4 October 1764 and William Greenough left the corporals for a sergeant's post the same day. Curd moved up from private on 5 October, so the company refilled its non-commissioned ranks from below on the very day the places fell open. David Dennis was freed from service on 17 December, and his pay stopped on that date instead of running to the end of the quarter. His entry shows that the store accounts were settled strictly on days served, whether a man left the ranks by promotion, reduction or discharge.
130	123	1765 Brought over £ 1263 . 1 . ½ Centinels brought over £ 88 . 7 . 10½ William Fillwood 3 . 16 . ½ William Fry 3 . 16 . ½ George Freeman 3 . 16 . ½ John Forbes 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Greeslade 3 . 16 . ½ John Godsall 3 . 16 . ½ John Gray 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Green 3 . 16 . ½ William Harris Senr 3 . 16 . ½ William Harris Junr 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Harding 3 . 16 . ½ Abraham Harding 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Hyles 3 . 16 . ½ William Whitebrooke 3 . 16 . ½ William Hockley 3 . 16 . ½ James Hudson 3 . 16 . ½ Clement Hylands 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Hadley 3 . 16 . ½ John Hawkswood 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Instone 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Jones 3 . 16 . ½	The roll of the Second Company's privates for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued, with the main figure standing unchanged at £1,263 1s 0½d. Brought forward, £1,263 1s 0½d Privates brought forward, £88 7s 10½d William Fillewood, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, £3 16s 0½d George Freeman, £3 16s 0½d John Forbes, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Greeslade, £3 16s 0½d John Godsall, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, £3 16s 0½d William Harris the elder, £3 16s 0½d William Harris the younger, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hyles, £3 16s 0½d William Whitebrooke, £3 16s 0½d William Hockley, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, £3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hadley, £3 16s 0½d John Hawkswood, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d Richard Jones, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordon, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hobson, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 0½d Edmond Leech, £3 16s 0½d John Lewis, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, £3 16s 0½d Barnard Mulland, from his enlistment on 13 December, £0 16s 4d Thomas Newton, as private to 15 December, when promoted corporal, £3 8s 4d Thomas Newton, as corporal from 16 December, £0 12s 8d Samuel Perry, £3 16s 0½d William Pinchen, £3 16s 0½d Privates so far, carried forward separately, £207 7s 5½d Carried forward, £1,263 1s 0½d

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		William Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ Jeremiah Jordon 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Jackson 3 . 16 . ½ Evan Knowles 3 . 16 . ½ Edmond Leach 3 . 16 . ½ John Lewis 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Mudge 3 . 16 . ½ Barnard Mulland Entd Decr 13th made Corpl 16 . 4 Thos Newton Decemr 15th made Corporal 3 . 8 . 4 Do Corporal from Decr 16th 12 . 8 Samuel Perry 3 . 16 . ½ William Pinchen 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carrd over £ 207 . 7 . 5½ Carried over £ 1263 . 1 . ½	**Interpretations** Thomas Newton's promotion on 16 December filled the place left when John Tucker gave up his corporal's rank on 15 December 1764. As with Samuel Curd in October, the company raised a private to corporal on the day after the vacancy arose, keeping its complement of non-commissioned officers intact. Barnard Mulland was taken into pay on 13 December and drew only the days he had served. A new man enlisting on the island itself, rather than arriving with a draft from England, would have needed clothing issued locally, which fits the coat, breeches and shoes charged to the garrison account for a recruit during the same quarter.
131	124	21st January Brought over £ 1263 . 1 . ½ Centinels brought over £ 207 . 7 . 5½ Roger Phillips 3 . 16 . ½ Stephen Prior 3 . 16 . ½ Abraham Penny 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Richards 3 . 16 . ½ John Christian Strife 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Stevens 3 . 16 . ½ Benjamin Stringer 3 . 16 . ½ William Stableford October 3 made Corpl 2 . 6 Do Corporal from October 4 5 . 3 . 10 William Taylor 3 . 16 . ½ Avery Trueman 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Wansell 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Wyatt 3 . 16 . ½ 254 . 10 . 8 Third Company Richard Beale Captain Salary 45 . 12 . 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ John Bridgwater Lieut Salary 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Serjeants Roger Wettwan	The Second Company's privates closed and the Third Company opened, continuing from £1,263 1s 0½d for the quarter ending 31 December 1764. Brought forward, £1,263 1s 0½d Privates brought forward, £207 7s 5½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Prior, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Penny, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Richards, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Strife, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stevens, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, £3 16s 0½d William Stableford, as private to 3 October, when promoted corporal, £0 2s 6d William Stableford, as corporal from 4 October, £5 3s 10d William Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Avery Trueman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wyatt, £3 16s 0½d Privates of the Second Company, total, £254 10s 3d Third Company: Richard Beale, salary as captain, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, salary as lieutenant, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Bazett, total, £27 11s 10½d John Bridgewater, salary as lieutenant, £18 5s 0d John Bridgewater, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Bridgewater, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Bridgewater, total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: Roger Welbran, £7 12s 1d John Lemmon, £7 12s 1d William Robinson, £7 12s 1d John Lawrence, £7 12s 1d Sergeants together, £30 8s 4d Carried forward, £1,648 15s 10½d **Interpretations** Richard Beale, captain of the Third Company, was the same man already paid as judge advocate and schoolmaster. His captain's pay of £45 12s 6d dwarfed the other two posts combined, and holding all three placed military command, the prosecution of courts martial and the schooling of the island's children in one set of hands. William Stableford's promotion from 4 October filled the second corporal's vacancy created when

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		7 . 12 . 1 John Lemmon 7 . 12 . 1 William Robinson 7 . 12 . 1 John Mawrence 7 . 12 . 1 30 . 8 . 4 [...] Carrd over £ 1648 . 15 . 10½	William Clay and William Greenough both left that rank on 4 October 1764. Samuel Curd took the other place a day later, so both gaps were closed almost at once from among the company's own privates. Thomas Bazett, lieutenant of the Third Company, was the fourth man of that surname on the establishment, alongside Henry as captain of the Second Company, John as a sergeant and Matthew as Secretary.
132	125	1765 Brought over £ 1648 . 15 . 10½ Corporals David Patton 5 . 6 . 5½ William Roberts 5 . 6 . 5½ Thomas Pearce 5 . 6 . 5½ Richard Johnson 5 . 6 . 5½ 21 . 5 . 10 Drummers John Treats 5 . 6 . 5½ John Waters 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels Richard Ashford 3 . 16 . ½ James Anderson 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Adams 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Abbey 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Brown 3 . 16 . ½ Jacob Brill 3 . 16 . ½ Mark Balls 3 . 16 . ½ Benjamin Bennett 3 . 16 . ½ John Blinkorn 3 . 16 . ½ Frederick William Beard 3 . 16 . ½ William Caleb Baldwin 3 . 16 . ½ John Cork 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Chamberlain 3 . 16 . ½ William Clifton 3 . 16 . ½ William Carr 3 . 16 . ½ Michael Downey 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Davis 3 . 16 . ½ Baron Delop 3 . 16 . ½ Charles Edgells 3 . 16 . ½ Samuel Eagles Died Octob 13th 10 . 10 William Fester 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carried over £ 76 . 11 . 3 Carried over £ 1680 . 14 . 7½	The Third Company's entries for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued from £1,648 15s 10½d. Brought forward, £1,648 15s 10½d Corporals: David Patton, £5 6s 5½d William Roberts, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Pearce, £5 6s 5½d Richard Johnson, £5 6s 5½d Corporals together, £21 5s 10d Drummers: John Treats, £5 6s 5½d John Waters, £5 6s 5½d Drummers together, £10 12s 11d Privates: Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abbey, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brill, £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, £3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorn, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 16s 0½d John Cook, £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 Delop, £3 16s 0½d Charles Edgells, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eagles, to his death on 13 October, £0 10s 10d William Foster, £3 16s 0½d Privates so far, carried forward separately, £76 11s 8d Carried forward, £1,680 14s 7½d **Interpretations** Joseph Chamberlain drew a private's pay here while also appearing among the civil servants as carpenter's mate at £7 10s 0d a quarter. Soldiers with a trade could be put to work on the Company's buildings and paid a second wage for it, which gave the settlement skilled labour without enlarging the civil list and gave the soldier nearly three times his military pay. Samuel Eagles died on 13 October, and his pay was reckoned only to that day. The sum due for the days he had served was still entered, since arrears of a dead soldier's wages were customarily set against his debts or paid to his estate.

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133	126	21st January Brought over £ 1680 . 14 . 7½ Centinels brought over £ 76 . 11 . 8 Alexander Gray 3 . 16 . ½ William Gordon 3 . 16 . ½ Fisher Gamble 3 . 16 . ½ Felix Hyder 3 . 16 . ½ John Hillard 3 . 16 . ½ John Herring 3 . 16 . ½ William Hall 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Jones 3 . 16 . ½ Josiah Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ James Kemp 3 . 16 . ½ James Lee 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Linnen 3 . 16 . ½ John Long 3 . 16 . ½ John Langridge 3 . 16 . ½ Bryan Lynch 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Lambourn 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Moyce 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Morriss 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Mathews 3 . 16 . ½ John Miller 3 . 16 . ½ Abraham Major 3 . 16 . ½ James Moyce 3 . 16 . ½ Charles Mountague 3 . 16 . ½ Peter Nelson 3 . 16 . ½ John Pashwater 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Perry 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Pinchen 3 . 16 . ½ James Proctor 3 . 16 . ½ John Robinson 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Stack 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carried over £ 194 . 8 . 11½ Carried over £ 1680 . 14 . 7½	The roll of the Third Company's privates for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued, with the main figure unchanged at £1,680 14s 7½d. Brought forward, £1,680 14s 7½d Privates brought forward, £76 11s 8d Alexander Gray, £3 16s 0½d William Gordon, £3 16s 0½d Fisher Gamble, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 0½d John Hillard, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, £3 16s 0½d William Hall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Jones, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, £3 16s 0½d James Kemp, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d Richard Lenson, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, £3 16s 0½d Bryan Lynch, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lamburn, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morriss, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mathews, £3 16s 0½d John Miller, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d James Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, £3 16s 0½d Peter Nelson, £3 16s 0½d John Papwater, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pinchen, £3 16s 0½d James Proctor, £3 16s 0½d John Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hack, £3 16s 0½d Privates so far, carried forward separately, £194 8s 11½d Carried forward, £1,680 14s 7½d
134	127	1765 Brought over £ 1680 . 14 . 7½ Centinels brought over £ 194 . 8 . 11½ Adam Scott 3 . 16 . ½ David Scott 3 . 16 . ½ John Smith	The Third Company's privates closed and the Fourth Company opened, continuing from £1,680 14s 7½d for the quarter ending 31 December 1764. Brought forward, £1,680 14s 7½d Privates brought forward, £194 8s 11½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 . 16 . ½ John Thompson 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Taylor 3 . 16 . ½ John Thomason 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Uffen 3 . 16 . ½ John Vaughan 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Vincent 3 . 16 . ½ John Wiburd 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Ward 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Welch 3 . 16 . ½ John Ward 3 . 16 . ½ James York 3 . 16 . ½ William Yates 3 . 16 . ½ 251 . 9 . 7 Fourth Company John Howard Capt Saly 45 . 12 . 6 Henry Deane Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut Salary 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Serjeants John Flemming 7 . 12 . 1 Richard Knight 7 . 12 . 1 Thomas Bailey 7 . 12 . 1 John Simco 7 . 12 . 1 30 . 8 . 4 Carried over £ 2063 . 8 . 9½	John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d John Thomason, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffen, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, £3 16s 0½d John Wilbird, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch, £3 16s 0½d John Ward, £3 16s 0½d James York, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, £3 16s 0½d Privates of the Third Company, total, £251 9s 7d Fourth Company: John Howard, salary as captain, £45 12s 6d Henry Delaune, salary as lieutenant, £18 5s 0d Henry Delaune, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Henry Delaune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Henry Delaune, total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, salary as lieutenant, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Lambert, total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Flemming, £7 12s 1d Richard Wright, £7 12s 1d Thomas Bailey, £7 12s 1d John Simcox, £7 12s 1d Sergeants together, £30 8s 4d Carried forward, £2,063 8s 9½d
135	128	21st January Brought over £ 2063 . 8 . 9½ Corporals Daniel Armin 5 . 6 . 5½ John Sheens 5 . 6 . 5½ Francis Powell 5 . 6 . 5½ William Steadman 5 . 6 . 5½ 21 . 5 . 10 Drummers George Wills 5 . 6 . 5½ John Slade 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels John Allen 3 . 16 . ½	The Fourth Company's entries for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued from £2,063 8s 9½d. Brought forward, £2,063 8s 9½d Corporals: Daniel Armin, £5 6s 5½d John Sheens, £5 6s 5½d Francis Powell, £5 6s 5½d William Steadman, £5 6s 5½d Corporals together, £21 5s 10d Drummers: George Wills, £5 6s 5½d John Slade, £5 6s 5½d Drummers together, £10 12s 11d Privates: John Allen, £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

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		George Bennett 3 . 16 . ½ John Blackwell 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Blackwell 3 . 16 . ½ Michael Brown 3 . 16 . ½ Jacob Burnard 3 . 16 . ½ John Brooke 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Bickenstaff 3 . 16 . ½ Robert Bosely 3 . 16 . ½ James Cartwright 3 . 16 . ½ George Capeling 3 . 16 . ½ William Cooksay 3 . 16 . ½ Duncan Cameron 3 . 16 . ½ John Cunningham 3 . 16 . ½ James Culshaw 3 . 16 . ½ John Carey 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Clove 3 . 16 . ½ Josiah Cummings 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Davis 3 . 16 . ½ Edward Davis 3 . 16 . ½ John Deale 3 . 16 . ½ John Euston 3 . 16 . ½ Cents Carried over £ [...] . 12 . 11 Carried over £ 2095 . 7 . 6½	John Brooke, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, £3 16s 0½d Robert Bosely, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d William Cooksey, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d James Culshaw, £3 16s 0½d John Carey, £3 16s 0½d Richard Clove, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Cummings, £3 16s 0½d Henry Davis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Deale, £3 16s 0½d John Euston, £3 16s 0½d Privates so far, carried forward separately, £83 12s 11d Carried forward, £2,095 7s 6½d
136	129	1765 Brought over £ 2095 . 7 . 6½ Centinels brought over £ 83 . 12 . 11 George Green 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Goulding 3 . 16 . ½ John Gillmore 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Gilder 3 . 16 . ½ Edward German 3 . 16 . ½ Joseph Good 3 . 16 . ½ Henry Herenberg 3 . 16 . ½ James Hendrie 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Hilliard 3 . 16 . ½ John Howston 3 . 16 . ½ Stephen John 3 . 16 . ½ Christian Johnson 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas James 3 . 16 . ½ William Lambon 3 . 16 . ½	The roll of the Fourth Company's privates for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued, with the main figure unchanged at £2,095 7s 6½d. Brought forward, £2,095 7s 6½d Privates brought forward, £83 12s 11d George Green, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d John Gillmore, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Gilder, £3 16s 0½d Edward Gorman, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, £3 16s 0½d Henry Herenburg, £3 16s 0½d James Hendrie, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Houston, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas James, £3 16s 0½d William Lambon, £3 16s 0½d William Lowke, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyne, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Murdoch McCleod, £3 16s 0½d John McAllester, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchell, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Mallett, £3 16s 0½d George Marshall, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		William Lowcke 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Lyne 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Lee 3 . 16 . ½ Richard Moorelon 3 . 16 . ½ Simon Mason 3 . 16 . ½ Mordock McCloed 3 . 16 . ½ John McAllester 3 . 16 . ½ William Mitchell 3 . 16 . ½ Jonathan Mallett 3 . 16 . ½ George Marshall 3 . 16 . ½ John Newton 3 . 16 . ½ Martin Newman 3 . 16 . ½ John Oswald 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Perrin 3 . 16 . ½ John Pluck 3 . 16 . ½ Daniel Petrick 3 . 16 . ½ James Richardson 3 . 16 . ½ Patrick Riley 3 . 16 . ½ Centinels Carried over £ 205 . 6 . 5 Carried over £ 2095 . 7 . 6½	John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perrin, £3 16s 0½d John Bluck, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Petrick, £3 16s 0½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley, £3 16s 0½d Privates so far, carried forward separately, £205 6s 3d Carried forward, £2,095 7s 6½d
137	130	21st January Brought over £ 2095 . 7 . 6½ Centinels brought over £ 205 . 6 . 3 Thomas Rutherford 3 . 16 . ½ John Scotcher 3 . 16 . ½ John Shaw 3 . 16 . ½ William Scothman 3 . 16 . ½ John Swindall 3 . 16 . ½ Zedekiah Saunderson 3 . 16 . ½ Frederick Shaffer 3 . 16 . ½ Thomas Tuffnell 3 . 16 . ½ John Thompson 3 . 16 . ½ Jeremiah Worrell 3 . 16 . ½ William Wells 3 . 16 . ½ William Waite 3 . 16 . ½ 250 . 13 . 9 Artillery Company Thomas Hall Capt. Saly 45 . 12 . 6 Nathan Samply Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ 25 . 1 . 10½ Thomas Leech Lieut Saly	The Fourth Company's privates closed and the Artillery Company opened, continuing from £2,095 7s 6½d for the quarter ending 31 December 1764. Brought forward, £2,095 7s 6½d Privates brought forward, £205 6s 3d 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 Zedekiah Saunderson, £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer, £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 Privates of the Fourth Company, total, £250 18s 9d Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, salary as captain, £45 12s 6d Nathan Sampley, salary as lieutenant, £18 5s 0d Nathan Sampley, diet money, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Sampley, total, £25 1s 10½d Thomas Leech, salary as lieutenant, £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 Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Adam Wilson, £9 2s 6d John Shirley, £9 2s 6d Richard Wakehouse, £9 2s 6d Sergeants together, £36 10s 0d Corporals: James Long, £6 16s 10½d John Jack, £6 16s 10½d

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		18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Serjeants John Whitchurch 9 . 2 . 6 Adam Watson 9 . 2 . 6 John Shirley 9 . 2 . 6 Richard Wakehouse 9 . 2 . 6 36 . 10 Corporals James Long 6 . 16 . 10½ John Jack 6 . 16 . 10½ Corporals Carrd over £ 13 . 13 . 9 Carried over £ 2421 . 2 . 6½	Corporals so far, carried forward separately, £13 13s 9d Carried forward, £2,481 2s 6½d **Interpretations** The Artillery Company's non-commissioned officers were paid well above their counterparts in the foot companies. An artillery sergeant received £9 2s 6d for the quarter against £7 12s 1d for an infantry sergeant, and an artillery corporal £6 16s 10½d against £5 6s 5½d. The premium reflected the skill gunnery demanded, since laying and firing heavy guns, judging charges of powder and handling ammunition safely took training that ordinary foot soldiers lacked. On an island whose defence rested on batteries commanding the landing places, the Company paid to keep such men. Zedekiah Saunderson, entered here as a private of the Fourth Company, was the same name paid £2 0s 0d as groom among the civil servants. He appears to be another soldier who drew a second wage for work in the Company's establishment, as Joseph Chamberlain did as carpenter's mate.
138	131	1765 Brought over £ 2421 . 2 . 6½ Corporals brought over £ 13 . 13 . 9 Robert Cunningham 6 . 16 . 10½ Thomas Jones Oct 3 reduced 4 . 6 Do Matross from Oct 4th 3 . 15 Do Gunner from Dec 18th 12 . 3 25 . 2 . 9½ Bombardiers Andrew Burton 6 . 16 . 10½ William Hodges to 5th October Reduced 7 . 6 Do Matross from 6th October 4 . 7 John Cox to October 3 made Corporal 4 . 6 Do Corporal from 4th October 6 . 13 . 6 Thomas Collier 6 . 16 . 10½ 25 . 6 . 3 Gunners John Granger October 3 made Bombardr 4 Do Bombardier from October 4th 6 . 13 . 6 Nicholas Houghton October 5th made Bombr 6 . 8 Do Bombardier from October 6th 6 . 10 . 6 William Fletcher 6 . 1 . 8 Robert Gillow 6 . 1 . 8 John Jack 6 . 1 . 8 Eustace White 6 . 1 . 8 John Turner 6 . 1 . 8 Barnard Mullard December 17th Transf 5 . 4 49 . 7 Drummers George Gazzard 5 . 6 . 5½ Robert Saunders	The Artillery Company's entries for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued from £2,481 2s 6½d. Brought forward, £2,481 2s 6½d Corporals brought forward, £13 13s 9d Robert Cunningham, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Jones, as corporal to 3 October, then reduced, £0 4s 6d Thomas Jones, as matross from 4 October, £3 15s 0d Thomas Jones, as gunner from 18 December, £0 12s 8d Corporals together, £25 2s 9½d Bombardiers: Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d William Hodges, as bombardier to 5 October, then reduced, £0 7s 6d William Hodges, as matross from 6 October, £4 7s 0d John Cox, as bombardier to 3 October, when promoted corporal, £0 4s 6d John Cox, as corporal from 4 October, £6 13s 6d Thomas Collier, £6 16s 10½d Bombardiers together, £25 6s 3d Gunners: John Granger, as gunner to 3 October, when promoted bombardier, £0 4s 0d John Granger, as bombardier from 4 October, £6 13s 6d Nicholas Houghton, as gunner to 5 October, when promoted bombardier, £0 6s 8d Nicholas Houghton, as bombardier from 6 October, £6 10s 6d William Fletcher, £6 1s 8d Robert Gillam, £6 1s 8d John Jack, £6 1s 8d Eustace White, £6 1s 8d John Turner, £6 1s 8d Bernard Millard, to 17 December, when transferred, £5 4s 0d Gunners together, £49 7s 0d Drummers: George Gazard, £5 6s 5½d Robert Saunders, £5 6s 5½d Drummers together, £10 12s 11d Matrosses: William Benson, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 3d William Brown, £4 11s 3d Matrosses so far, carried forward separately, £13 13s 9d

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		5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Matrosses William Benson 4 . 11 . 3 Benjamin Burton 4 . 11 . 3 William Brown 4 . 11 . 3 Matrosses Carried over £ 13 . 13 . 9 Carried over £ 2591 . 17 . 6	Carried forward, £2,591 11s 6d **Interpretations** The artillery had its own ladder of ranks, each with its own rate of pay. The matross was the lowest, an assistant who hauled guns, carried ammunition and worked the rammer and sponge under direction, at £4 11s 3d a quarter. Above him the gunner, who laid and fired the piece, drew £6 1s 8d. The bombardier, originally the man trained to serve mortars and prepare shells and fuses, received £6 16s 10½d, the same as a corporal. The early October entries record a single chain of promotions set off by two reductions. Thomas Jones was broken from corporal on 3 October, John Cox rose from bombardier to fill his place the next day, and John Granger stepped up from gunner to take Cox's post as bombardier on the same date. William Hodges was reduced from bombardier on 5 October, and Nicholas Houghton moved up from gunner to replace him on 6 October. Each vacancy passed down the ladder within a day, so the company kept its full complement of skilled ranks throughout. Reduction did not end a man's prospects. Thomas Jones, sent down to matross in October, was raised again to gunner on 18 December, recovering part of his former pay before the quarter closed.
139	132	21st January Brought over £ 2591 . 17 . 6 Matrosses brought over £ 13 . 13 . 9 Isaac Buck 4 . 11 . 3 Richard Brown 4 . 11 . 3 John Bower 4 . 11 . 3 James Botemly 4 . 11 . 3 John Cope 4 . 11 . 3 John Criswell 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Clark 4 . 11 . 3 Edmond Conner 4 . 11 . 3 William McCullough 4 . 11 . 3 Adam Crichton 4 . 11 . 3 John Dowde 4 . 11 . 3 David Dennis Entd 18th December 14 Daniel Fox 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas McFarling 4 . 11 . 3 Joseph Fellows 4 . 11 . 3 Christain Greenwald 4 . 11 . 3 Laurence Hall 4 . 11 . 3 William Johnson 4 . 11 . 3 Richard Kempton 4 . 11 . 3 John Martin Oct 5th made Gunner 5 Do Gunner from October 6th 5 . 16 Daniel Maloney 4 . 11 . 3 Isaac Nowland 4 . 11 . 3	The Artillery Company's matrosses for the quarter ending 31 December 1764 continued, with the main figure standing at £2,591 17s 6d. Brought forward, £2,591 17s 6d Matrosses brought forward, £13 13s 9d Isaac Buck, £4 11s 3d Richard Brown, £4 11s 3d John Bower, £4 11s 3d James Bottomley, £4 11s 3d John Cope, £4 11s 3d John Criswell, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner, £4 11s 3d William McCullough, £4 11s 3d Adam Crichton, £4 11s 3d John Dowde, £4 11s 3d David Dennis, from his entry on 18 December, £0 14s 0d Daniel Fox, £4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 3d Christian Greenwald, £4 11s 3d Laurence Hall, £4 11s 3d William Johnson, £4 11s 3d Richard Kempton, £4 11s 3d John Martin, as matross to 5 October, when promoted gunner, £0 5s 0d John Martin, as gunner from 6 October, £5 16s 0d Daniel Maloney, £4 11s 3d Isaac Nowland, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d John Osburn, £4 11s 3d James Parfitt, as matross to 3 October, when promoted gunner, £0 3s 0d James Parfitt, as gunner from 4 October, £5 18s 8d William Poulton, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, £4 11s 3d Christopher Reynolds, £4 11s 3d John Slater, £4 11s 3d Matrosses so far, carried forward separately, £149 14s 2d Carried forward, £2,591 17s 6d **Interpretations** The promotions of James Parfitt and John Martin completed the October chain through the artillery ranks. John Granger left the gunners for a

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas Nimble 4 . 11 . 3 George Nelson 4 . 11 . 3 John Osbourn 4 . 11 . 3 James Parfitt October 3 made Gunner 3 Do Gunner from October 4th 5 . 18 . 3 William Poulton 4 . 11 . 3 William Phillips 4 . 11 . 3 Christopher Reynolds 4 . 11 . 3 John Slater 4 . 11 . 3 Matrosses Carried over £ 149 . 14 . 2 Carried over £ 2591 . 17 . 6	bombardier's post on 4 October 1764, and Parfitt rose from matross to gunner the same day. Nicholas Houghton moved up to bombardier on 6 October, and Martin took his place as gunner on that date. A single reduction at the top thus opened places at every level down to the matrosses, and each was filled from immediately below without delay. David Dennis, whose service in the Second Company ended on 17 December 1764, entered the artillery as a matross the following day. The move was a step up in pay from a private's 10d a day to nearly a shilling, and it shows men passing between the foot companies and the artillery as places fell open. John Criswell, paid here as a matross, was the same name listed among the civil servants as master of the longboat at £7 10s 0d. Like the carpenter's mate and the groom, he drew a soldier's pay and a second wage for work the settlement needed.
140	133	1765 Brought over £ 2591 . 17 . 6 Matrosses brought over £ 149 . 14 . 2 Samuel Smith 4 . 11 . 3 Godfrey Smith 4 . 11 . 3 John Smith 4 . 11 . 3 William Snelson 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Taylor 4 . 11 . 3 Daniel Tong 4 . 11 . 3 Thomas Watts 4 . 11 . 3 John Webbley 4 . 11 . 3 Richard Wellman 4 . 11 . 3 Nathaniel Young 4 . 11 . 3 195 . 6 . 8 £ 2787 . 4 . 2 **Margin Notes:** [...]	The roll of the Artillery Company's matrosses closed, completing the list of salaries and pay for the quarter ending 31 December 1764. Brought forward, £2,591 17s 6d Matrosses brought forward, £149 14s 2d Samuel Smith, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 3d John Smith, £4 11s 3d William Snelson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor, £4 11s 3d Daniel Tong, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d John Webbley, £4 11s 3d Richard Wellman, £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young, £4 11s 3d Matrosses of the Artillery Company, total, £195 6s 8d Total for the quarter, £2,787 4s 2d **Interpretations** The quarter's wage bill came to £2,787 4s 2d, or about £11,150 a year. The civil officers, tradesmen and household staff accounted for £652 13s 0d of that sum, and the four foot companies and the Artillery Company for the remaining £2,134 11s 2d, more than three-quarters of the whole. The figures show plainly that St Helena was maintained first as a fortified station guarding the Company's route to and from the East, with the civil government a comparatively small charge beside the cost of its garrison.
141	134	21st January Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr 1765 September 30th To Cash recd£ 3099 . 7 . 1 Carried over £ 3099 . 7 . 1	The personal account of Thomas Kirkpatrick was charged with a single sum of cash. Thomas Kirkpatrick, debtor: 30 September 1764, cash, £3,099 7s 1d Carried forward, £3,099 7s 1d **Interpretations** Entering a sum against a named officer as debtor made him personally answerable for it until he could show how it had been spent. Kirkpatrick sat on the Council and commanded the First Company, and a sum of this size, larger than a whole quarter's wage bill for the island, was perhaps cash placed in his hands to pay the garrison or meet other public charges. His account would then remain open against him until vouchers or repayments were credited on the opposite side, the standard means by which the Company held its servants to account for public money.
142	135	1765 Per Contra Cr By Cash paid for 119 Shirts and 50 Pr Stockgs to compleat the Garrisons Cloathing	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account recorded the payments he made in cash against the sum charged to him. Credit:

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		34 . 9 . 6 By Cash paid Robert Barclay for Necessarys found in the Hospital from 1 Jany to 31 Decr 1764 at ½ pr day 12 . 16 . 10 By Cash paid Ditto for his trouble in finding the Hospital fresh Provisions 8 By Cash paid Matthew Bazett for 6 Loads of Bamboos for the use of the Honorable Company 15 By Cash paid Benj Mason for 260 Goths Rushes 6 . 10 By Cash paid Mark Balls for baking 117 Batches of Bread for the use of the Garrison at 20/ pr Batch 9 . 15 By Cash paid John Dobson for 13 Weeks Work in the Armorers this Quarter at 9/ pr Week 5 . 17 By Cash paid John Slater for 8 Weeks Work in Do at 9/ pr Week 3 . 12 By Cash paid William Mumford for 3 Weeks and 2 days at 6/ pr W 1 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for working in the Long Boat this Quarter 6 . 2 By Cash paid John Thomason for makg a Flag for the Main Fort 1 . 10 By Cash paid Necqueah Cockotrum his allowance this Quart 1 . 12 . 6 By Cash paid Do for House Rent 1 By Cash paid Thos Perrin for assisting in the Honorable Companys Stores the Steward being Sick 4 . 12 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for digging Spurgeon the Long Wood this Quarter 12 Days 12 By Cash paid Do for fetching and breaking Limestone 44½ days @ 1/ pr Day 2 . 4 . 3 By Cash paid Do for 15 days Work in the Stores 15 Carried over £ 107 . 3 . 1	119 shirts and 50 pairs of stockings, to complete the garrison's clothing, £34 9s 6d Robert Barclay, for supplies provided in the hospital from 1 October to 31 December 1764 at 7d a day, £12 16s 10d Robert Barclay, for his work in obtaining fresh provisions for the hospital, £8 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, for 6 loads of bamboo for the Company's use, £0 15s 0d Benjamin Mason, for 260 [...] of rushes, £6 10s 0d Mark Balls, for baking 117 batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 8d a batch, £9 15s 0d John Dobson, for 13 weeks in the armourer's shop this quarter at 9s a week, £5 17s 0d John Slater, for 8 weeks in the armourer's shop at 9s a week, £3 12s 0d William Mumford, for 3 weeks and 2 days at 6s a week, £1 0s 0d Various soldiers, for work in the longboat this quarter, £6 2s 0d John Thomason, for making a flag for the Main Fort, £1 10s 0d Necqueah Cocketteen, his allowance for the quarter, £1 12s 6d Necqueah Cocketteen, for house rent, £1 0s 0d Thomas Perrin, for helping in the Company's stores while the steward was ill, £4 12s 0d Various soldiers, for 12 days digging [...] in the Long Wood this quarter, £0 12s 0d Various soldiers, for 44¼ days fetching and breaking limestone at 1s a day, £2 4s 3d Various soldiers, for 15 days of work in the stores, £0 15s 0d Carried forward, £101 3s 1d **Interpretations** These entries confirm that the cash charged to Kirkpatrick was a working fund for public payments. Each sum he paid out was credited back to him, so that the balance still standing against him showed how much public money remained in his hands at any time. The credit side thus served as his discharge, and every entry needed a named payee and a stated purpose to be allowed. Much of the money went to soldiers paid for extra work. John Dobson and William Mumford were privates, John Slater a matross, Mark Balls a private who baked the garrison's bread, and John Thomason and Thomas Perrin privates who made a flag and minded the stores. Casual labour was paid at 1s a day, more than a private's daily wage, and steady skilled work in the armourer's shop at 9s a week. The garrison was therefore the island's main pool of hired labour, and the Company drew on it in place of bringing out more tradesmen from England. The hospital was supplied on contract through the surgeon. Robert Barclay provided the patients' necessaries at a fixed daily rate and received a separate payment for his trouble in procuring fresh food, which explains why the hospital drew no salt meat from the store. The arrangement gave the surgeon a direct financial stake in the provisioning of his own patients. Limestone was fetched and broken to be burnt into lime for mortar and whitewash, supplying the masons and the painting of buildings recorded in the stores accounts. Necqueah Cocketteen received a quarterly allowance and house rent like a Company servant, yet his name appears nowhere on the salary list, which suggests a personal arrangement settled directly in cash.
143	136	21st January Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr To Cash brought over£ 2968 . 18 . 3 £ 2968 . 18 . 3	The account of Thomas Kirkpatrick as paymaster opened with the cash balance brought forward against him. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debtor:

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			Cash brought forward, £2,968 12s 3d Total, £2,968 12s 3d **Interpretations** The heading confirmed Kirkpatrick's role as paymaster, the officer who received the Company's cash and paid the garrison and the settlement's other public charges from it. The balance brought forward was the money still in his hands after the payments credited to him had been set against the sum first charged. Carrying it into a fresh account kept him answerable for the remainder until further payments discharged it.
144	137	1765 Per Contra Cr Brought over £ 107 . 3 . 1 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for 995½ days Work in the Castle 49 . 15 . 6 By Cash paid Do for 13¼ days in getting Wood to burn Lime 9 . 7 . 3 By Cash paid Do for 97½ days Work in Slinging and Sawing the Castle 4 . 17 . 9 By Cash paid for Assisting the Peace and Paviator of the Court 12 . 6 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for 198 days Carpenters Work 9 . 18 181 . 14 . 1 By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants their several Salarys Diet Money &c for the Quarter Commencg the 1st October and ending the 31st December 2787 . 4 . 2 £ 2968 . 18 . 3 Errors Excepted (signed) Thos Kirkpatrick St Helena 31st Decr 1765 Counted and examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of December last which is as follows viz	The credit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster continued from £107 3s 1d. Credit brought forward, £107 3s 1d Various soldiers, for 995½ days of work at the castle, £49 15s 6d Various soldiers, for 187¼ days gathering wood to burn lime, £9 7s 3d Various soldiers, for 97¾ days tiling and sawing at the castle, £4 17s 9d For assisting in keeping the peace and as [...] of the court, £0 12s 6d Various soldiers, for 198 days of carpentry, £9 18s 0d Subtotal, £181 14s 1d The Company's officers and servants, their salaries, diet money and allowances for the quarter from 1 October to 31 December, £2,787 4s 2d Total, £2,968 18s 3d Kirkpatrick signed the account at St Helena on 31 December 1764, reserving the right to correct any errors. The Company's cash for the month of December was then counted and checked, and the result was set down in the following statement. **Interpretations** The two sides of the paymaster's account balanced exactly at £2,968 18s 3d, so the whole of the cash in Kirkpatrick's hands had been accounted for by payments. By far the largest was the quarter's salaries and pay, entered at £2,787 4s 2d, the same figure that closed the full list of officers, servants and soldiers. The list therefore served as the voucher for the payment, and the agreement between the two records was the check that the paymaster had paid out no more and no less than the establishment allowed. The soldiers' extra labour on this page ran to more than 1,400 days in a single quarter, all paid at 1s a day, and nearly 1,000 of those days went on work at the castle. Garrison men were cutting and carrying wood to burn lime, tiling, sawing and doing carpentry, so that the settlement's building programme rested largely on soldiers hired by the day. Burning lime consumed large quantities of fuel, which put further pressure on the island's limited timber. The monthly counting of the Company's cash was a separate safeguard. Having the balance physically counted and recorded meant that the figures in the paymaster's books could be checked against the coin actually held, closing the gap between an account that balanced on paper and money that might have gone astray.
145	138	21st January Cash Dr 1764 Decr 1 To Balance remaining£ 6952 . 18 . 11½ 31 To Fines for retailing Spirituous Liquors as pr Consultation of this day 2 . 10 To James Powell received of him for Stores sold in the Quart ending this day 1301 . 3 . 2	The Company's cash account for December 1764 was set out with receipts on one side and payments and the closing balance on the other. Debit: 1 December 1764, balance in hand, £6,952 14s 11½d 31 December 1764, fines for retailing spirits, as recorded in the consultation of that day, £2 10s 0d

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		To Plantation for Provisions Sold 17 . 14 . 6 To Licences 17 . 10 £ 8291 . 12 . 7½ Per Contra Cr 1764 Decr 24 By Profit and Loss lost on 420 Fanams upon their being reduced from [...] each as pr Consultation of this Day 2 31 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &ca in the Quarter ending this day 2968 . 18 . 3 2970 . 18 . 3 By Balance remaining viz In Specie 4790 . 19 . 4½ In Cash Notes 539 . 15 5320 . 14 . 4½ £ 8291 . 12 . 7½ John Skottowe Burling Thos Kirkpatrick **Margin Notes:** Exd	31 December 1764, James Powell, received from him for stores sold in the quarter ending that day, £1,301 3s 2d 31 December 1764, plantation account, for provisions sold, £17 14s 6d 31 December 1764, licences, £17 10s 0d Total, £8,291 12s 7½d Credit: 24 December 1764, profit and loss, lost on 420 fanams when their value was reduced from [...] each, as recorded in the consultation of that day, £2 0s 0d 31 December 1764, various accounts, advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other payments in the quarter ending that day, £2,968 18s 3d Payments together, £2,970 18s 3d Balance in hand, in coin, £4,780 19s 4½d Balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance together, £5,320 14s 4½d Total, £8,291 12s 7½d Governor Skottowe, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The sum advanced to the paymaster, £2,968 18s 3d, matched to the penny the total that Kirkpatrick accounted for on the credit side of his own paymaster's account. The cash book and the paymaster's account therefore checked each other, and the Governor's signature with those of two councillors certified that the island's cash had been counted and agreed with both records. Burling, whose name was only partly legible in the salary list, was the member of Council who also drew pay as accountant. The store was the settlement's main source of income. Powell paid in £1,301 3s 2d from the quarter's sales, far more than any other receipt. Licences and fines for selling spirits without one brought in smaller sums, but they show the Council regulating the drink trade by requiring retailers to hold a licence and punishing those who sold without. The same measure raised revenue and gave the government a hold over the island's taverns. Fanams were small gold or silver coins of south India, brought to the island on Company ships and used as petty change. Their value on St Helena was fixed by order of the Council, and when that rate was lowered the Company bore the loss on the coins already in its chest. The entry shows that the island's currency was a mixture of coins from several countries whose local value was set by the government, not by their metal alone. The closing balance was held partly in coin and partly in cash notes, paper promises to pay that circulated in place of scarce coin. Recording the two separately let the Council see how much of the Company's reserve was actual money and how much rested on paper.
146	139	28th January At a Consultation held on Monday the 28th Day of Janry 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed, dated the 21st January 1765 Thursday the 24th Arrived the Snow Mercury and Fly Cutter from Madagascar and brought on Account of the Honble Company Sixteen Men and two Boys, 107 . 1 . 16 Rice and 32 . 3 . 12 Paddy Friday the 25th Died Giles Son of Gabriel Jacob Blanke	A consultation took place at the castle on Monday 28 January 1765, attended by Governor Skottowe, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of the Council. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the previous meeting, held on 21 January 1765. On Thursday 24 January the snow *Mercury* and the cutter *Fly* reached the island from Madagascar. They brought 16 men and two boys for the Company, together with 107 hundredweight 1 quarter 16 pounds of rice and 22 hundredweight 3 quarters 12 pounds of paddy. Giles, son of Gabriel Joachi[...] Blanke, died on Friday 25 January. At the same meeting Mr John Merryweather presented a written account of a rising among the slaves aboard the *Mercury* on 29 November 1764. The report described the revolt that broke out after the ship left the coast of Madagascar, and it was formally

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		This day Mr John Merryweather delivered us the following Account of the Insurrection among the Slaves on board the Snow Mercury the 29th November 1764 viz An Account of the Insurrection of the Slaves On board the Mercury Snow after her Departure from the Coast of Madagascar delivered into Council at St Helena 28th January 1765 On Wednesday the 21st November 1764 We Sailed from Managar Harbour in Company with the Fly Cutter On the 29th following about two OClock in the Morning we were greatly Surprized to find the Slaves were up and that two of them had already got into the Captains Cabbin, The Officer of the Watch upon this Alarm, proceeded immediately Aft, and getting into the Cabbin, with the assistance of some others, rescued the Captn from the Slave who was now in Rusons, and in Wresting the Lance with which he had wounded the Captain broke it in the Conflict All this While there was no Light in the Cabbin, as the Agents of this bloody Mutiny had taken Care to extinguish it, before they entered upon Action, However	placed before the Council at St Helena on 28 January 1765. According to the account, the *Mercury* sailed from Managar Harbour on Wednesday 21 November 1764 in company with the *Fly*. At about two o'clock on the morning of 29 November, the crew discovered to their alarm that the slaves had risen and that two of them had already forced their way into the captain's cabin. The officer of the watch ran aft as soon as the alarm was raised. With help from several others he broke into the cabin and pulled the captain free from his attacker, a man later held in the island's prison. The slave had wounded the captain with a lance, and the shaft snapped as the officer wrenched it from his grasp. The struggle took place in complete darkness, because the leaders of the revolt had put out the cabin light before they made their move. **Interpretations** The arrival of 16 men and two boys on the Company's account shows the Company buying slaves directly in Madagascar to renew its own labour force, the same body of slaves whose food and clothing filled the stores accounts for the previous quarter. The rice and paddy carried with them came from the same coast. Madagascar supplied the island with cheap grain as well as labour, which explains the thousands of pounds of rice and paddy issued to the slaves and the plantation. A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel, rigged much like a brig, with a small extra mast set just behind the mainmast to carry a spanker sail. It was a common type for coastal and slaving voyages, able to carry a modest cargo with a small crew. The *Fly*, a single-masted cutter, sailed with it as an escort and tender. Placing a written account formally before the Council turned the revolt into a matter for the island's government rather than a shipboard affair settled by the captain. The attacker was already held in prison on the island, and the written report served as the evidence on which the Council would decide what was to become of him and of any others involved. The attack on the captain's cabin was the obvious first objective in a shipboard rising, since it held the ship's officer in command and usually its arms, and the rebels' care in first putting out the light shows the rising was planned rather than sudden.
147	140	28th Janry a Light was soon, tho with difficulty procured from the Deck, and the Captain then signified he was wounded, but not thinking himself dangerously So, began to look for his Pistols, in order to help in repelling the Mutinous Slaves, on his first search for the Pistols, he discovered they had been, and believed purposely put aside, but at last he found them, and finding ourselves under such dismal Circumstances and in such imminent danger, the Mutiny still increasing, we were obliged to repair to our Arms, and use them as the only Means then left to secure our Lives against such Bloody Minded Barbarians We therefore fired among them, killed two and wounded three The Captain on endeavouring to Come out the Second time, grew so faint from the loss of Blood issuing out of his several wounds that he was Obliged to retire to his Cabbin, where the Surgeon on Inspection discovered he had received five stabs, two where of he	The crew eventually brought a light down from the deck, though with some difficulty. The captain then told them he had been wounded, but he did not believe the injury serious and began searching for his pistols so that he could help drive back the slaves. At first he could not find them, and he suspected they had been deliberately moved. He found them in the end. With the revolt still spreading and their lives in grave danger, the crew took up their weapons as the only remaining way to defend themselves against what they described as murderous savages. They opened fire on the slaves, killing two and wounding three. When the captain tried to come out a second time, he had lost so much blood from his wounds that he grew faint and had to go back to his cabin. The surgeon examined him and found five stab wounds. Two of these, deep in the lower belly, he judged fatal, while the others lay across the ribs on the right side and just above the navel towards the right. In the course of the fighting, Mr Merryweather was struck two or three times on the head as he went down the fore hatchway. One blow landed on his forehead, fractured his skull and left him unconscious and unable to speak for some time. The crew finally drove the slaves back and secured them. Captain William Harrold died of his wounds at about nine

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		judged to be mortal from their Depth and situation in the Lower part of the Belly, the other wounds were, two on the ribs of his right side and one above his Navel inclining to the right. - During those Transactions Mr Merryweather on descending the Fore hatchway, received two or three Blows on the Head which knocked him down, and one of the Blows happened to take him in the Fore part of the Head, fractured his Skull, and left him for some time without senses or Speech, However we at length had the good fortune to repell the Slaves, and Secure them. On the 30th following about 9 OClock in the Morning Captain William Harwood died of his wounds, Mr Merryweather remaining still speechless On Wednesday the 5th of December following Mr Lofthouse told us he had discovered the Reasons that induced the Slaves to Revolt he informed us that having observed a Settled Gloominess on Cupidons Countenance, ever since his Masters death, he had a Suspicion he was concerned in the Wicked Plot, in order to find out which he apply'd to a Person who Spoke the Language of the Slaves, and by the Linguists Mediation, intreated them to let him know the Cause of their rising, but finding intreaties had no Effect, he had recourse to Menaces and threatnings in which latter he had better Success, and was at last informed by them that Cupidon was continually Spiriting them up to Revolt, and prepared them for	o'clock on the morning of 10 December, and Mr Merryweather had still not recovered his speech. On Wednesday 5 December Mr Lofthouse reported that he had found out why the slaves had risen. He had noticed that a man named Cupidoe had worn a fixed, sullen look ever since his master's death, and he suspected him of a part in the plot. To test this, he engaged someone who spoke the slaves' language and, through this interpreter, asked them to explain why they had revolted. Appeals had no effect, so he turned to threats, which proved more successful. The slaves finally told him that Cupidoe had repeatedly urged them to revolt. **Interpretations** Lofthouse's inquiry shows how the evidence against the ringleader was obtained. He first asked the captives through an interpreter to explain the rising, and only when that produced nothing did he resort to threats. The account records the change of method openly, and the Council received testimony drawn from frightened captives as the basis for identifying the man behind the plot. Evidence gathered in this way could not be tested, yet it was placed before the island's government as a formal record. The details point to help from inside the ship. The pistols had been moved from their usual place before the attack, the cabin light was put out in advance, and suspicion fell on a man whose master had just died. Cupidoe was perhaps a servant with access to the captain's cabin, which would explain how the attackers knew where to strike and how the captain's weapons came to be hidden.
148	141	1765 for a quick Execution, of their Barbarous design by filling their Heads with Shocking Notions of their wretched fate, as Slaves, But should they rid themselves of their Tyrant Masters by putting them all to death, he would Carry the Vessel back to Madagascar, and there set them all at Liberty. - This becomes the more likely as Cupidon Speaks their Language and was observed to be very often among them. - By the help of our Interpreter we likewise learnt from the Slaves that, since our Departure from Managar, Cupidon was incessantly Sollicting them to revolt for the Perpetration of which wicked scheme he had supply'd them with a File to Cut or File off their Irons a Cutlass, Knives, and a Lance - The File being afterwards found among the Slaves, was, upon examination discovered to have been given them by Cupidon for the above purpose, and that he had brought the same File from this Island - (signed) John Merryweather Seth Lofthouse	Cupidoe urged the slaves to act quickly on their plan, stirring them with frightening accounts of what awaited them in slavery. He promised that if they killed all their masters and freed themselves, he would sail the ship back to Madagascar and release them there. The writers of the report found this all the more believable because Cupidoe spoke the slaves' language and had often been seen among them. Through their interpreter, the officers also learned that Cupidoe had pressed the slaves to rise from the moment the ship left Managar. To carry out the plan he had given them a file for cutting through their irons, along with a cutlass, knives and a lance. The file was later found among the slaves. On inquiry it proved to be the one Cupidoe had supplied for that purpose, and he had brought it with him from St Helena. John Merryweather, Seth Lofthouse and William Keighly signed the report. At the same meeting the executor of Captain William Harrold presented the captain's will and asked that it be proved. The Council admitted it after the witnesses had given evidence on oath. In the will, Harrold declared himself of sound mind and cancelled all earlier wills. Once his debts were paid, he left £300 0s 0d in British sterling to his mother, Jane Harrold of Gravesend. If she died before receiving it, the money was to go to his brother James Harrold, a surgeon. After this legacy had been settled through his attorney, everything else he owned was to pass to his wife, Hellena Harrold. He also asked that Mr Thomas Greentree sell by

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		Wm Keighly The Executor to the last Will and Testament of Captain William Harvold decd 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 viz The last Will and Testament of Capt Willm Harvold being of sound mind and memory revoking all other Wills made I bequeath to my beloved mother Jane Harvold of Gravesend after all my Debts are payd the Sum of Three hundred pounds the Lawfull Money of Great Britain in case of her Death, the said Sum to be payd to James Harvold Surgeon my Dearly beloved Brother, after that is Discharged by my attorney all that I have to beloved Wife Hellena Harvold for my more desire all my Goods and Chattles upon the Island of St Hellena or on board the Snow Mercury to be disposed of by Mr Thos Greentree at Publick Auction	public auction all his goods and possessions, whether on St Helena or aboard the *Mercury*. **Interpretations** The discovery that Cupidoe had brought the file from St Helena placed the origins of the plot on the island itself. He had evidently sailed out with the ship rather than been bought on the coast, and his command of the captives' language suggests he was himself from Madagascar. His promise to steer the vessel home offered the captives a concrete escape, not merely revenge, which helps explain why men in irons were willing to risk an attack on armed officers. The report left the Council to weigh the case against a man who had prepared the rising before the voyage began. The Council acted here as a court of probate. With no separate ecclesiastical or civil court on the island to prove wills, the Governor and Council heard the witnesses on oath and admitted the document, giving the executor legal authority to settle the estate. Harrold's insistence that his mother's legacy be paid in lawful British money reflected the mixture of foreign coins and island notes in local use, whose value the Council could alter, as it did with the fanams in December 1764. Specifying sterling protected the bequest from any such change.
149	142	28th January Auction whome I leave as my Attorney as far as relates to ye Island of St Helena or Snow Mercury aforesaid Signd Seald and delivered as Witness our Hands here Under, no Stampd Paper to be had - (signed) Seth Lofthouse George Jack As Witness my Hand and Seal this 29th November 1764 (signed) Wm Harvold My Box of Papers I would Have sent whome to my Brother James Harvold aforesaid [...] Cupidon the late Capt Harvolds Slave, and the Madagascar Slave named Winchester belonging to the Honorable Company are committed to Jail on a Violent Suspicion of Murdering Captain Harvold Michael Brown one of the Honorable Companys Soldiers, who was put on board the Mercury to Assist her on the Voyage to Madagascar Deserted at that Place the 26th September 1764 John Barnard another of the Honorable Companys Soldiers put on board the Fly Cutter to assist Her on the Voyage to Madagascar Died the 24th October 1764 We this day Confirmed Mr John Merryweather in the Command of the Snow Mercury and Administered to him the Oath of Fidelity as the Honble Companys General Letter directs dated the 3d February 1762, We likewise Confirmed Mr Seth Lofthouse Chief and Mr Wm Keighly Second Mates of the said Vessel John Skottowe Burling	Harrold named Mr Thomas Greentree, who was to conduct the auction, as his attorney for all matters concerning St Helena and the *Mercury*. The captain signed and sealed the will on 29 November 1764. Seth Lofthouse and George Jack signed as witnesses, noting that no stamped paper was available. In a closing note, Harrold asked that his box of papers be sent home to his brother James Harrold. The Council sent Cupidoe, the late captain's slave, to gaol together with Winchester, a slave from Madagascar owned by the Company. Both were held under strong suspicion of murdering Captain Harrold. Michael Brown, a Company soldier placed aboard the *Mercury* to help work the ship on the voyage to Madagascar, deserted there on 26 September 1764. John Barnard, another Company soldier sent aboard the *Fly* for the same purpose, died on 24 October 1764. The Council confirmed Mr John Merryweather as commander of the *Mercury* and administered to him the oath of loyalty required by the Company's general letter of 3 February 1762. It also confirmed Mr Seth Lofthouse as chief mate and Mr William Keighly as second mate of the ship. Governor Skottowe, Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Harrold made his will on 29 November 1764, the very day he received his wounds, and he lived until 10 December. The witnesses' note that no stamped paper could be had explained a defect that would otherwise have raised doubts about the document. In England legal instruments were liable to stamp duty and had to be written on officially stamped paper, but no such paper existed aboard a ship off Madagascar. Recording the reason on the face of the will allowed the Council to admit it despite the omission. Winchester was probably the man already held in prison for wounding the captain with a lance, while Cupidoe stood accused as the instigator. Committing a slave on suspicion of murdering his own master placed the case before the island's government as a capital crime. The Council was acting here as the settlement's criminal authority as well as its probate court.

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		Thos Kirkpatrick	Michael Brown had deserted at Madagascar on 26 September 1764, yet a private of that name appeared in the Fourth Company's pay list with a full quarter's wages to 31 December. The news of his desertion reached the island only when the ships returned on 24 January 1765, after the quarter's pay had been reckoned. Pay lists compiled on the island could only reflect what was known there at the time, so men absent on distant voyages remained on the roll until word came back. The Company lent soldiers from the garrison to help crew its own vessels on trading voyages, which spared the cost of hiring extra seamen. The practice carried its own risks, since a soldier landed on a foreign coast had an easy chance to desert.
150	143	4th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th day of February 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thoms Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed dated the 28th January 1765 Mr William Wrangham this day presented the following Petition viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of William Wrangham Sheweth That your Petitioner is desirous of having a small piece of the Honorable Companys Waste Land Adjoining to your Petitioners Land at the Head of Sarahs Valley for the Conveniency of Fencing Requests that your Worship and Council will be pleasd to Grant him a Lease for the same - And your Petitioner will ever pray 4th February 1765 (signed) Wm Wrangham Ordered the said Land to be Viewed John Skottowe Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council met at the castle on Monday 4 February 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 28 January 1765. Mr William Wrangham submitted a petition to the Governor and Council at this meeting. He asked for a small piece of the Company's unused land next to his own property at the head of Sarah's Valley, since it would make his land easier to fence. He requested that the Council grant him a lease for the plot. Wrangham signed the petition on 4 February 1765. The Council ordered the land to be inspected before deciding. Governor Skottowe, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** All land on St Helena not already granted belonged to the Company, and the unused portions were classed as waste. Settlers could not simply take in adjoining ground but had to petition for a lease, so the Company kept ownership while allowing its tenants to use the land. The lease registers recorded each grant and gave the tenant a secure title for its term. Ordering the plot to be viewed was the standard step before any grant. An inspection established the exact boundaries, showed whether the ground was of value to the Company or to neighbours, and guarded against a tenant enlarging his holding at others' expense. Wrangham's stated reason, that the extra ground would make fencing easier, points to a common wish among planters to straighten an awkward boundary so that a fence could follow the lie of the land. Fencing mattered on an island where cattle and goats roamed widely and could ruin crops and young trees. Wrangham was himself a Company servant, drawing a factor's salary and working at the stores. His petition shows officials holding and enlarging private land alongside their duties, a pattern in which those closest to the Council were well placed to secure grants from it.
151	144	11th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th day of February 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 4th February 1765 The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of January last were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz Sundrys Expended at the Honble Compys Table in the Month of Janry 1765 viz	The Council met at the castle on Monday 11 February 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 4 February 1765. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for January were brought in at this meeting. The Council examined and approved them, and the first set out the goods used at the Company's table during January 1765. 5 bottles of port, £0 7s 6d 34 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 11s 0d 13 bottles of mountain wine, £0 19s 6d 21 bottles of beer, £0 4s 9¾d 62 bottles of arrack, £3 9s 9d 155¾ pounds of mutton, £3 4s 10½d

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		5 Bottles Port Wine 7 . 6 34 Do Lisbon 2 . 11 13 Do Mountain 19 . 6 21 Do Beer 4 . 9¼ 62 Do Arrack 3 . 9 . 9 155¾ of Mutton 3 . 4 . 10½ 7lb Pork 3 . 6 7 Ps Salt Pork 12 . 1 2 Kidds 10 265 Flour 1 . 12 . 4½ 38½ Butter 1 . 12 . 9 1 Pr Salt Beef 2 . 9¼ 57½ Candy 19 . 2 1 Duck 10 . 6 2 Turkeys 10 2 Fowls 3 304½ of Beef 6 . 6 . 10½ £ 24 . 6 . 5¼	7 pounds of fresh pork, £0 3s 6d 7 pieces of salt pork, £0 12s 1d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 265 pounds of flour, £1 12s 4½d 38½ pounds of butter, £1 12s 9d 1 piece of salt beef, £0 2s 9¼d 57½ pounds of sugar candy, £0 19s 2d 7 ducks, £0 10s 6d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 2 fowls, £0 3s 0d 304½ pounds of beef, £6 6s 10½d Total, £24 6s 5¾d **Interpretations** The table ate mostly fresh meat. More than 450 pounds of beef and mutton appear against a single piece of salt beef and seven of salt pork, and the poultry, kids and butter were also local produce. The quarterly diet expenses charged from the store up to 31 December 1764 recorded only salted meat, because the fresh food for the table was bought or drawn from the plantation and passed through the steward's monthly account instead. The two records together show the Company's table supplied from both sources, with the island's own cattle and sheep reserved largely for those at the top of the settlement. Lisbon wine was a white wine shipped from Portugal, and mountain wine was the sweet wine of the hills around Malaga in Spain. Both were cheaper than French wines and widely drunk in England. Kids were young goats, a meat that the island's large herds of goats made readily available. Arrack was the heaviest drink charge on the list, reflecting its place as the everyday spirit of the Company's establishments in the East. Requiring the steward, the gunner and the plantation keeper to bring their accounts to the Council each month gave the Governor and Council a regular check on day-to-day spending. The Council approved each account formally before it entered the Company's books, so that no officer could spend public money without his accounts being examined within a few weeks.
152	145	1765 Account of the Honorable Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of January 1765 viz Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Horses, Asses, Poultry Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, He Asses, She Asses, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese Remaining the 1st: Bulls 4, Cows 88, Calves 80, Yearlings 36, Heifers 22, Steers 48, Oxen 19, Total 297, Ewes 304, Wethers 93, Lambs 185, Rams 7, Total 589, Ewes 153, Wethers 43, Kids 86, Rams 8, Total 295, Sows 2, Shoats 3, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 7, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 74, Ducks 49, Turkeys 23, Geese 16 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 4, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 3, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 12, Ducks 6, Turkeys 20, Geese 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 88, Calves 84, Yearlings 36, Heifers 22, Steers 48, Oxen 19, Total 301, Ewes 304, Wethers 93, Lambs 185, Rams 7, Total 589, Ewes 153, Wethers 43, Kids 89, Rams 8, Total 298, Sows 2, Shoats 3, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 7, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 86, Ducks 55, Turkeys 43, Geese 16 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 1, Yearlings 0, Heifers 4, Steers 1, Oxen 0, Total 6, Ewes 10, Wethers 3,	The Company's livestock account for January 1765 recorded each kind of animal held on 1 January, the increase during the month, the number killed and the number that died. Cattle: Bulls, 4 on 1 January, 0 increase, 4 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 4 on 31 January Cows, 88 on 1 January, 0 increase, 88 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 88 on 31 January Calves, 80 on 1 January, 4 increase, 84 in total, 1 killed, 0 dead, 83 on 31 January Yearlings, 36 on 1 January, 0 increase, 36 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 36 on 31 January Heifers, 22 on 1 January, 0 increase, 22 in total, 4 killed, 0 dead, 18 on 31 January Steers, 48 on 1 January, 0 increase, 48 in total, 1 killed, 0 dead, 47 on 31 January Oxen, 19 on 1 January, 0 increase, 19 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 19 on 31 January All cattle, 297 on 1 January, 4 increase, 301 in total, 6 killed, 0 dead, 295 on 31 January Sheep: Ewes, 304 on 1 January, 0 increase, 304 in total, 10 killed, 4 dead, 290 on 31 January Wethers, 93 on 1 January, 0 increase, 93 in total, 3 killed, 0 dead, 90 on 31 January Lambs, 185 on 1 January, 0 increase, 185 in total, 0 killed, 1 dead, 184 on 31 January Rams, 7 on 1 January, 0 increase, 7 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 7 on 31 January All sheep, 589 on 1 January, 0 increase, 589 in total, 13 killed, 5 dead, 571 on 31 January Goats:

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		Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 13, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0 Dead: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 4, Wethers 0, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Total 5, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0 Remaining 31st: Bulls 4, Cows 88, Calves 83, Yearlings 36, Heifers 18, Steers 47, Oxen 19, Total 295, Ewes 290, Wethers 90, Lambs 184, Rams 7, Total 571, Ewes 156, Wethers 43, Kids 85, Rams 8, Total 272, Sows 2, Shoats 2, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 6, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 84, Ducks 48, Turkeys 40, Geese 16 Slaves Received from the Mercury and Fly viz Men Nottingham Ludlow Grantham Chester Winchester Wycomb Rippon Woodstock Stamford Boston Dixon Liverpool Windsor Dorchester Malton Kingston Boys London Oxford 1 Girl Dead named Sary Bracket 1 Boy Dead named Frank Yam Expended for the Slaves 25.000lb Do for the Stock 6.000 Total 31.000 (signed) Matt Bazett	Nanny goats, 158 on 1 January, 0 increase, 158 in total, 1 killed, 1 dead, 156 on 31 January Castrated goats, 43 on 1 January, 0 increase, 43 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 43 on 31 January Kids, 86 on 1 January, 3 increase, 89 in total, 2 killed, 2 dead, 85 on 31 January Billy goats, 8 on 1 January, 0 increase, 8 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 8 on 31 January All goats, 295 on 1 January, 3 increase, 298 in total, 3 killed, 3 dead, 292 on 31 January Pigs: Sows, 2 on 1 January, 0 increase, 2 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 2 on 31 January Young weaned pigs, 3 on 1 January, 0 increase, 3 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 2 on 31 January Piglets, 1 on 1 January, 0 increase, 1 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 1 on 31 January Boars, 1 on 1 January, 0 increase, 1 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 1 on 31 January All pigs, 7 on 1 January, 0 increase, 7 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 6 on 31 January Horses: Stallions and geldings, 8 on 1 January, 0 increase, 8 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 8 on 31 January Mares, 6 on 1 January, 0 increase, 6 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 6 on 31 January All horses, 14 on 1 January, 0 increase, 14 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 14 on 31 January Donkeys: Male donkeys, 1 on 1 January, 0 increase, 1 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 1 on 31 January Female donkeys, 1 on 1 January, 0 increase, 1 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 1 on 31 January All donkeys, 2 on 1 January, 0 increase, 2 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 2 on 31 January Poultry: Fowls, 74 on 1 January, 12 increase, 86 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 84 on 31 January Ducks, 49 on 1 January, 6 increase, 55 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 48 on 31 January Turkeys, 23 on 1 January, 20 increase, 43 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 40 on 31 January Geese, 16 on 1 January, 0 increase, 16 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 16 on 31 January The account went on to name the slaves received from the *Mercury* and the *Fly*. Men: Nottingham Ludlow Grantham Chester Winchester Wycomb Rippon Woodstock Stamford Boston Dixon Liverpool Windsor Dorchester Malton Kingston Boys: London Oxford Died: 1 girl named Sary Bracket 1 boy named Frank Yams used: 25,000 pounds of yams for the slaves 6,000 pounds of yams for the livestock 31,000 pounds of yams in total Matthew Bazett signed the account. **Interpretations**

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			Every one of the 18 newcomers from Madagascar was entered under the name of an English town. The Company gave its slaves new names on arrival, drawn here from a single list of places, which stripped away the names they had brought with them and marked them as Company property from the moment they landed. The system also made the men easy to identify in the records, as the case of Winchester shows. He was the man already sent to gaol on suspicion of murdering Captain Harrold, and his town name is the only way he appears in the island's books. Yams formed the bulk of the slaves' food, far outweighing any grain. In one month 25,000 pounds were issued to them against 6,000 pounds for the animals. Grown on the Company's own land, yams cost little beyond labour and fed a large workforce cheaply, which explains why the slaves' quarterly account from the store carried so much rice yet still could not have fed them on rice alone. The poultry column shows no birds killed, yet the numbers fell during the month by 2 fowls, 7 ducks and 3 turkeys. The steward's account for the Company's table in January recorded exactly 2 fowls and 7 ducks, with 2 turkeys. Birds taken for the Governor's table were therefore struck off the stock without being entered as killed, and the two accounts together allowed the Council to trace each one. Neat cattle meant oxen and cows of every kind, from the old word for bovine animals. The account kept the herds, flocks and draught animals of the Company's farms under monthly review, since meat on the island depended entirely on local breeding. Four heifers were killed in January, animals that might otherwise have become breeding cows, a choice that ran against the usual care to preserve the herd and perhaps reflected a need for beef at the table and in the garrison.
153	146	11th February Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of January 1765 [...], 4lb, 3lb, 2lb, 1lb, [...] 4 An Alarm: [...] 6, 4lb 2, 3lb 2, 2lb 0, 1lb 2, [...] 12 Arrived the Duke of Albany: [...] 9, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 9, 1lb 0, [...] 9 Powder for priming: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 1 . 8 5 Fired for Major Winters coming on Shore: [...] 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 13, 1lb 0, [...] 13 Powder for priming: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 3 11 Powder for Blowing Rocks on Ford Hill: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 3 14 Powder for Do: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 3 18 Powder for Do: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 3 21 Departed the Duke of Albany: [...] 9, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 9, 1lb 0, [...] 9 Powder for priming: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 1 . 8 Fired for Major Winters going on board: [...] 5, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 5, 1lb 0, [...] 5 Powder for priming: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 1 . 8 23 A Double Alarm arrived the Mercury and Fly: [...] 9, 4lb 3, 3lb 3, 2lb 0, 1lb 3, [...] 12 24 Powder for priming at the Alarm House: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 3 Powder Scaling the Guns at Trades Cap and for pr: [...] 6, 4lb 6, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 13 Powder Shooting for the Castle: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 8 Powder for Repairg the Cart at the Main Guard: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 2	The artillery stores used in January 1765 were listed day by day. The first figure column and the powder column carried no headings, so their identities have been supplied from the entries themselves as the number of guns fired and the weight of powder used, while the four headed columns gave the guns fired by size, from 4-pounders down to 1-pounders. 4 January, an alarm, 6 guns fired (2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders), 12 pounds of powder On the arrival of the *Duke of Albany*, 9 guns were fired (0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), using 9 pounds of powder. Powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 1 pound 8 ounces of powder 5 January, salute for Major Winter coming ashore, 13 guns fired (0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 13 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), 13 pounds of powder Powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 3 pounds of powder 11 January, powder for blasting rocks on Ford Hill, 0 guns fired, 3 pounds of powder 14 January, powder for blasting rocks on Ford Hill, 0 guns fired, 3 pounds of powder 18 January, powder for blasting rocks on Ford Hill, 0 guns fired, 3 pounds of powder On 21 January, when the *Duke of Albany* sailed, 9 guns were fired (0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), using 9 pounds of powder. Powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 1 pound 8 ounces of powder

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		Powder shooting the Goats on the Side of the Hill: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 2 Powder for Signals: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 1 . 8 Total: [...] 57, 4lb 11, 3lb 5, 2lb 36, 1lb 5, [...] 104 . 2 Paper for the use of the Secretys Office 1 Qr Tallow for the use of the Long Boat & Yaul 24lb Match burnt at the Alarm House 6lb Sponge Staves broke at the Main Fort 2 Handspikes Do at Do 2 Lead Balls for Shooting the Goats 2 1 Gun Carriage for a two Pounder Rotten and not fit for Service (signed) Thos Hall	Salute for Major Winter going aboard, 5 guns fired (0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 5 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), 5 pounds of powder Powder for priming, 0 guns fired, 1 pound 8 ounces of powder On 23 January a double alarm was raised on the arrival of the *Mercury* and the *Fly*, with 9 guns fired (3 four-pounders, 3 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 3 one-pounders), using 18 pounds of powder. 24 January, powder for priming at the alarm house, 0 guns fired, 3 pounds of powder Powder for scaling the guns at [...], 6 guns fired (6 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), 13 pounds of powder Powder for shooting for the castle, 0 guns fired, 8 ounces of powder Powder for repair work at the Main Guard, 0 guns fired, 2 pounds of powder Powder for shooting goats on the hillside, 0 guns fired, 2 pounds of powder Powder for signals, 0 guns fired, 1 pound 8 ounces of powder Total, 57 guns fired (11 four-pounders, 5 three-pounders, 36 two-pounders, 5 one-pounders), 104 pounds 8 ounces of powder Other stores: 1 quire of paper, for the Secretary's office 24 pounds of tallow, for the longboat and the yawl 6 fathoms of slow match, burnt at the alarm house 2 sponge staves, broken at the Main Fort 2 handspikes, broken at the Main Fort 2 lead balls, for shooting the goats 1 gun carriage for a two-pounder, rotten and unfit for service Thomas Hall signed the account. **Interpretations** The guns served as the island's signalling system as well as its defence. Lookouts fired an alarm when a sail was sighted, and a double alarm announced two ships together, as when the *Mercury* and the *Fly* came in. The alarm house kept slow match burning so that a gun could be fired at once, which explains the 6 fathoms of match used there in a single month. The heavier guns, from 4-pounders downwards, were used for alarms because their louder report carried across the island's valleys to the castle. Salutes followed a strict scale of rank. The *Duke of Albany* received 9 guns on arrival and departure, while Major Winter was honoured with 13 when he landed but only 5 when he went aboard. Saluting used the small 2-pounders at 1 pound of powder a round, so ceremony cost far less powder than defence. A good share of the month's powder went on tasks unconnected with fighting. Charges were used to blast rocks on Ford Hill, on repair work at the Main Guard and to shoot the wild goats on the hillsides. The culling of goats matches the arrack issued earlier to workmen for hunting them, and it shows the garrison's powder and marksmen being turned against a pest that stripped the island of vegetation. Scaling was the firing of a small charge to clean the inside of a gun barrel, and the rotten gun carriage reported at the end is a reminder that timber mountings decayed quickly in the island's damp, salty air.
154	147	1765 The piece of Land Mr William Wranghams Petitiond for in last Consultation having been Viewed and it being very Rocky and only for the Convenience of Fencing, and of no detriment to the Honble	The Council had arranged for the plot of land requested by Mr William Wrangham at its previous meeting to be inspected. The inspection found the ground very rocky and useful to him only for making his fencing easier. It would cause no harm to the Company or to his neighbours, so the Council agreed to grant him a lease at a rent of £0 1s 6d an acre.

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		Company or Neighbourhood, We Agreed to Grant him a Lease for it at the Rent of one Shilling and six pence pr Acre - John Skottowe Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th Day of Febry 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthw Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 11th Febry 1765 Monday the 11th Died John Maurice Serjeant Thursday the 14th Do Elizabeth Daughter of John Sealy Publican Saturday the 16th Do William Moore the Honble Companys Steward Yesterday the 17th Do Mr Richard Law Factor Counted and Examined the Honble Companys Cash for the Month of January last, which is as follows viz -	Governor Skottowe, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the castle on Monday 18 February 1765, with the Governor, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 11 February 1765. The minutes recorded four deaths during the previous week. John Maurice, a sergeant, died on Monday 11 February. Elizabeth, daughter of the publican John Sealy, died on Thursday 14 February. William Moore, the Company's steward, died on Saturday 16 February, and Mr Richard Law, a factor, died on Sunday 17 February. The Company's cash for January was then counted and checked, and the result was set down in the following statement. **Interpretations** The inspection supplied the grounds on which the lease was granted. The Council needed to know whether the land had any value to the Company or to neighbouring planters before letting it go, and the report that it was stony ground fit only for straightening a fence line answered both concerns. The low rent reflected the poor quality of the land, while still keeping the Company's ownership on record and bringing in a small annual return. William Moore had been paid £7 10s 0d a quarter as steward. During the last quarter of 1764 the paymaster had paid Thomas Perrin to help in the Company's stores because the steward was ill, so Moore's death followed an illness of some months. Richard Law had drawn pay both as factor and as assistant to the Governor, and his death left both posts to be filled.
155	148	18th Febry Cash Dr 1765 Janry 1 To Balance remaining£ 5320 . 14 . 4½ 14 To Exchange for 6 Setts of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follows viz One Set to Capt. Charles Mears for £ 120 One Do to Lieut Joseph Sherwin 140 One Do to Major Joseph Winter 83 One Do to Lieut Francis Wood 129 . 17 . 9 One Do to Mrs Mary Darval 101 . 13 . 4 One Do to Mr George Chalmers 30 604 . 11 . 1 18 To Ship Duke of Albany recd the Balance of her Acct 10 . 10 . 11 £ 5935 . 16 . 4½ Per Contra Dr 1765 Janry 31 By Balance remaining viz In Specie 5396 . 1 . 4½ In Cash Notes 539 . 15 5935 . 16 . 4½ £ 5935 . 16 . 4½	The Company's cash account for January 1765 set receipts against the balance held at the end of the month. Debit: 1 January 1765, balance in hand, £5,320 14s 4½d 14 January 1765, cash received in exchange for 6 sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors: 1 set to Captain Charles Mears, £120 0s 0d 1 set to Lieutenant Joseph Sherwin, £140 0s 0d 1 set to Major Joseph Winter, £83 0s 0d 1 set to Lieutenant Francis Wood, £129 17s 9d 1 set to Mrs Mary Darval, £101 13s 4d 1 set to Mr George Chalmers, £30 0s 0d Bills together, £604 11s 1d On 18 January the *Duke of Albany* paid in the balance of its account, £10 10s 11d. Total, £5,935 16s 4½d Credit: 31 January 1765, balance in hand, in coin, £5,396 1s 4½d 31 January 1765, balance in hand, in cash notes, £539 15s 0d Balance together, £5,935 16s 4½d Total, £5,935 16s 4½d **Interpretations** The bills of exchange were the means by which money moved between St Helena and London without shipping coin. Officers and passengers from the ships in the road paid cash into the island treasury, and in return the Governor and Council drew bills on the Court of Directors, payable to them or their agents in England. The holder avoided the risk of carrying coin on a long voyage, while the Company gained ready money on the island to pay its garrison and servants and settled the debt in London months later. Bills were issued in sets of several identical copies sent by different ships, so that one would arrive even if another was lost, and payment of any one cancelled the others.

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			Major Joseph Winter, saluted by the guns on landing and departure that month, was among those who bought a bill, and the other purchasers were perhaps fellow passengers on the *Duke of Albany*. The ship itself paid in the balance of its account for supplies taken on at the island. No payments were made during January, so the whole of the month's receipts went to swell the reserve. The coin in hand rose from £4,780 19s 4½d to £5,396 1s 4½d, an increase equal to the bills and the ship's payment together, while the cash notes stayed fixed at £539 15s 0d. Holding the note issue steady while building up coin strengthened the backing for the paper already in circulation.
156	149	1765 William Moore the Honble Companys Steward Dying on Saturday last, and Thomas Perrin Soldier having Attended the Stores for some Time past, and is a very proper person for that Employ. We discharged him the Garrison (having about a twelve Month of his Contracted time to serve) & appointed him Steward at the Usual Salary - John Skottowe Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	William Moore, the Company's steward, died on Saturday 16 February. Thomas Perrin, a soldier, had been looking after the stores for some time and the Council judged him well suited to the work. It released him from the garrison, although about a year of his agreed term of service still remained, and appointed him steward at the usual salary. Governor Skottowe, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council gave up a year of Perrin's service as a soldier to secure him as steward. The ordinary course would have been to keep him in the ranks until his term ran out and look elsewhere for a steward, or to leave him covering the post while still enlisted. Perrin had already proved himself during Moore's illness, when the paymaster paid him £4 12s 0d in the last quarter of 1764 for helping in the stores while the steward was sick. That record made him the obvious choice, and a formal discharge was needed because a man could not hold a salaried civil post while still bound to the garrison. Soldiers in the Company's service enlisted for a fixed term set out in their contract, and only the Governor and Council could release a man before it ended. The appointment raised Perrin from a private's pay of £3 16s 0½d a quarter to the steward's £7 10s 0d, nearly doubling his income and moving him from the military roll to the civil establishment.
157	150	25th February At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th Day of February 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Burling of Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick Council The Consultation was read approved and signed, dated the 18th February 1765 Tuesday the 19th Died Sarah Daughter of John Price Goaler - Wednesday the 20th Do Capt. Thos Hall of the Artillery Company Thursday the 21st Arrived the Ansons Boat at Banks's four OClock in the afternoon - Do . . Do . . the Boscawen Boat at Banks's Nine OClock at Night - Do Do the Honorable Companys Ship Anson from Bombay - Friday the 22d Do the Honorable Companys Ship Boscawen from Bengal Saturday the 23d Do His Majestys Ships Weymouth Panther, and Seaford The Anson and Boscawen brought Us the following Supply viz -	The Council met at the castle on Monday 25 February 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 18 February 1765. Two deaths had occurred since the last meeting. Sarah, daughter of John Price the gaoler, died on Tuesday 19 February. Captain Thomas Hall of the Artillery Company died the following day. Several vessels reached the island during the week. At four o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday 21 February a boat from the *Anson* landed at Banks's. A boat from the *Boscawen* arrived there at nine o'clock the same night, and the Company's ship *Anson* came in from Bombay that day. The Company's ship *Boscawen* followed from Bengal on Friday 22 February. On Saturday 23 February three of the King's ships, the *Weymouth*, the *Panther* and the *Seaford*, arrived. The *Anson* and the *Boscawen* between them carried supplies for the island, which the minutes then listed. **Interpretations** The ships' boats came ashore at Banks's ahead of the vessels themselves. A homeward ship typically sent a boat in first to report its name and business before approaching the anchorage, and Banks's, one of the batteries guarding the coast, was a point where such boats could land and be challenged. The practice let the garrison identify a ship before it came within range of the main defences, a precaution that

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			mattered in wartime and remained customary in peace. Captain Thomas Hall had signed the artillery account for January only a few weeks earlier. His death left the Artillery Company without its commander, adding to the vacancies already caused that month by the deaths of the steward and a factor. The arrival of three naval vessels alongside two Company ships shows the island serving both the Company's trade and the Crown's warships. King's ships homeward bound from the East called at St Helena for water and fresh food just as the Company's own vessels did, and the island's supplies had to stretch to meet them all.
158	151	1765 Invoice of Ship Anson 3 Gun Carriages 32 Wt 3 Do 24 Do 6 Do 18 Do Coast 4 Do 12 Do 10 Do 9 Do 5 Do 6 Do 1062 . 15 . 9 Charges on Merchandize Boat and Cooley Hire 16 . 9 . 7 Rupees 1078 . 2 . 5 . 6 Errors Excepted (signed) Wm Hornby Acct Invoice of Ship Boscawen Rice Fine 30 Bags qt B Mds 60 @ [...] Rs [...] As 99 . 10 . 3 Sugar Fine 10 Bags qt Do 20 @ 8 Rs pr Md 160 Carried over £ 259 . 10 . 3	The invoice for the *Anson* listed the gun carriages the ship carried from Bombay. 8 gun carriages for 32-pounders 3 gun carriages for 24-pounders 6 gun carriages for 18-pounders 4 gun carriages for 12-pounders 10 gun carriages for 9-pounders 5 gun carriages for 6-pounders Cost of all gun carriages together, 1,062 rupees 1 quarter 59 reas Charges on the goods, hire of boats and porters, 16 rupees 0 quarters 97 reas Total, 1,078 rupees 2 quarters 56 reas William Hornby, the accountant, signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. The invoice for the *Boscawen* listed the provisions the ship carried from Bengal. Fine rice, 30 bags containing 60 bazaar maunds at [...], 99 rupees 10 annas 3 pies Fine sugar, 10 bags containing 20 bazaar maunds at 8 rupees a maund, 160 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Carried forward, 259 rupees 10 annas 3 pies **Interpretations** The 36 gun carriages answered a pressing need in the island's defences. The artillery account for January had just reported a two-pounder carriage rotten and unfit for service, and timber mountings decayed quickly in St Helena's damp, salty air. Ordering carriages from Bombay rather than England made sense because the Company's yards there built with teak, a dense Indian hardwood that resisted rot and insects far better than the oak or elm used at home. The range of sizes, from 32-pounders down to 6-pounders, shows the batteries being refitted across their whole armament, with the heaviest guns covering the landing places. The *Anson*'s invoice was kept in Bombay money. The rupee there was divided into 4 quarters, each of 100 reas, a reckoning that differed from the annas and pies used in Bengal, as the *Boscawen*'s invoice shows. Each presidency kept its accounts in its own currency, so the island's clerks had to handle invoices in several systems before converting them into sterling for the Company's books. The charge for boats and porters, known in India as coolies, covered carrying the heavy carriages out to the ship. The bazaar maund was the standard Indian weight for bulk goods, roughly 80 pounds. The *Boscawen*'s rice and sugar added to the island's food supplies alongside the rice and paddy brought from Madagascar, confirming how far St Helena depended on grain shipped from the East.
159	152	25th February Brought over 259 . 10 . 3 Paddy 15 Bags qt F Mds 22 . 20 @ 10 As pr Md 14 . 1 Wax Candles 4 Chests qt Do 2 @ 6 Rs pr Do 288	The *Boscawen*'s invoice continued from 259 rupees 10 annas 3 pies. Brought forward, 259 rupees 10 annas 3 pies Paddy, 15 bags containing 22 bazaar maunds 20 seers at 10 annas a maund, 14 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Wax candles, 4 chests containing 2 bazaar maunds at 144 rupees a maund, 288 rupees 0 annas 0 pies

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		Batavia Arrack 2 Leagrs @ 175 Rs pr Do 378 Charges Merchandize 93 Gunny Bags with Sowing 13 . 3 . 3 4 Chests with Packages 12 . 5 . 3 23 Maunds Gunan Sticks and Red Earth 2 . 4 . 3 Mortlas and Weighmen 5 . 4 . 6 Sloopage 34 . 10 Rice Boat hire and Cooleys Victuals 4 . 9 72 . 14 . 3 Current Rups 1212 . 9 . 6 Errors Excepted (signed) Wm Billers Accompt The Widow and Executrix of Capt Thos Hall decd this Day presented his Said Will desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto the Will is as follows viz	Batavia arrack, 2 leaguers at 189 rupees a leaguer, 378 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Charges on the goods: 93 gunny bags, with sewing, 13 rupees 3 annas 3 pies 4 chests, with packing, 12 rupees 5 annas 3 pies 23 maunds of [...] sticks and red earth, 2 rupees 4 annas 3 pies Porters and weighmen, 3 rupees 4 annas 6 pies Sloop hire, 34 rupees 10 annas 0 pies [...] boat hire and food for the porters, 4 rupees 9 annas 0 pies Charges together, 72 rupees 14 annas 3 pies Total in current rupees, 1,012 rupees 9 annas 6 pies William Billers, the accountant, signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. At the same meeting the widow of Captain Thomas Hall, acting as his executrix, presented his will and asked that it be proved. The Council admitted it after the witnesses had given evidence on oath, and the text of the will was entered in the minutes. **Interpretations** The invoice was totalled in current rupees, the money of account used in Bengal for keeping books. It was a notional unit rather than a coin in circulation, since the actual rupees paid out in Calcutta varied in weight and fineness and were converted into current rupees at fixed rates. Keeping every invoice in one reckoning allowed the Company to compare costs across purchases made with different coins. Batavia arrack was distilled in the Dutch settlement of Batavia on Java from rice and sugar-cane molasses, and it was prized above the arrack of India for its strength and flavour. It reached Bengal through the regional trade and was shipped on in leaguers, very large casks holding roughly 150 gallons each. The wax candles were a luxury beside the tallow candles issued from the store, perhaps intended for the Governor's house or the chapel, where a clean, bright and smokeless light was expected. The charges show how much handling added to the price of goods before they left India. Gunny bags were coarse sacks woven from jute, the standard packing for grain. Sloop hire was the largest single charge, since goods had to be carried by small craft down the river from Calcutta to ships anchored where the water was deep enough for them. Porters, weighmen and boat crews all had to be paid along the way, and together these costs came to about a tenth of the value of the rice, paddy and sugar they moved.
160	153	1765 In the Name of God Amen I Thomas Hall, Captain of the Artillery, Upon the Island of St Helena, being of Sound, and Disposing Mind, and Memory, do hereby, Make this, my last Will and Testament First and Principally, I Commend my Soul unto the Hands of Almighty God, hoping for Remission of all my Sins, through the Merits of Jesus Christ, my Blessed Saviour, and Redeemer, And my Body to the Earth when it Shall please God to Call me, And as for such Worldly Estate and Effects which I shall be possessed of, or Intitled Unto, at the time of my Decease, I give and Bequeath the same as followeth that is to say Unto my Wife Mary Hall, all such Money, Goods or other Effects which I shall be possessed of at this time, or any time hereafter, And I do hereby Nominate	Captain Thomas Hall's will opened with a declaration of faith. Hall described himself as captain of the artillery on St Helena and stated that he was of sound mind and memory when he made it. He committed his soul to God, trusting in the forgiveness of his sins through Christ, and his body to the earth whenever death should come. Hall left everything he owned at his death, including all money and goods he held then or might acquire later, to his wife Mary Hall. He named her sole executrix and cancelled any earlier wills. He signed and sealed the will on 12 December 1763, in the fourth year of the reign of George III. John Howard and Peter Leaf signed as witnesses, confirming that Hall had signed, sealed and declared it as his will in their presence. The Company's stores held no coffee, so the Council sent an order to Captain Chick to supply it. **Interpretations** Hall's will took the standard English form of the period, and its dating by the regnal year of George III followed legal convention for formal instruments. The royal title recited in it still named the king as

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		Constitute and appoint my above Said Wife Mary Hall Sole Executrix, of this my last Will and Testament, and do hereby Revoking, and making Void, all other and former Wills, by me heretofore made, and do declare this to be my last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand, and Seal this twelfth Day of December, in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred, and Sixty three, And in the fourth Year, of the Reign, of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith, Thomas Hall Signed Sealed, published, and Declared, by the said Thomas Hall, as, and for, his last Will, and Testament, in the presence of Us, who have hereunto Subscribed our Names as Witnesses, in the presence of the said Testator. - (Signed) Thomas Hall [...] Witnesses John Howard Peter Fray - There being no Coffee in the Honorable Companys Stores We sent Capt Check the following Order viz	ruler of France as well as Great Britain and Ireland, a claim kept in the style of English monarchs since the Middle Ages. The will itself was simple, leaving all to his wife and naming her sole executrix, which made the Council's task in proving it straightforward. Its witness John Howard was the captain of the Fourth Company, so the document was attested by a fellow officer of the garrison. The contrast with Captain Harrold's will, admitted a month earlier, is instructive. Hall had settled his affairs more than a year before his death, whereas Harrold dictated his wishes on the day he was mortally wounded, without stamped paper and with detailed provisions for legacies and an auction. The order to Captain Chick shows the Council drawing directly on the cargo of a Company ship in the road to meet a shortage in the store. Coffee was used at the Company's table, where 10 pounds had been issued in the last quarter of 1764, and a Company commander was expected to supply the settlement's needs from his ship on the Council's instruction.
161	154	25th February To Captain Edward Lord Chick Commr of Ship Anson Sir You are hereby Ordered to send on shore one Bale of the Honorable Companys Coffee for the use of this Island We are Sir Your humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe M. Burling Thos Kirkpatrick St Helena 25th February 1765 - John Skottowe Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council wrote to Captain Edward Lord Chick, commander of the *Anson*, on 25 February 1765. It instructed him to send ashore one bale of the Company's coffee for the island's use. Governor Skottowe, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the order at St Helena, and the same three signed the minutes of the meeting. **Interpretations** The order specified the Company's own coffee, part of the cargo the *Anson* was carrying home from Bombay, rather than goods belonging to the captain or crew. Coffee reached Bombay from Mocha in Arabia, the main source of the Company's coffee trade, and was shipped on to London for sale. The Governor and Council had authority to take from a homeward cargo whatever the island needed, so a bale bound for the London sales could be landed and charged to the island's account without any purchase. This spared the settlement from buying at the higher prices charged for private trade goods, and the transfer remained within the Company's own books. Lord was Chick's middle name rather than a title, following a common practice of the period in which a family surname was given as a forename.
162	155	2d March At a Consultation held on Monday the 2d Day of March 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 25th February 1765 Tuesday the 26th Died Thomas Harding Soldier Thursday the 28th Passed by vessel Ships Supposed to be Dutch Mr Matthew Burling Reports that he has been on board the Ships Anson and Boscawen to Muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow viz Muster Roll of Ship Anson	The Council met at the castle on Monday 4 March 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 25 February 1765. Thomas Harding, a soldier, died on Tuesday 26 February. On Thursday 28 February several ships, thought to be Dutch, passed the island without stopping. Mr Matthew Burling reported that he had gone aboard the *Anson* and the *Boscawen* to call the roll of their crews and search for deserters, but had found none. The crew lists were entered in the minutes, beginning with the *Anson*. Edward Lord Chick, commander Mr John Carswell, 1st mate Mr John Hassell, 2nd mate Mr Thomas Leaker, 3rd mate [...] Allyn, 4th mate

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		Ed Lord Chick Commr Mr John Cassworth 1st Mt Mr John Hassell 2d Do Mr Thoms Leaber 3d Do [...] 4th Do Mr James Barnwell 4th Do Mr David Beldock 5th Do Mr John Lewis 6th Do Mr Thos Evans Doctor Mr Jos Bryant Purser Thos Lissle Doctors Mate Frans Shelton Gunner Jeremiah Webb Boatswain Joseph Oakes Carpenter Mitchell Bammer Capts Clerk Robert Nixon Steward Thos Hall Caulker Henry Corbett Wm Tapp Danl Jones Alexander Wishart John Oddisley Step Church Robt Sixty Saml Pusley Alex Johnson Saml Eyre Christ Cantoney Thoms Woodward Wm Wilson Robt Hardy Saml Richards John Frederick George Taylor Richd Ward John Howard John Wood John Silverman Willm Sandy Richd Phillips John Peterson Wm Brown Thos Newby Wm Jones Wm Sealy Wm Shears	Mr James Barwell, 4th mate Mr David Beldock, 5th mate Mr John Lewis, 6th mate Mr Thomas Evans, surgeon Mr Joseph Bryant, purser Thomas Lissle, surgeon's mate Francis Stratton, gunner Jeremiah Webb, boatswain Joseph Oakes, carpenter Michael Bunner, [...] Robert Nixon, steward Thomas Hall, caulker Henry Corbett William Sise Daniel Jones Alexander Wishard John Cudsley Stephen Church Robert Sixty Samuel Pusley Alexander Johnson Samuel Eyre Christopher Cantony Thomas Woodward William Wilson Robert Hardy Samuel Richards John Frederick George Taylor Richard Ward John Howard John Ward John Silverman William Sandys Richard Phillips John Peterson William Brown Thomas Hursty William Jones William Sealy William Shears **Interpretations** Mustering the crews of homeward ships was the Council's main safeguard against desertion from the garrison. Soldiers served for fixed terms on a remote island with little chance of leave, and a ship bound for England offered the easiest escape. A member of Council went aboard, called every man by name against the ship's own roll and looked for anyone who did not belong. Any extra hand found aboard could be identified and returned ashore before the ship sailed. The same check prevented slaves or debtors from leaving the island without permission. Ships that sailed past without calling were still recorded. The lookouts reported every sail they sighted, and the Council noted even those that did not stop, since a passing fleet might signal a change in the movements of rival nations in the South Atlantic.
163	156	2d March Frans Brown John Nixon Wm Aldridge George Russell Frans Stevens Wm Newman Richd Williams William Galvert Robt Withe Edwd Caddock John Bambridge William Hoaky Richard Roberts Athony Ferrando Thomas Linton Edwd Hussey	The *Anson*'s crew list continued, followed by its passengers and invalids. Francis Brown John Nixon William Aldridge George Russell Francis Stevens William Newman Richard Williams William Galvert Robert Withe Edward Caddock John Bambridge William Hockey Richard Roberts Anthony Fernando Thomas Linton

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		Willm Money William Dixon James Annot Hamiltn Shannon Jos Batter Wm Somers James Anderson Francis Vincent Mattw Hill Barnard Wood Wm Pisser Thos Baley Andrw Martin James Holmes Joseph White Andw Swan Charles Richmond John Baptiste Thos Jones Paul Berrey Dougly McDougal Thoms Ryan Willm Harbord James Hooley Moses Saunders John Anderson Thos Taylor John Ball Thos Kemp Thos Tryer James Brown Moses Baker William Chapman Thos Carmical William Brown Thoms Rasselly Nichs Wadman Richd Graffton Ceasa Passengers Mr Ironside Mr King Capt Burrell Mr William Cook Mr Thomas Wynn Mr Michl Blackford Saml Blackford Sarah Stratton Ann Watson Mr Sandys Black Servants Tubal Damon Invalids Saml Tuke Barn Dannally Timy McDaddah Wm Wright Geo. Hogens Saml Toon Edwd Dilson Thos Sharp Jos Jillings Wm Welch John Coyne Timy McEarly Wm Sharp	Edward Hussey William Money William Dixon James Annot Hamilton Shannon Joseph Batter William Sowers James Anderton Francis Vinson Matthew Hill Barnard Wood William Piffer Thomas Bailey Andrew Martin James Holmes Joseph White Andrew Swan Charles Richmond John Baptiste Thomas Jones Paul Berry Dougal McDougal Thomas Agan William Harbard James Hooley Moses Saunders John Anderson Thomas Taylor John Ball Thomas Kemp Thomas Cryer James Brown Moses Baker William Chapman Thomas Carmical William Brown Thomas Rossett Nicholas Wardman Richard Grafton Caesar Passengers: Mr Ironside Mr King Captain Burrell Mr William Cook Mr Thomas Wynn Mr Michael Blackford Samuel Blackford Sarah Stratton Ann Watson Mr Sandys Black servants: Juba Damon Invalids: Samuel Luke Barnard Dannally Timothy McDaddah William Wright George Higgins Samuel Toon Edward Dilson Thomas Sharp Joseph Jillings William Welch John Cope Timothy McEarly William Sharp **Interpretations** The roll accounted for every person aboard, not only the crew. Passengers, their servants and invalids were each listed under their own heading, so that the Council's officer could match the people he found against the names declared and spot anyone from the island trying to leave hidden among them. The invalids were probably soldiers or seamen discharged

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			in India as unfit and sent home at the Company's expense. Juba and Damon were entered by a single name under the heading of black servants, set apart from the passengers they attended. Single classical or invented names of this kind were typical of slaves and servants taken from Africa or India, whose own names were not recorded. Caesar, listed at the end of the crew in the same way, was perhaps a Black seaman serving aboard. Names such as Anthony Fernando and John Baptiste show that the crew also included men of Portuguese or Indian origin, often recruited in Eastern ports to replace sailors lost on the outward voyage.
164	157	1765 George Davison Saml Bush Wm Ridgley Willm Graffs (signed) Edward Lord Chick Muster Roll of Ship Boscawen Arthur Morriss Commr John Riddall Chief Mt Henry Carscally 2d Do William Moffatt 3d Do Geo. Maclyn 4th Do Evan Evans Purser Thos Sherod Surgeon Edward George Gunner William Shelton Carpentr John Reed Boatswain John Tring Capts Steward Robt Griffiths Capts Do John Collingwood John Lewis Andrew Waugh Ferdinando Collin Henry Anderson John Fitzsimmons Thos Reed William Maines Peter Wild William Wright John Gee Timothy Curtancy Thomas Turner John Cumming Abraham Bower Blaky Robinson Robert Clark John Lucas John Caudby Robert Cowan Robert Bright James Ironside Antonio Rosario Thomas Morris Thomas Atkinson Benjamin Brewer William Barwell James Sparkes Thomas Smith William Joblin Dennis Driskall William Armain Thomas Cokes William Ayre David Love Barnaby Taylor Abraham Wood James Waters Joseph Saw John Dickson Caesar Edwards Thomas Milner	The *Anson*'s list closed with four further invalids, and Captain Chick signed it. George Davison Samuel Bush William Ridgley William Graffs Edward Lord Chick signed the roll. The Council then entered the crew list of the *Boscawen*. Arthur Morris, commander John Riddall, chief mate Henry Parscall, 2nd mate William Moffatt, 3rd mate George Maclyn, 4th mate Evan Evans, purser Thomas Sheard, surgeon Edward George, gunner William Shilton, carpenter John Reid, boatswain John King, captain's steward Robert Griffiths, captain's cook John Collingwood John Lewis Andrew Waugh Ferdinando Collini Henry Jenkinson John Fitzsimmons Thomas Hird William Maines Peter Wild William Wright John Gee Timothy Curtance Thomas Turner John Cumming Abraham Bower Blake Robinson Robert Clark John Lucas John Paulby Robert Cowan Robert Bright James Ironside Antonio Rosario Thomas Morris Thomas Atkinson Benjamin Brewer William Barwell James Sparkes Thomas Smith William Joblin Dennis Driskoll William Armain Thomas Cokes William Arm David Love Barnaby Taylor Abraham Wood James Waters Joseph Saw John Dickson Caesar Edwards

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		Edward Nims Daniel Ross Andrew Lundstrom Thomas Fisher Samuel Richardson John Barrett Samuel Capelly Francis Williams Mackelop John Hergloss Saml Hergess Nicholas Lawrence Benjamin Mumford John Baptiste John Laval John Evans Joseph Drand John Robinson George Blackford Harry Thomas Wiltshire	Thomas Milnes Edward Nims Daniel Ross Andrew Lindstram Thomas Fisher Samuel Richardson John Barrett Samuel Capelly Francis Williams Macklop John Hergelsh Samuel Hergess Nicholas Lawrence Benjamin Mumford John Baptiste John Laval John Evans Joseph Durand John Robinson George Blackford Harry Thomas Wilshire **Interpretations** The commander's signature at the foot of the *Anson*'s roll made him answerable for its accuracy. By signing, Chick certified that the list named every person aboard and no one else. If a deserter or an unlisted islander were later found on his ship, the signed roll would stand as evidence that he had either concealed the man or failed in his duty, which gave captains a strong reason to cooperate with the Council's search rather than shelter runaways.
165	158	2d March Othello William Beard Jos McDonnald Swany Tindaley Lascars Thuteen William Brookes Thos Jordon Thomas Doake Peter Antonio Antonio Zuick Robert Finnemore William Day William Jackson Passengers Major Sherlock Captain Long Abercrombie Freake Lieut Mackaule Pembroke Ensign Giffory Serjt Shaw Serjt Tully Mrs Drummond Thos Brown John Featherston Mrs Grant John Saunders Thomas Cornwall Lewis Adderley George Paynes Three Black Boys Richard Collins Esqr applyed to Us to pay one Thousand one hundred and fifty pounds into the Honble Companys Cash, which Sum We have received and given him Bills of Exchange, drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to himself or Order, drawn at Ninety Days sight	The *Boscawen*'s crew list continued, followed by its passengers. Othello William Beard Joseph McDonald Suang Tindale Lorens Thulsen William Brookes Thomas Foster Thomas Drake Peter Antonio Antonio Zuick Robert Finnimore William Day William Jackson Passengers: Major Sherlock Captain Long Captain Abercrombie Captain Freake Lieutenant Macaulay Lieutenant Pemtroby Ensign Jeffreys Sergeant Shaw Sergeant Tully Ulysses Drummond Thomas Brown John Featherston Ulysses Grant John Saunders Thomas Cornwall Lewis Adderley George Baynes 3 Black boys Richard Collins asked to pay £1,150 0s 0d 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, dated the same day and payable to him or to whomever he named, 90 days after they were presented. Governor Skottowe, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations**

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		date this day John Skottowe Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The terms of Collins's bills show how the exchange system protected the Company. Payment fell due 90 days after the bill was presented in London, giving the Directors three months to meet it once it arrived, on top of the months already taken by the voyage. Making the bills payable to Collins or his order meant he could sign them over to another person, so they could be sold or used to settle a debt before they matured. Coin paid in on the island was thus turned into a transferable paper claim on London, while the Company held the cash for its needs at St Helena. At £1,150 0s 0d, Collins's single payment was nearly twice the six bills drawn in January combined. The *Boscawen* carried a party of army officers and sergeants home from Bengal alongside its civilian passengers. The three Black boys at the end of the list were not named at all but entered only as a number, unlike the two servants on the *Anson*, which suggests they were travelling as the property of one or more of the passengers.
166	159	4th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 4th Day of March 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 2d March 1765 The Widow and Executors to the last Will and Testament of William Moore Decd 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 viz In the Name of God Amen I William Moore of the Island of St Hellena being of sound and perfect Mind and Memory, praise be therefore given to Almighty God, do make and Ordain this my present last Will and Testament, in Manner and Form following, (that is to say) First and principally I commend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, hoping thro the Merits, death and Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ to have full and free Pardon and Forgiveness of all my Sins and inherit everlasting Life And my Body I commit to the Earth to be decently buried at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter mentiond: And as to the Disposition of all such - temporal Estate as it hath pleased Almighty God to bestow upon me I give and dispose thereof as followeth First . . I will that my Debts and funeral Charges shall be paid and Discharged -	The Council met at the castle on Monday 4 March 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 2 March 1765. The widow and executors of the late William Moore presented his will and asked that it be proved. The Council admitted it after hearing the witnesses on oath, and the text was entered in the minutes. Moore described himself as a resident of St Helena, sound and clear in mind and memory, and gave thanks to God before setting out his wishes. He committed his soul to God, trusting through the life, death and suffering of Christ to receive full forgiveness of his sins and eternal life. His body was to be buried decently in whatever manner his executors, named later in the will, thought fit. He then turned to the property God had granted him in this life. His first instruction was that all his debts and funeral expenses should be paid in full. **Interpretations** Moore had served as the Company's steward until his death on 16 February, handling provisions and goods for the Company's table and stores. Requiring his debts to be settled before any bequest gave the Company, like any other creditor, first claim on his estate. Any shortfall in the goods or money in his charge could therefore be recovered before his widow or other heirs received anything.
167	160	4th March Item . . . . I give unto Elizabeth Moore my well beloved Wife her Heirs Administrators or Assigns, all and Singular my Effects Household Furniture, and every other moveable to me belonging, contained within my House, excepting only Six Silver Spoons which I give unto my Daughter Mary now in England	Moore left his wife, Elizabeth Moore, and her heirs all his household goods, furniture and other movable property in his house. The only exception was six silver spoons, which he gave to his daughter Mary, then living in England. He also left Elizabeth all his slaves, both men and women. His house and garden in James Valley, with everything attached to them, likewise passed to Elizabeth. Half of any rent or income from the house was reserved for his daughter Mary, to be paid to her each year or in whatever way the executors judged

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		Item . . . . I give unto the said Elizabeth my Well beloved Wife her Heirs, &c All my Slaves, Males and Females Item . . . . I give unto the Sd Elizabeth my well beloved Wife, her Heirs &c My House and Garden and all its Appurtenances Situated in James's Valley On the Sd Island of St Helena, Reserving always a Moiety of the Rents or Profits arising from the Sd House, Which One half or Moiety I give unto my Sd Daughter Mary to be paid to her Annually or as my Executors hereafter named shall think fit All the Rest or Residue of my Estate Goods and Chattles whatsoever, I do give and bequeath unto the Sd Elizabeth my well beloved Wife Executrix of this my last Will and Testament I hereby also Nominate and appoint my Loving and Trusty friends Robt Marchant and Wm Seale both of this Island Joint Executors along with the Sd Elizabeth my well beloved Wife to this my last Will and Testament. And I do hereby Revoke, annull and make Void all former Wills by me heretofore made - In Witness Whereof I the said William Moore, to this my last Will and Testament being contained in one Sheet of Paper, have set my Hand and Seal this Sixth day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Sixty four In presence of (signed) John Seale Phill Mahony (signed) William Moore [...]	best. Everything else he owned went to Elizabeth, whom he named executrix. Moore appointed two trusted friends on the island, Robert Machant and William Seale, to act as executors jointly with his wife. He cancelled all earlier wills. The will was written on a single sheet of paper, and Moore signed and sealed it on 6 September 1764. John Seale and Phillip Mahony signed as witnesses. **Interpretations** Moore's slaves passed to his widow in the same way as his furniture and house, confirming their legal standing on the island as inheritable property. A will could transfer them from one owner to another with no more formality than any other possession, and the widow gained full rights over their labour. The house in James Valley stood in the island's only town, where property could be let to officers, visitors and the crews of ships in the road. Reserving half its rent for a daughter in England turned the building into a source of income that could be remitted home, perhaps through the bills of exchange the Council drew on London. Leaving the timing of payment to the executors allowed for the long delays in sending money so far. Moore made the will on 6 September 1764, more than five months before his death. His illness had kept him from his duties during the last quarter of the year, when Thomas Perrin was paid to cover for him in the stores, so he had probably already set his affairs in order in expectation of death. One of the witnesses, Phillip Mahony, was the island's clerk of the peace, a sign that officials were often called on to witness legal documents in so small a community.
168	161	1765 Messrs Matthew Burling and Thomas Greentree applied to Us to pay seventy five pounds eighteen Shillings and six pence into the Honorable Companys Cash, which Sum we have received and given them Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to John Misoner and John Burling Esqr (or their Order) drawn at Ninety days sight dated this day - Captain Collins of his Majestys Ship Weymouth and his Purser, applied to Us for four hundred sixty five pounds six Shillings and Nine pence, which Sum We have Advanced them and taken Bills of Exchange drawn as follow viz One Set for seventy Nine pounds eighteen Shillings and four pence on the Honorable the Principal Officers and Commissioners of his Majestys Navy. And one Set for three hundred and eighty five pounds eight Shillings and five pence on the Commissioners for - Victualling His Majestys Navy both drawn at thirty days sight & dated this day - We this day Discharged William LaRoche Centinel at the Request of Capt: Collins he being but a very indifferent Soldier and having not above fifteen Months of his Contracted time to serve	Mr Matthew Burling and Mr Thomas Greentree asked to pay £75 18s 6d into the Company's treasury on the island. The Council accepted the money and gave them bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, dated the same day and payable 90 days after presentation to John Misenor and John Burling or to whomever they named. Captain Collins of the King's ship *Weymouth* and his purser asked the Council for £465 6s 9d. The Council advanced the money and took in return two sets of bills of exchange, both dated that day and payable 30 days after presentation. The first, for £79 18s 4d, was drawn on the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy. The second, for £385 8s 5d, was drawn on the Commissioners for Victualling the Navy. At Captain Collins's request the Council released William LaRoche, a private soldier, from the garrison. He had proved a very poor soldier and had no more than 15 months of his agreed term left to serve. The storekeeper then submitted an account of stores that the *Anson* and the *Boscawen* had failed to deliver in full. The *Anson* had delivered the following items short. 1 axletree 1 truck 1 breast **Interpretations** The Council's dealings with Captain Collins ran in the opposite direction from its usual exchange business. Instead of taking coin and issuing bills on the Company, it paid out coin and took bills on the Navy's own boards in London. A King's ship far from home had no other way to pay for the provisions and stores it bought, so its captain and

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		The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ships Anson and Boscawen viz Account of Stores short received from the Ships Anson and Boscawen viz Anson viz 1 Axletree 1 Truck 1 Breast Short Delivd	purser drew on the Navy Board for general stores and on the Victualling Board for food. The Company's treasury on the island thus acted as banker to the Navy, recovering the money in London. The shorter term of 30 days, against the Company's usual 90, reflected the standing of Admiralty bills as prompt and secure payment. Burling sat on the Council that approved his own bills, and the bills were made out partly in the name of John Burling. The arrangement let a councillor send private funds home through the Company's treasury on the same terms as any other applicant. Thomas Greentree had been named attorney for Captain Harrold's affairs on the island, and the money he paid in was perhaps part of the proceeds from auctioning Harrold's goods. The discharge of William LaRoche reversed the reasoning applied to Thomas Perrin two weeks earlier. The usual course was to hold a soldier to the end of his contracted term. Perrin was released because he was valuable in another post, while LaRoche was let go because he was of little use in the ranks and the Navy wanted him. The Council gave up a man it did not value in order to oblige a King's captain, whose ship probably needed hands after losses on the long voyage from India. The missing items were parts of gun carriages, matching the 36 carriages listed on the *Anson*'s invoice. The axletree carried the wheels, the truck was a small solid wooden wheel of the kind used on garrison and ship carriages, and the breast was part of the carriage frame. Recording each shortfall formally meant the ship's commander could be held answerable for goods signed for in Bombay but not delivered at St Helena.
169	162	4th March Boscowen 3 . . lb . . Rice 1 . . 2lb Paddy Short Weight . . 7 Candles 4 . 1 . 2lb Sugar Short Delivered No 1 . 1 Leagr Arr, gages 147½ Galls wants to fill Galls 5 2 . 1 Do . . . Do Do 5 150 297½ 10 Galls 287½ Recd 10 St Helena 4th March 1765 (signed) Js Powell Storekr John Skottowe Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The *Boscawen*'s shortfalls were listed next, some goods arriving under their invoiced weight and one lot not delivered at all. Rice, short in weight, 3 hundredweight 0 quarters 0 pounds Paddy, short in weight, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 24 pounds Candles, short in weight, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 7 pounds Sugar, short delivered, 4 hundredweight 1 quarter 24 pounds Arrack, cask 1, 1 leaguer, gauged at 147½ gallons, lacking 5 gallons of being full Arrack, cask 2, 1 leaguer, gauged at 150 gallons, lacking 5 gallons of being full Arrack, both casks by gauge, 297½ gallons Arrack, less the 10 gallons missing, 287½ gallons received James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account at St Helena on 4 March 1765. Governor Skottowe, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The account distinguished two kinds of loss. Goods short in weight had arrived but weighed less than the invoice stated, which could result from drying out, spillage or pilfering during the voyage. Goods short delivered had not been landed at all. The distinction mattered because a weight loss might be excused as natural wastage, while a missing lot pointed to error or theft for which the ship could be held answerable. The arrack was measured with a gauging rod, which calculated how much a cask held from its dimensions and the depth of liquid inside. Each leaguer proved to be 5 gallons short of full, an empty space known as ullage. Spirits lost volume through slow leakage and evaporation at sea, but a gap of exactly the same size in both casks also raised the suspicion that they had been tapped on the voyage, a

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			common temptation for crews carrying spirits. The gauged capacity of about 150 gallons a leaguer confirms the size of these casks.
170	163	11th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 11th Day of March 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was read approved, and signed dated the 4th March 1765 Tuesday the 5th Sailed His Majestys Ships Weymouth, Panther and Seaford for England Wednesday the 6th Sailed the Honorable Companys Ships Anson and Boscawen for England Saturday the 9th Arrived the Devonshire Boat at Banks's half an Hour past 11 OClock at Night. Yesterday the 10th Do the Honorable Companys Ship Devonshire from Bengal and brought us the following Supplies, viz Invoice of Ship Devonshire Rice Fine No 1 @ 30 30 Bags Qt 60 Bazar Mds @ 2 Rs 1 As pr Md . . . . Rs 123 . 7 Fine Sugar 1 @ 10 10 Bags Qt 20 Factory Mds @ 7 Rs 4 As pr Md 145 Paddy 1 @ 15 15 Bags Qt 22½ Do Do 13 As pr Md 18 . 15 . 9 Wax Candles 1 @ 4 4 Chests Qt 8 Do Do 65 Rs pr Md 520 Batavia Arrack 1 @ 2 2 Leagrs @ 175 Rs pr Leagr . . Rs 378 Carried over 1185 . 6 . 9	The Council met at the castle on Monday 11 March 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 4 March 1765. The King's ships *Weymouth*, *Panther* and *Seaford* sailed for England on Tuesday 5 March. The Company's ships *Anson* and *Boscawen* followed on Wednesday 6 March. A boat from the *Devonshire* reached Banks's at half past eleven on the night of Saturday 9 March. The Company's ship *Devonshire* itself arrived from Bengal on Sunday 10 March, bringing supplies for the island, and its invoice was entered in the minutes. Fine rice, packages 1 to 30, 30 bags containing 60 bazaar maunds at [...], 123 rupees 7 annas 0 pies Fine sugar, packages 1 to 10, 10 bags containing 20 factory maunds at 7 rupees 4 annas a maund, 145 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, packages 1 to 15, 15 bags containing 22½ factory maunds at [...], 13 rupees 15 annas 9 pies Wax candles, packages 1 to 4, 4 chests containing 8 factory maunds at 65 rupees a maund, 520 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, packages 1 to 2, 2 leaguers at 189 rupees a leaguer, 378 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Carried forward, 1,185 rupees 6 annas 9 pies **Interpretations** The invoice used two different maunds. Rice was weighed by the bazaar maund, the measure of the local markets, while sugar, paddy and candles were weighed by the factory maund, the Company's own standard used at its trading stations. The factory maund was the lighter of the two, so the same quantity of goods came to more maunds on the Company's reckoning than on the market's. Clerks at St Helena had to know which measure applied to each line before they could check the weight landed against the weight invoiced, as they had done with the *Boscawen*'s short cargo. The King's ships left on 5 March and the Company's homeward ships a day later, so that the five vessels sailed within a day of one another. Ships leaving together could keep company for protection on the long run north through the Atlantic, even in peacetime, when privateers and pirates remained a risk.
171	164	11th March Brought over 1185 . 6 . 9 Charges Merchandize 93 Gunny Bags and Sowing 13 . 8 4 Chests and Packages 12 . 12 . 9 3 Pr 17 Cobids of Bastaes 4 . 7 Peon 2 . 2 . 6 Mookes hire 5 . 13 Weighmen 5 . 6 Sloophire 23 . 10 67 . 10 . 9 Boat hire 7 . 4 . 6 20 Mats 2 . 2 . 6 87 . 1 . 9 Current Rupees 1272 . 8 . 6	The charges on the *Devonshire*'s goods were added to the invoice, which stood at 1,185 rupees 6 annas 9 pies. Brought forward, 1,185 rupees 6 annas 9 pies Charges on the goods: 95 gunny bags, with sewing, 13 rupees 8 annas 0 pies 4 chests, with packing, 12 rupees 12 annas 9 pies 3 pieces and 17 cubits of bafta cloth, 4 rupees 7 annas 0 pies Messenger, 2 rupees 2 annas 6 pies Porters' hire, 5 rupees 13 annas 0 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 5 annas 6 pies Sloop hire, 28 rupees 10 annas 0 pies Subtotal, 67 rupees 10 annas 9 pies Boat hire, 7 rupees 4 annas 6 pies 20 mats, 2 rupees 2 annas 6 pies Charges together, 87 rupees 1 anna 9 pies Total in current rupees, 1,272 rupees 8 annas 6 pies Richard Barwell, the sub-accountant, signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for February were then brought in, examined and

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		Errors Excepted Richd Barwell Sub Acct The Plantation Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of February last were this day brought in, which were examined and approved and are as follows viz	approved, and their contents were entered in the minutes. **Interpretations** Bafta was a plain, closely woven cotton cloth from Bengal and western India, and here it served as packing rather than merchandise. It was cut by the cubit, an Indian measure of about 18 inches taken from the length of a forearm, and used to wrap chests or line bales against damp. The mats played a similar role, spread in the hold to keep the bags off the wet timbers. The messenger, known in India as a peon, was paid to escort the goods and carry papers between the warehouse, the river and the ship. His fee, together with those of the porters, weighmen and boatmen, shows how many hands a consignment passed through before it left Bengal, each adding a small cost to the final charge borne by the island.
172	165	1765 Account of the Honoble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of February 1765 - Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Horses, Asses, Poultry Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, He Asses, She Asses, Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese Remg 1st: Bulls 4, Cows 88, Calves 83, Yearlings 36, Heifers 18, Steers 47, Oxen 19, Total 295, Ewes 290, Wethers 90, Lambs 156, Rams 7, Total 543, Ewes 156, Wethers 43, Kids 85, Rams 8, Total 292, Sows 2, Shoats 2, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 6, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 84, Ducks 43, Turkeys 40, Geese 16 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 5, Rams 0, Total 5, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 12, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0 Total: Bulls 4, Cows 88, Calves 85, Yearlings 36, Heifers 18, Steers 47, Oxen 19, Total 297, Ewes 290, Wethers 90, Lambs 156, Rams 7, Total 543, Ewes 156, Wethers 43, Kids 90, Rams 8, Total 297, Sows 2, Shoats 2, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Total 6, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 96, Ducks 43, Turkeys 40, Geese 16 Kill'd: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 2, Steers 2, Oxen 0, Total 4, Ewes 11, Wethers 5, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 16, Ewes 0, Wethers 2, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 7, Ducks 3, Turkeys 1, Geese 1 Dead: Bulls 2, Cows 3, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 5, Ewes 5, Wethers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 9, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 1, Boars 0, Total 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, He Asses 0, She Asses 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 1, Geese 0 Remg 28th: Bulls 2, Cows 85, Calves 85, Yearlings 36, Heifers 16, Steers 45, Oxen 19, Total 288, Ewes 274, Wethers 81, Lambs 156, Rams 7, Total 518, Ewes 156, Wethers 41, Kids 88, Rams 8, Total 293, Sows 2, Shoats 1, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 4, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, He Asses 1, She Asses 1, Total 2, Fowls 89, Ducks 40, Turkeys 38, Geese 15 1 Man Dead Named Leo Good Yam Expended for the Slaves 18000lb For the Stock 4800 Total 22800 (signed) Mattw Bazett Overseer	The Company's livestock account for February 1765 recorded the animals held on 1 February, the increase during the month, the number killed and the number that died. Cattle: Bulls, 4 on 1 February, 0 increase, 4 in total, 0 killed, 2 dead, 2 on 28 February Cows, 88 on 1 February, 0 increase, 88 in total, 0 killed, 3 dead, 85 on 28 February Calves, 83 on 1 February, 2 increase, 85 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 85 on 28 February Yearlings, 36 on 1 February, 0 increase, 36 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 36 on 28 February Heifers, 18 on 1 February, 0 increase, 18 in total, 2 killed, 0 dead, 16 on 28 February Steers, 47 on 1 February, 0 increase, 47 in total, 2 killed, 0 dead, 45 on 28 February Oxen, 19 on 1 February, 0 increase, 19 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 19 on 28 February All cattle, 295 on 1 February, 2 increase, 297 in total, 4 killed, 5 dead, 288 on 28 February Sheep: Ewes, 290 on 1 February, 0 increase, 290 in total, 11 killed, 5 dead, 274 on 28 February Wethers, 90 on 1 February, 0 increase, 90 in total, 5 killed, 4 dead, 81 on 28 February Lambs, 156 on 1 February, 0 increase, 156 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 156 on 28 February Rams, 7 on 1 February, 0 increase, 7 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 7 on 28 February All sheep, 543 on 1 February, 0 increase, 543 in total, 16 killed, 9 dead, 518 on 28 February Goats: Nanny goats, 156 on 1 February, 0 increase, 156 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 156 on 28 February Castrated goats, 43 on 1 February, 0 increase, 43 in total, 2 killed, 0 dead, 41 on 28 February Kids, 85 on 1 February, 5 increase, 90 in total, 2 killed, 0 dead, 88 on 28 February Billy goats, 8 on 1 February, 0 increase, 8 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 8 on 28 February All goats, 292 on 1 February, 5 increase, 297 in total, 4 killed, 0 dead, 293 on 28 February Pigs: Sows, 2 on 1 February, 0 increase, 2 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 2 on 28 February Young weaned pigs, 2 on 1 February, 0 increase, 2 in total, 0 killed, 1 dead, 1 on 28 February Piglets, 1 on 1 February, 0 increase, 1 in total, 0 killed, 1 dead, 0 on 28 February Boars, 1 on 1 February, 0 increase, 1 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 1 on 28 February All pigs, 6 on 1 February, 0 increase, 6 in total, 0 killed, 2 dead, 4 on 28 February Horses: Stallions and geldings, 8 on 1 February, 0 increase, 8 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 8 on 28 February

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			Mares, 6 on 1 February, 0 increase, 6 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 6 on 28 February All horses, 14 on 1 February, 0 increase, 14 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 14 on 28 February Donkeys: Male donkeys, 1 on 1 February, 0 increase, 1 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 1 on 28 February Female donkeys, 1 on 1 February, 0 increase, 1 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 1 on 28 February All donkeys, 2 on 1 February, 0 increase, 2 in total, 0 killed, 0 dead, 2 on 28 February Poultry: Fowls, 84 on 1 February, 12 increase, 96 in total, 7 killed, 0 dead, 89 on 28 February Ducks, 43 on 1 February, 0 increase, 43 in total, 3 killed, 0 dead, 40 on 28 February Turkeys, 40 on 1 February, 0 increase, 40 in total, 1 killed, 1 dead, 38 on 28 February Geese, 16 on 1 February, 0 increase, 16 in total, 1 killed, 0 dead, 15 on 28 February Slaves: 1 man died, named Leo Yams used: 18,000 pounds of yams for the slaves 4,800 pounds of yams for the livestock 22,800 pounds of yams in total Matthew Bazett, the overseer, signed the account. **Interpretations** The slaughter of sheep rose from 13 in January to 16 in February, and poultry were now entered as killed rather than silently struck off. The increase coincided with the arrival of the *Anson*, the *Boscawen* and three King's ships between 21 and 23 February, all of which expected fresh meat for their officers and passengers during their stay. The Company's flocks and herds had to meet these sudden demands on top of the needs of its own table. Losses from death were heavy for so short a month. Two of the Company's four bulls died, halving the breeding stock of the herd at a stroke, and three cows, five ewes and four wethers died as well. February fell in the island's late summer, when grazing was perhaps at its thinnest, and the deaths suggest the animals were under strain. The yams issued to the slaves fell from 25,000 pounds in January to 18,000 pounds in February. Part of the drop reflects the shorter month, but the daily ration still fell by about a fifth. The rice and paddy landed from Madagascar in January and from Bengal in late February perhaps allowed the overseer to replace some of the yams with grain.
173	166	11th March Artillery Stores Expend in the Month of February 1765 viz [...], 4lb, 3lb, 2lb, 1lb, [...] 16 Powder to Shoot for the use of the Govr Table: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 1 21 A Double Alarm: [...] 9, 4lb 3, 3lb 3, 2lb 0, 1lb 3, [...] 12 Arrived the Anson and Boscawen: [...] 18, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 18, 1lb 0, [...] 18 23 Fired for Major Sherlock: [...] 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 13, 1lb 0, [...] 13 A Double Alarm: [...] 11, 4lb 4, 3lb 4, 2lb 0, 1lb 3, [...] 23 Arrived His Majestys Ships, Weymouth, Panther and Seaford: [...] 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 13, 1lb 0, [...] 13 Fired for Capt Collins Coming on Shore: [...] 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 13, 1lb 0, [...] 13 24 Fired for Major Fell Coming on Shore: [...] 13, 4lb 3, 3lb 1, 2lb 9, 1lb 0, [...] 16 . 8 Fired for Capt: Leighin Coming on Shore: [...] 13, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 13, 1lb 0, [...] 13	The artillery stores used in February 1765 were listed day by day. The column headings were left blank on this occasion, so the identities of the columns have been carried over from the January account as guns fired, guns fired by size from 4-pounders down to 1-pounders, and powder used. 16 February, powder for shooting game for Governor Skottowe's table, 0 guns fired, 1 pound of powder 21 February, a double alarm, 9 guns fired (3 four-pounders, 3 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 3 one-pounders), 18 pounds of powder On the arrival of the *Anson* and the *Boscawen*, 18 guns were fired (0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 18 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), using 18 pounds of powder. 23 February, salute for Major Sherlock, 13 guns fired (0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 13 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), 13 pounds of powder A double alarm, 11 guns fired (4 four-pounders, 4 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 3 one-pounders), 23 pounds of powder

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		28 A Double Alarm for five Ship that went by: [...] 15, 4lb 6, 3lb 6, 2lb 0, 1lb 3, [...] 33 Powder for Signals: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 3 Do for the Funeral of Capt Thos Hall: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 9 Do for Do of Serjeant Maurice: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 2 . 4 Do for Do of Thomas Harding Sr: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 2 . 4 Do for the use of the Main Guard: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 3 Do for Shooting the Goats on Mundens Hill: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 1 . 8 Do for priming at different Times: [...] 0, 4lb 0, 3lb 0, 2lb 0, 1lb 0, [...] 16 Total: [...] 118, 4lb 16, 3lb 14, 2lb 79, 1lb 9, [...] 192 . 8 Tallow for the use of the Long Boat Yaul & Fly Cutter 76lb Paper for making Cartridges 6 Qrs Needles broke with Sewing Do 4 Bitts Broke at the main fort 3 Match Burnt at Do 6lb Lead Balls for Shooting Goats 1 . 8 lb oz (signed) Nathn Samply	On the arrival of the King's ships *Weymouth*, *Panther* and *Seaford*, 13 guns were fired (0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 13 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), using 13 pounds of powder. Salute for Captain Collins coming ashore, 13 guns fired (0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 13 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), 13 pounds of powder 24 February, salute for Major Tolls coming ashore, 13 guns fired (3 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), 16 pounds 8 ounces of powder Salute for Captain Pughin coming ashore, 13 guns fired (0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 13 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders), 13 pounds of powder 28 February, a double alarm for five ships that passed the island, 15 guns fired (6 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 3 one-pounders), 33 pounds of powder Powder for signals, 0 guns fired, 3 pounds of powder Powder for the funeral of Captain Thomas Hall, 0 guns fired, 9 pounds of powder Powder for the funeral of Sergeant Maurice, 0 guns fired, 2 pounds 4 ounces of powder Powder for the funeral of Thomas Harding, soldier, 0 guns fired, 2 pounds 4 ounces of powder Powder for the use of the Main Guard, 0 guns fired, 3 pounds of powder Powder for shooting goats on Munden's Hill, 0 guns fired, 1 pound 8 ounces of powder Powder for priming at various times, 0 guns fired, 16 pounds of powder Total, 118 guns fired (16 four-pounders, 14 three-pounders, 79 two-pounders, 9 one-pounders), 198 pounds 8 ounces of powder Other stores: 6 quires of paper, for making cartridges 4 needles, broken in sewing cartridges 3 bits, broken at the Main Fort 6 fathoms of slow match, burnt at the Main Fort 1 pound 8 ounces of lead balls, for shooting goats The longboat, the yawl and the cutter *Fly* also received 76 pounds of tallow. Nathan Sampley signed the account. **Interpretations** Powder used in February almost doubled the January figure of 104 pounds 8 ounces. The rise came almost entirely from the week of 21 to 28 February, when five ships arrived, three alarms were fired and every senior officer coming ashore from the King's ships or the Company's vessels was saluted. A busy week in the road could therefore consume more powder than a quiet month, and the salutes alone accounted for well over 100 pounds. The funerals were marked with powder on a scale that followed rank. Captain Hall of the artillery received 9 pounds, while Sergeant Maurice and the private soldier Thomas Harding each received 2 pounds 4 ounces. Even the lowest rank was buried with a volley over the grave, a military honour that bound the garrison together and marked each death as a loss to the whole body. The double alarm on 28 February for five ships passing without stopping matches the Council's record for that day of several ships, thought to be Dutch, sailing by. The lookouts treated unidentified vessels as a potential threat until they had passed, and the heavier 4-pounders and 3-pounders were used to carry the warning across the island. Cartridges were made on the island by sewing measured charges of powder into paper or cloth cases, which explains the paper issued and the needles broken in the work. Nathan Sampley, one of

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			the artillery lieutenants, signed in place of Captain Hall, who had died on 20 February.
174	167	1765 Sundrys Expended at the Honble Companys Table in the Month of February 1765 - £ s d 6 Bottles Port Wine 9 34 Do Lisbon 2 . 11 13 Do Mountain 19 . 6 17 Do Beer 3 . 6½ 56 Do Arrack 2 . 14 170¼ Beef 3 . 10 . 11¼ 3 Ps Salt Beef 10 . 10½ 131¾ Mutton 2 . 14 . 10½ 2 Ps Salt Pork 5 . 1 1 Kid 5 222lb Flour 1 . 5 . 3 27½lb Butter 1 . 7 . 6 49½ Candy 16 . 6½ 3lb Sugar 7½ 1 Goose 5 8 Ducks 12 1 Turkey 5 7 Fowls 10 . 6 James Goudy one of the Honorable Companys Recruits deserting at the Cape from the Prince of Wales and coming here upon his Majestys Ship Panther delivered himself up the 27th February, We Enlisted him to serve his Contracted time five years at this Place and gave him twenty Shillings Bounty Money to buy him Cloths &ca -	The goods used at the Company's table in February 1765 were set out in the steward's account. 6 bottles of port, £0 9s 0d 34 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 11s 0d 13 bottles of mountain wine, £0 19s 6d 17 bottles of beer, £0 3s 6¾d 56 bottles of arrack, £2 14s 0d 170¼ pounds of beef, £3 10s 11¼d 3 pieces of salt beef, £0 10s 10½d 131¾ pounds of mutton, £2 14s 10¾d 2 pieces of salt pork, £0 5s 1d 1 kid, £0 5s 0d 222 pounds of flour, £1 5s 3d 27½ pounds of butter, £1 7s 6d 49½ pounds of sugar candy, £0 16s 6½d 3 pounds of sugar, £0 0s 7½d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 1 turkey, £0 5s 0d 7 fowls, £0 10s 6d James Goudy, one of the Company's recruits, had deserted at the Cape from the *Prince of Wales* and later reached St Helena aboard the King's ship *Panther*. He gave himself up on 27 February. The Council enlisted him to serve the five years of his contract on the island and paid him a bounty of £1 0s 0d to buy clothing and other necessities. **Interpretations** The Council chose to take Goudy into service rather than punish him. A deserter could expect a court martial and a flogging or worse, and the passage shows that he had run from a Company ship at the Cape. His voluntary surrender changed the case, and the garrison needed men badly enough that a returned recruit was worth more in the ranks than in the punishment cells. The bounty served a practical purpose as well. Having left his ship, Goudy had presumably lost his kit, and a soldier without clothing was of no use on parade or at a post. The fresh beef used at the table fell from 304½ pounds in January to 170¼ pounds in February, and mutton fell from 155¾ pounds to 131¾ pounds. This drop came in the very month that more cattle and sheep were killed from the Company's stock. The extra slaughter must therefore have gone largely to supply the ships in the road rather than the Governor's own table. The fowls, turkey and goose served at table matched the birds recorded as killed in the livestock account, so the two records checked each other for poultry as they had in January.
175	168	11th March On the 6th Instant We Enlisted Thomas Aten, Henry Miller, and John Laurence to serve the Honorable Company as Soldiers for five Years, they appearing to be good Men We gave Thos Aten ten pounds Bounty Money and the other two five pounds each - John Skottowe Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 18th Day of March 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Mr Matthew Burling of Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed, dated the 11th March 1765	On 6 March the Council enlisted Thomas Alom, Harry Miller and John Laurence as soldiers in the Company's service for five years, since they appeared to be sound men. It paid Alom a bounty of £10 0s 0d and each of the other two £5 0s 0d. Governor Skottowe, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the castle on Monday 18 March 1765, with the Governor, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 11 March 1765. Six ships flying Dutch colours passed the island on Saturday 16 March without stopping. At the same meeting Captain Henry Bazett submitted a petition, which was entered in the minutes. **Interpretations** The bounties paid to the three new soldiers were far higher than the £1 0s 0d given to James Goudy only days before. Goudy was already bound by his contract as a recruit, so the money served merely to

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		Saturday the 16th Passed by six Ships under Dutch Colours Captain Henry Bazett this day presented the following Petition viz	clothe him, whereas Alom, Miller and Laurence were free men who had to be persuaded to sign on. Their enlistment on 6 March, the day the *Anson* and the *Boscawen* sailed, suggests they were seamen or passengers who chose to stay behind. A bounty of £5 0s 0d came to more than a private's full pay for a quarter, and the Council plainly judged it worth paying to fill the ranks from men already on the island. The larger sum for Alom perhaps reflected a trade or experience that made him more useful. The six Dutch ships were the second such group in less than three weeks. Dutch homeward fleets from Batavia and the Cape regularly passed St Helena on their way north, and the island kept note of each sighting as a measure of a rival company's traffic along the same route.
176	169	18th March To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Govr &ca Council of St Helena The humble Petition of Henry Bazett Sheweth That your Petitioner hath a Lease for nineteen Acres of Land lying in the South Division of the said Island, your Petitioner therefore Requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to grant him a Renewal of the same And your Petitioner will ever pray 18th March 1765 (signed) Henry Bazett Granted Mr Matthew Burling Reports that he has been on board the Ship Devonshire to Muster her Company and enquire for Deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows viz Muster Roll of Ship Devonshire Andrew [...] Commander Jno Horn Chief Mate Phillip Second Mate James Pattery 3d Do James Toft 4th Do James Brown 5 Do Henry Wilding 6th Do John Hobson 6th Do Do James Haddock Purser James Sherz Surgeon James Steward Gunner William Lagburn Carpr Joseph Gross Boatswain Charles Peace Caulker Jno Richards Cooper Robt Steward Midshipn Robt White Midshipmn Robt Ingleton Do George Vigus Do John Drymerston William Cromwell	Captain Henry Bazett's petition to the Governor and Council stated that he held a lease on 19 acres of land in the South Division of the island. He asked the Council to renew it. Bazett signed the petition on 18 March 1765, and the Council granted his request. Mr Matthew Burling reported that he had gone aboard the *Devonshire* to call the roll of its crew and search for deserters, but had found none. The ship's crew list was entered in the minutes. Andrew Riecke, commander John Horn, chief mate Phillip, 2nd mate James Patten, 3rd mate James Toft, 4th mate James Brown, 5th mate Henry Wilding, 6th mate John Hobson, 6th mate James Haddock, purser James Sheres, surgeon James Steward, gunner William Lalburn, carpenter Joseph Goss, boatswain Charles Pearce, caulker John Richards, cooper Robert Steward, midshipman Robert White, midshipman Robert Ingleton, midshipman George Vigus, midshipman John Brymerton, midshipman William Cornwall, midshipman **Interpretations** Land on St Helena was let for fixed terms, and a tenant had to petition the Council when his lease ran out if he wished to keep the land. The Council granted Bazett's renewal at once, without ordering the land to be viewed as it had done for William Wrangham's new plot in February. Ground already held under lease had been surveyed and valued when first granted, so renewal was a matter of routine unless there was a reason to recover the land. The island was divided into districts for administration, and the South Division was one of these, covering the higher and more fertile interior on the windward side. Bazett, a captain of one of the foot companies, was another officer holding land alongside his command. Leases gave the Company's servants a stake in the island's farming and bound them more firmly to the settlement.
177	170	18th March John Cunningham Surgs Mt John Haycraft Capt Steward James Finley Ships Do Alexr James Gunners Mte Henry Browman Boatsns Mt Thoms Elisons 2d Mte Thos Harling Quartermaster James McIntosh Do	The *Devonshire*'s crew list continued, followed by its passengers. John Cunningham, surgeon's mate John Hayloft, captain's steward James Finley, ship's steward Alexander James, gunner's mate Henry Brewman, boatswain's mate Thomas Elson, boatswain's 2nd mate Thomas Marling, quartermaster

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		Robt Munro Do John Harley Do Geo Waring Do Lawrence Terry Do Otta Rask Sailmaker Alexr Stratton Armorer Mattw Cooper Poulterer Nichl Steele Ships Cook William Nicholas Baker Robt Hornsby Joiner Joseph Cheveral Capts Servt James Moore Second Mte Richd Brin Butcher Umphrey Holbrook Surg Servt Alexr Miller Seaman Francis Roger Gunrs Servt William Leyburn Capt Do John Simmons Boats Do Joseph Low Seaman Thomas Simms 1 Geor. Frasier Wm Britten James Boyle Barthw Ginsales Wm Davis Saml Thomas James Niver John Saylor Saml Chadburn John Burford John Cowan William Holland John Peldery Thomas Barks Jos Bruckshie John Jacobs Hance Lowson Willm Smith John Squires Seamn Patrick Blake Francis Adams Thos Aspsall Robert Moulter Adam Yong John Starling John Boyd And Wilkinson John Baufort John Camber Charles Knox Richd Hall Richd Cole George Grudd William Porter William Robinson John Eupston Mattw Clerk John Thomas John Barwitchick Carpent 2d Mte 31 Chincles Party Passengers Round House Passengers Mr Batson Capt. Green Mr Oliphant Mrs Carr Mr & Mrs May Lieut Vanriel (signed) Andw Quicke The Storekeeper this day brought in the followg Account of Stores Short recd from Ship Devonshire Viz	James McIntosh, quartermaster Robert Munro, quartermaster John Harley, quartermaster George Waring, quartermaster Lawrence Terry, quartermaster Otto Rash, sailmaker Alexander Stratton, armourer Matthew Cooper, poulterer Nicholas Steck, ship's cook William Nichols, baker Robert Hornsby, joiner Joseph Cowal, captain's servant James Moore, steward's mate Richard Bain, butcher Humphrey Holbrook, surgeon's servant Alexander Miller, seaman Francis Roger, gunner's servant William Leyburn, carpenter's servant John Simmons, boatswain's servant Joseph Low, seaman Thomas Simms George Frasier William Britten James Boyle Bartholomew Gonsalves William Davis Samuel Thomas James Nivet John Taylor Samuel Cheetham John Burford John Cowan William Holland John Pildery Thomas Parks John Brookshire John Jacobs Hance Lawson William Smith John Squares, seaman Patrick Blake Francis Adams Thomas Aspcott Robert Morton Adam Young John Starling John Boyd Andrew Wilkinson John Bausfet John Camber Charles Knox Richard Hall Richard Cole George Gould William Cooper William Robinson John Eugston Matthew Clerk John Thomas John Barwick, carpenter's 2nd mate 31 [...], a party travelling as passengers Roundhouse passengers: Mr Batson Captain Green Mr Oliphant Mr Carr Mr and Mrs May Lieutenant Daniel Andrew Quicke, the commander, signed the roll. The storekeeper then brought in an account of stores that the *Devonshire* had failed to deliver in full. **Interpretations** The roll shows how many specialist trades a large East India ship carried. Besides the officers and seamen there were a sailmaker, an armourer, a joiner, a cooper, a baker, a butcher and a poulterer. The

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			butcher and poulterer tended the live animals kept aboard to supply fresh meat and eggs for the officers and passengers on a voyage lasting many months, while the baker made fresh bread. In effect the ship was a self-contained community that had to maintain itself between the few ports it touched at. The roundhouse was the large cabin at the stern beneath the poop deck, the best accommodation on board after the captain's own quarters. Passengers entered under that heading had paid for the most comfortable berths, and listing them separately marked their standing apart from the party of 31 carried elsewhere in the ship.
178	171	1765 Account of Stores Short received from Ship Devonshire viz C qr lb . . 18lb Paddy . . 3lb Candles Short Weight . 2 . 22lb Sugar 1 Leagr Arrack gages 147½ Gallons wants to fill 4 Galls 1 Do . . . Do 147½ Do . . Do 5½ Galls 295 Galls 9½ Galls 95 Galls 390 Recd 23d March 1765 (signed) James Powell Storekeepr On the 11th Instant We Enlisted John Brown Native to serve the Honorable Company as a Soldier for five Years and gave him twenty Shillings Bounty Money to Buy him Cloths &c - Counted and Examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of February last, which is as follows viz	The storekeeper's account listed the goods the *Devonshire* had delivered short in weight, together with a shortfall in its arrack. Paddy, short in weight, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 18 pounds Candles, short in weight, 0 hundredweight 0 quarters 3 pounds Sugar, short in weight, 0 hundredweight 2 quarters 22 pounds Arrack, 1 leaguer, gauged at 147½ gallons, lacking 4 gallons of being full Arrack, 1 leaguer, gauged at 147½ gallons, lacking 5½ gallons of being full Arrack, both casks by gauge, 295 gallons Arrack, less the 9½ gallons missing, 285½ gallons received James Powell, the storekeeper, signed the account on 18 March 1765. On 11 March the Council enlisted John Brown, a native of the island, as a soldier in the Company's service for five years. It paid him a bounty of £1 0s 0d to buy clothing and other necessities. The Company's cash for February was then counted and checked, and the result was set down in the following statement. **Interpretations** Brown's bounty of £1 0s 0d stood in sharp contrast to the £10 0s 0d and £5 0s 0d paid on 6 March to the three men who enlisted from outside. An islander had few other ways to earn a living beyond farming or labouring, so the Company needed to offer him little more than the cost of his clothing. Men arriving on passing ships could simply sail on, and the Council paid heavily to persuade them to stay. The island's own young men were therefore the cheapest source of recruits for the garrison. The *Devonshire*'s arrack was short in both casks, as the *Boscawen*'s had been earlier in the month. Every leaguer landed that season arrived several gallons below full, a pattern that points to regular loss at sea through leakage, evaporation or tapping by the crew, and one the storekeeper recorded each time so that the ship could be charged for the difference.
179	172	18th March Cash Dr 1765 Febry 1 To Balance remaining£ 5935 . 16 . 4½ Per Contra Cr 1765 March 18 By Balance remaining viz In Specie 5396 . 1 . 4½ In Cash notes of no use 539 . 15 5935 . 16 . 4½ £ 5935 . 16 . 4½ John Skottowe Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Company's cash account for February 1765 showed no receipts or payments during the month. Debit: 1 February 1765, balance in hand, £5,935 16s 4½d Credit: 1 March 1765, balance in hand, in coin, £5,396 1s 4½d 1 March 1765, balance in hand, in cash notes of no use, £539 15s 0d Balance together, £5,935 16s 4½d Total, £5,935 16s 4½d Governor Skottowe, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the account. **Interpretations** The clerk described the £539 15s 0d in cash notes as being of no use, a sum that had been carried

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			unchanged through every monthly count since December 1764. The notes were the island's own paper promises to pay, and once they came back into the Company's chest they were no longer claims on anyone. Notes held by the issuer represent no money at all, so counting them in the balance overstated the reserve by more than a tenth. Marking them as useless acknowledged that only the coin, £5,396 1s 4½d, was truly available to meet the settlement's payments. The treasury stood entirely still in February, with the balance at the start of the month identical to the balance at its end. The bills of exchange for passengers and the navy, and the advances to King's ships, all fell in the first days of March, after the ships from India had arrived in late February.
180	173	21st March At a Consultation held on Thursday the 21st Day of March 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thoms Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was, read, approved, and Signed dated the 18th March 1765 This day Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Salisbury from England, by which opportunity we received a Packet from the Honorable the Court of Directors which We opened and read their Honors Orders to Us, as likewise the Commission Constituting and Appointing John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor, Mr Matthew Burling & Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council which said Commission we Ordered to be published We also sent for Messrs Jonathan Doveton, John Goodwin, and John Bland and acquainted them with the Honorable Companys Orders Relating to each of them - We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz One Set to Mr Matthew Burling for £ 200 payable to John Burling Esqr (or Order) One Set to Mr John Thackeray for £ 100 payable to the Reverend Elias Thackeray (or Order) One Set to Capt. Andrew Quicke for £ 150 payable	The Council met at the castle on Thursday 21 March 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 18 March 1765. The Company's ship *Salisbury* arrived from England that day, bringing a packet from the Court of Directors. The Council opened it and read the Directors' orders. The packet also contained the commission appointing John Skottowe as Governor, Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, and Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of Council, and the Council ordered it to be proclaimed publicly. Jonathan Doveton, John Goodwin and John Bland were then summoned and informed of the Company's instructions concerning each of them. The Council also issued several bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors. Mr Matthew Burling received one set for £200 0s 0d, payable to John Burling or to whomever he named. Mr John Thackeray received one set for £100 0s 0d, payable to the Reverend Elias Thackeray or to his order. A further set went to Captain Andrew Quicke for £150 0s 0d. **Interpretations** The commission was the legal source of the Governor and Council's authority. Every order they issued, every lease they granted and every will they proved rested on the power it conferred, and a renewed commission from the Directors confirmed that authority afresh. Proclaiming it in public made the appointments known to the garrison and the inhabitants, so that no one could later dispute who held command on the island. This was also the first meeting in these records attended by the Lieutenant Governor, Daniel Corneille, whose place on the Council the commission now set out formally. John Thackeray, the chaplain, remitted £100 0s 0d to a clergyman of the same surname, probably a close relative in England. The sum equalled a full year of his salary at £25 0s 0d a quarter, which suggests he had other income on the island, perhaps from fees, land or trade. Burling sent home £200 0s 0d only a fortnight after remitting £75 18s 6d, confirming that members of Council regularly used the Company's bills to transfer private savings to England. Captain Quicke of the *Devonshire* was perhaps remitting the proceeds of his private trade, the goods that commanders were allowed to carry and sell on their own account.
181	174	21st March payable to himself (or Order) One Set to Mr James Pattery for £ 23[5] payable to himself (or Order) One Set to Mr James Sheene for £ 230 payable to himself. (or Order)	Captain Quicke's bill was made payable to himself or to his order. The Council issued three further sets of bills on the Court of Directors. Mr James Rattray received one for £235 0s 0d and Mr James Skeene one for £230 0s 0d, each payable to himself or his order. A final set for £50 0s 0d went to

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		And One set to Mr John Horne for £ 50 payable to himself. (or Order) all drawn at Ninety Days sight John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	Mr John Horne on the same terms. All the bills were payable 90 days after presentation. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The bills issued at this meeting came to £965 0s 0d in all, and most went to men from the *Devonshire*. Captain Quicke was its commander and John Horne its chief mate, and the other purchasers were probably officers of the same ship. Company officers were allowed to trade on their own account in the East, and the proceeds of goods sold at Bengal or at St Helena could be turned into bills on London rather than carried home as coin. For the officers this removed the risk of loss at sea. For the island it brought a large sum of hard money into the treasury, replenishing the coin that paid the garrison, while the Company settled the debt in London months later. Daniel Corneille now signed alongside the Governor and the two councillors, reflecting his confirmed place on the Council under the new commission.
182	175	At a Consultation held on Saturday the 23d Day of - March 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Govern Mr Matthew Burling Captain Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and Signed, dated the 21st March 1765 - This day Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Dutton from England, by which Conveyance We - received a Packet from the Honorable the Court of Directors - which we opened and read their Orders to Us. - John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council met at the castle on Saturday 23 March 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 21 March 1765. The Company's ship *Dutton* arrived from England that day with another packet from the Court of Directors. The Council opened it and read the Directors' orders. The Governor, Corneille, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** A second packet from the Directors arrived only two days after the first. The Company routinely sent its letters in duplicate or triplicate by different ships, since any single vessel might be lost, captured or delayed. The *Dutton*'s packet perhaps repeated the orders already received by the *Salisbury*, or carried later instructions written after the first ship had sailed. Either way the system ensured that the island's government never depended on a single voyage for its orders from London.
183	176	25th March At a Consultation held on Monday the 25th Day of March 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 23d March 1765 We this day received the following Letter from Captain Archibald Mitchell viz - To the Worshipfull Governor and Council of the Island St Helena - Gentlemen The Vacancy in the Command of the Artillery Company in this Island by the Death of Captain Hall and my Ardent Desire to render my Stay here as extensively usefull to the Service of the Honble Company as possible, have induced me, Gentlemen, to make you an Offer of my Service to take Charge of the Discipline of this Company untill the pleasure of the Court of Directors be known relative to a Capt. of Artillery Should any favourable Opinion of my Experience in the	The Council met at the castle on Monday 25 March 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 23 March 1765. The Council received a letter that day from Captain Archibald Mitchell. He wrote that the death of Captain Hall had left the Artillery Company without a commander. Wishing to make his time on the island as useful as possible to the Company, he offered to take charge of the company's discipline until the Court of Directors decided who should be its captain. Mitchell added that the Governor and Council might think well enough of his experience as an artillery officer to recommend him to the Directors as Hall's successor. If so, he asked that any such recommendation be made subject to certain conditions. **Interpretations** Mitchell's offer exposed the limits of the Council's power over military appointments. The Governor and Council could place an officer in temporary charge, but the permanent captaincy of a company lay with the Court of Directors in London. Mitchell therefore asked for two separate things, an immediate interim command and a recommendation that might secure the post for good. Since Hall's death on 20 February 1765 the company had been under its lieutenants, and Nathan Sampley had signed

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		Profession of an Artillery Officer induce the Governor and Council to do me the honour of recommending me to the Company at home to succeed Captain Hall, I have only to request it may be done with this Restriction - That my acceptance of the Company of Artillery shall not be understood to canal, in any Degree, the Promise and Agreement	the artillery account for February in place of the dead captain. The phrase about his stay on the island suggests Mitchell was not part of the garrison but an officer staying at St Helena for a time, perhaps awaiting a passage. His careful reservation about accepting the artillery command points to an existing promise or agreement with the Company that he did not want to lose. He evidently wanted the St Helena post only if it would not cost him a better prospect elsewhere.
184	177	1765 Agreement, I entered into with the Honble Company of being promoted in their Service in India, as soon as I shall have Compleated the Fortifications and Defences of this Island I have the Honour to be with great Respect Gentlemen Your most Obedient and humble Servant (signed) Archibald Mitchell St Helena 25th March 1765 Upon which we agreed to appoint Capt. Mitchell to the Command of the Artillery Company until the Honorable Companys Orders be further known - John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	Mitchell's condition was that taking command of the artillery should not cancel an earlier agreement with the Company. Under that agreement he was to be promoted in the Company's service in India as soon as he had completed the fortifications and defences of St Helena. He signed the letter at St Helena on 25 March 1765. The Council agreed to appoint Captain Mitchell to command the Artillery Company until further orders arrived from the Company. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** Mitchell was the officer charged with rebuilding the island's defences, and his letter explains much of the work recorded in the accounts of recent months. The soldiers paid by the day for nearly 1,000 days of labour at the castle, the lime burnt for mortar, the blasting of rocks and the 36 new gun carriages shipped from Bombay all belonged to a programme of fortification under his direction. St Helena was for him a stepping stone, with promotion in India promised as his reward once the works were done. Giving him the artillery command joined the building of the defences to the training of the men who would serve the guns. The Council limited the appointment to the period before the Directors' decision was known, since it had no power to make a permanent captaincy. Mitchell for his part protected his larger prospect in India, so the arrangement suited both sides without binding either.
185	178	1st April At a Consultation held on Monday the 1st Day of April 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed Dated the 25th March 1765 Monday the 25th March Died Thomas Greenslade Soldier Tuesday the 26th Do Sailed the Honorable Companys Ship Devonshire for England - Wednesday the 27th Do Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Prince Frederick Captain Elphinston burthen 1300 Tons carry 30 Guns and 170 Men Loaden with Tea China Ware and Silks bound to Copenhagen - Thursday the 28th Do Arrived the Lord Clives Boat at Banks's 12 OClock at Noon Do . . . Do Arrived the Honorable Companys Ship Lord Clive from China Yesterday Arrived a Dane Ship from China called the Crown Prince Capt. Suane burthen 600 Tons, carrys 26 Guns and 130 Men, Loaden with Tea China Ware and Silks, bound to Copenhagen -	The Council met at the castle on Monday 1 April 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 25 March 1765. Thomas Greenslade, a soldier, died on Monday 25 March. The Company's ship *Devonshire* sailed for England the next day. On Wednesday 27 March a Danish ship, the *Prince Frederick*, arrived from China under Captain Elphinston. The ship measured 1,300 tons and carried 30 guns and 170 men, with a cargo of tea, porcelain and silks bound for Copenhagen. At noon on Thursday 28 March a boat from the *Lord Clive* landed at Banks's, and the Company's ship *Lord Clive* itself arrived from China the same day. A second Danish ship from China, the *Crown Prince*, came in on 31 March under Captain Svane. It measured 600 tons, carried 26 guns and 130 men, and was also laden with tea, porcelain and silks for Copenhagen. The *Lord Clive* brought supplies for the island, which the minutes then listed. **Interpretations** The Council recorded the size, armament, crew and cargo of each foreign ship in detail. Such particulars served as intelligence on a rival trade, showing how many ships the Danish company sent to China, how large they were and what they carried home. Denmark was neutral and at peace with Britain, so its ships could call at St Helena for water

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		The Lord Clive brought Us the following Supplies viz	and fresh food, but the Company kept a careful eye on competitors using the same route. The Danish company imported far more tea than Denmark itself could drink, and much of it was perhaps destined to be smuggled into Britain, where heavy duties made cheap foreign tea highly profitable. Two large Danish ships laden with tea arriving within days of the Company's own China ship brought that competition directly into view. Captain Elphinston's name suggests a Scot in Danish service, a common career for British seamen who found employment with foreign East India companies.
186	179	1765 Invoice of Ship Lord Clive Tales m c c No 1 @ 4 Tea Singlo 4 Chests contg Nett Picul Catty 2 . 20 @ 25 Tales pr Picul 60 No 1 @ 2 Tea Bohea 2 Chests contg Nett Ps 2 . 31¼ @ 18 Do 41 . 7 . 1 . 5 No 1 @ 10 Sugar . . . 10 Do Pls gross 3110 Tare 249 Nett 2861 is 21 . 45 @ 4½ Do 96 . 5 . 5 . 9 Tales 198 . 2 . 7 . 4 China Ware blue & White 4 Half Chests and 3 Boxes viz No 1 1 Half Chest contg Bowls of 3 Sizes 17 of a Size 51 Half Pint Cups 50 Saucers to Do 45 Sneakers 90 2 1 Half Chest contg Chamber Pots 45 Saucers to ½ Pint Cups 5 Sneakers 60 Guglets 6 5 1 Box containg Guglets 9 Basons to Do 15 7 1 Box Containing Soup Dishes to Setts 14 Dishes 1 Size 15 Do 2 Do 15 Tureen Dishes 7 Soup Plates 9 8 1 Half Chest Containing Dishes of 3 Size 15 Do . . 4 . Do 15 Do 5 . . Do 15 Tureens 7 Covers to Do 7 Plates 123 9 1 Half Chest Contg Plates 103 Soup Plates 171	The invoice of the *Lord Clive* listed tea, sugar and porcelain shipped from China, with values in Chinese money. Singlo tea, packages 1 to 4, 4 chests containing a net 2 piculs 40 catties at 25 taels a picul, 60 taels 0 mace 0 candareens 0 cash Bohea tea, packages 1 to 2, 2 chests containing a net 2 piculs 31¾ catties at 18 taels a picul, 41 taels 7 mace 1 candareen 5 cash Sugar, packages 1 to 10, 10 chests weighing 3,110 pounds gross, less 249 pounds tare, 2,861 pounds net, equal to 21.45 piculs at 4½ taels a picul, 96 taels 5 mace 5 candareens 9 cash Total, 198 taels 2 mace 7 candareens 4 cash Blue and white porcelain, in half chests and boxes: Package 1, 1 half chest containing: 51 bowls in 3 sizes, 17 of each size 50 half-pint cups 45 saucers for the half-pint cups 90 sneakers Package 2, 1 half chest containing: 15 chamber pots 5 saucers for half-pint cups 60 sneakers 6 guglets Package 5, 1 box containing: 9 guglets 15 basins for the guglets Package 7, 1 box containing: 14 soup dishes for sets 15 dishes, size 1 15 dishes, size 2 7 tureen dishes 9 soup plates Package 8, 1 half chest containing: 15 dishes, size 3 15 dishes, size 4 15 dishes, size 5 7 tureens 7 covers for the tureens 123 plates Package 9, 1 half chest containing: 103 plates 171 soup plates **Interpretations** The invoice was kept in the money of account used at Canton. The tael was a weight of silver of about 1⅓ ounces, divided into 10 mace, each mace into 10 candareens and each candareen into 10 cash. The goods were weighed by the picul, a Chinese measure of 100 catties or 133⅓ pounds, which is why the sugar's net weight in pounds was converted into piculs before it was priced. The tare was the weight of the chests themselves, deducted from the gross weight so that only the sugar was charged. Singlo tea cost 25 taels a picul against 18 for bohea, reflecting the higher value placed on green tea over the common black. The porcelain was blue and white export ware, the standard Chinese tableware shipped in bulk to Europe. The quantities, running to hundreds of plates and matched sets of dishes, tureens and covers in graded sizes, suggest a full

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			dinner service for the Company's table and perhaps for the garrison officers. Guglets were long-necked water bottles, often of unglazed or lightly glazed earthenware in which water stayed cool, and they were sold with basins to stand in. Sneakers were small handleless bowls for tea or punch, and chamber pots completed the household range.
187	180	1st April No 10 1 Box Contg Plates 76 Errors Excepted (signed) Thos Fitzhugh Saml Blount Nathl Garland Wm Mackenzie Alexr Hume Steph De Visme Thomas Smith Alan Harner Willm Rous Wm Harrison On the 26th of last Month we received the following Letter from Capt Wyche viz To the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the Island St Helena Worshipful Sir & Sirs The Armorer I had engaged to go in the Ship Salisbury having left me at Gravesend just upon Sailing that I had not an opportunity of procuring another, I have to request your Worship and Council, you will permit John Slater to go on board in that Station, as a great deal of our Iron Work is very bad, I should be glad to leave a Man in his Room, but upon enquiry, among my People do not find any of them Willing to stay I am Worshipful Sir & Sirs (signed) Your most humble Servant John Wyche	The *Lord Clive*'s invoice closed with one more box of porcelain. Package 10, 1 box containing 76 plates Thomas Fitzhugh, Samuel Blount, Nathaniel Garland, William Mackenzie, Alexander Hume, Stephen De Visme, Thomas Smith, Mann Horner, William Rous and William Harrison signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. On 26 March the Council had received a letter from Captain Wyche of the *Salisbury*. He explained that the armourer he had engaged for the voyage had left the ship at Gravesend just as it was about to sail, leaving him no chance to find a replacement. A great deal of the ship's ironwork was in poor condition. He therefore asked the Governor and Council to allow John Slater to sail with him as armourer. Wyche said he would gladly leave one of his own men on the island in Slater's place, but none of his crew was willing to stay. John Wyche signed the letter. **Interpretations** The ten signatures on the invoice were those of the Company's supercargoes at Canton, the merchants who bought the tea, silk and porcelain for the ships each season. Their joint signature certified the goods and prices, so that the island's store could check what arrived against what had been bought in China. Wyche's request shows how skilled men were drawn from the garrison for other duties. John Slater was a matross in the Artillery Company who had been paid for 8 weeks of work in the armourer's shop in the last quarter of 1764, so his skill with iron was already known. No soldier could leave the island without the Council's permission, which is why the captain had to apply formally rather than simply take him aboard. His offer of a replacement and the refusal of every one of his crew to stay behind reveal how little sailors wished to be left on St Helena, a small and isolated posting from which few found an easy way home.
188	181	1765 Upon which we agreed to Discharge the said Slater to go Armourer of the Ship Salisbury Ordered the following Advertizement to be published viz Island St Helena 1 April 1765 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 Sheriff and to Chuse a proper Person for a Constable - On the 27th of last Month Robert Cager, and John Fell, Serjeants, Richard Wheeler, John Firnen and William Walls Centinels Petitioned for their several Discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times Granted	The Council agreed to release John Slater from the garrison so that he could sail as armourer aboard the *Salisbury*. It also ordered a public notice to be published, dated at St Helena on 1 April 1765. The notice required all inhabitants of the island to meet as a vestry at the chapel in James Valley on the following Monday to choose parish officers for the coming year. They were also to put forward three of the leading inhabitants, one of whom would be chosen to serve as sheriff, and to choose a suitable person as constable. On 28 March the sergeants Robert Cager and John Tell, together with the privates Richard Wheeler, John Turner and William Watts, had asked to be discharged from the garrison, having completed their contracted terms of service. The Council granted their request. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. **Interpretations** The Council let Slater go even though Captain Wyche could offer no replacement. The usual course would have been to refuse, since the garrison lost a man trained in ironwork and gained nothing in return. The poor state of the *Salisbury*'s ironwork

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		John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	made the difference. A Company ship sailing without an armourer to keep its fittings, locks and arms in repair put a valuable cargo at risk, and the Council judged that danger greater than the loss of one matross. The vestry transplanted the parish government of England to the island. The inhabitants met at the chapel to elect churchwardens and other parish officers, who looked after the poor, the fabric of the church and local order. The sheriff was chosen by a mixed process in which the inhabitants nominated three leading men and the Governor and Council selected one of them. Popular choice thus supplied the candidates while the Company kept the final decision, and the constable, the officer responsible for keeping the peace and making arrests, was chosen from among the inhabitants themselves. Five men leaving the garrison at once, two of them sergeants, created further vacancies at a time when the Council was paying high bounties to recruit. Men who had served their full terms were entitled to their discharge, and the Council could not hold them. Some perhaps stayed on the island as settlers, adding to the civilian population that would take part in the vestry.
189	182	3d April At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 3d Day of April 1764 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thoms Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 1 April 1765 Yesterday Sailed the Dane Ship Prince Frederick for Copenhagen Do Arrived the Pococks Boat at Banks's half an Hour past - eight OClock in the Morning - Do Do the Honorable Companys Ship Pocock from China The ten working Days allowed by Charter Party for unloading the Ship Salisbury being expired, We gave Capt John Wyche sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to China according to the directions he had received from the Honorable the Court of Directors, to whom We likewise gave the following Letters to the several Settlements in India viz To the Right Honble Lord Clive President and Governor &ca Council of Fort William My Lord and Sirs We did ourselves the pleasure of writing last to you by the Ship Duke of Richmond under date of the 8th of April 1764 since that time we have received your several Letters by the Honorable - Companys Ships Boscawen, Pigot, and Devonshire - We request you will send for the use of this Place	The Council met at the castle on Wednesday 3 April 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 1 April 1765. The Danish ship *Prince Frederick* sailed for Copenhagen on 2 April. At half past eight that morning a boat from the *Pocock* landed at Banks's, and the Company's ship *Pocock* itself arrived from China the same day. The *Salisbury*'s charter allowed ten working days for unloading, and that period had now run out. The Council therefore gave Captain John Wyche written orders to sail and make his way to China as quickly as possible, following the directions he had received from the Court of Directors. It also handed him letters for several of the Company's settlements in India. The first was addressed to Lord Clive, President and Governor, and to the Council of Fort William. The Council reminded them that it had last written on 8 April 1764 by the *Duke of Richmond*. Since then it had received several letters from Fort William carried by the Company's ships *Boscawen*, *Pigot* and *Devonshire*. The Council went on to request supplies for the island's use. **Interpretations** The Company did not own most of its ships but hired them from private owners under a charter party, a contract that fixed the freight, the voyage and the number of days allowed for loading and unloading at each port. Once those days ran out, the Company had to pay the owners compensation for every extra day the ship was held. The Council's prompt order to sail as soon as the ten days expired protected the Company from that charge, and it explains why the minutes record the exact reckoning of time in port. The letter to Fort William shows how the island kept up its correspondence with the Company's settlements in India. Each ship calling at St Helena carried letters in both directions, and the Council began by acknowledging which letters had reached it and by which vessels, so that the presidency could tell whether anything had gone astray. Bengal was the island's main source of rice, sugar and other stores, and the request for supplies that followed made Fort William as important to St Helena's provisioning as London itself.

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190	183	1765 eight Maunds of good Wax Candles by each Ship one hundred and fifty Pieces Dessotees and the rest of the one pr Cent in Arrack, Sugar Rice and Paddy This Letter will be forwarded to your Presidency from China, We have Enclosed you a List of Ships Arrival and departure to and from this Place since the 8th April 1764 We are My Lord and Sirs Your most Obedient and humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe Danl Corneille M Burling Thos Kirkpatrick St Helena 3d April 1765 - To the Honble Robert Palk Esqr President and Governor &ca Council of Fort St George Honorable Sir & Sirs Our last Address to you went by the Honorable Companys Ship Duke of Richmond by way of Bencoolen since that time your favours under date of the 4th May and 24th October came safe to hand, We desire you will send for the use of this Island 10 pieces Long Cloth at 12 Pagodas pr Piece, 20 Pieces at 10 Pagodas pr Piece, 30 pieces at 8 Pagodas pr Piece 40 Pieces at 5 Pagodas pr Piece, 40 Pieces at 4 Pagodas pr Piece, 60 Pieces at 3 Pagodas pr Piece and the rest of the one pr Cent in Arrack, Rice and Paddy You will receive this Letter by way of China, We have	Among the supplies requested from Fort William were 8 maunds of good wax candles by each ship and 150 pieces of dosootees, with the remainder of the order to be made up in arrack, sugar, rice and paddy. The Council explained that the letter would be sent on to Bengal from China. It enclosed a list of all ships that had arrived at or left St Helena since 8 April 1764. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 3 April 1765. The second letter was addressed to Robert Palk, President and Governor, and to the Council of Fort St George. The Council noted that its previous letter had gone by the Company's ship *Duke of Richmond* by way of Bencoolen. Since then it had safely received their letters of 4 May and 24 October. It asked Fort St George to send long cloth for the island's use in several grades, as follows. 10 pieces of long cloth at 12 pagodas a piece 20 pieces of long cloth at 10 pagodas a piece 30 pieces of long cloth at 8 pagodas a piece 40 pieces of long cloth at 5 pagodas a piece 40 pieces of long cloth at 4 pagodas a piece 60 pieces of long cloth at 3 pagodas a piece The rest of the order was to be made up in arrack, rice and paddy. The Council added that this letter too would reach Madras by way of China. **Interpretations** Each presidency was asked for the goods it could supply best. Bengal was to send wax candles, dosootees and the bulk of the grain and sugar, while Fort St George at Madras was asked chiefly for long cloth, the plain cotton of the Coromandel coast. The order was graded by price, from 12 pagodas down to 3 pagodas a piece, matching the lettered sorts of long cloth found in the store's accounts earlier in the year. The largest quantities were of the cheapest grades, which went to clothe the slaves and soldiers, while a few fine pieces served for shirts, surplices and curtains. The pagoda was the gold coin of south India, used as the money of account at Madras, just as the rupee served in Bengal and Bombay and the tael at Canton. The island's orders therefore had to be framed in the currency of each place it dealt with. The letters took a roundabout route. The *Salisbury* was bound for China, and the Council's letters would be passed on from Canton to Madras and Calcutta by ships sailing onward. With no regular direct passage from St Helena to India, correspondence followed whatever ships were available. The enclosed list of arrivals and departures kept the presidencies informed of shipping on the route, a record of value to every settlement that depended on the same ships.
191	184	3d April have sent you Enclosed a List of Ships Arrival and Departure to and from this Island since our last - We are Honoble Sir & Sirs Your most Obedient, humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe Danl Corneille M Burling Thos Kirkpatrick St Helena 3d April 1765 To the Honorable Charles Crommelin Esqr President and Governor &ca Council of Bombay Honorable Sir and Sirs Our last Letter to you went by the Honorable Companys	The letter to Fort St George closed by noting that the Council had enclosed a list of ships arriving at and leaving the island since its previous letter. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed it at St Helena on 3 April 1765. The third letter was addressed to Charles Crommelin, President and Governor, and to the Council of Bombay. The Council recorded that its last letter had gone by the Company's ship *Duke of Richmond*. Since then it had received Bombay's letters of 25 March and 14 December, carried by the Company's ships *Speaker* and *Anson*. It asked Bombay to send 200 pieces of Surat chelloes for the island's use, with the rest of the island's one per cent allowance to be made up in rice and paddy. The Council explained that the letter would travel by way of China aboard the Company's ship *Salisbury*, and that it had again enclosed a list of ships

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		Ship Duke of Richmond, since when we have received your Advices under date of the 25th March and 14th December by our Honorable Masters Ships Speaker and Anson - We desire you will send for the use of this Island 200 Pieces Surat Chelloes, and the Rest of the one pr Cent in Rice and Paddy This Letter goes by way of China on the Honorable Companys Ship Salisbury, We have Enclosed you a List of Ships Arrival and Departure to and from St Helena since our last We are Honorable Sir & Sirs (signed) Your most Obedient humble Servant John Skottowe Danl Corneille M Burling Thos Kirkpatrick St Helena 3d April 1765	arriving at and leaving St Helena since its last letter. The same four members signed it at St Helena on 3 April 1765. **Interpretations** The phrase "the rest of the one per cent" points to a fixed allowance set aside for St Helena out of the Company's shipments from each presidency, perhaps a share of the space or value of the homeward cargoes reserved for the island's supplies. The letters to Fort William and Bombay both named a few specific goods and then asked for the remainder of this allowance in grain and spirits. Each presidency therefore knew how much it was expected to provide, and the island could plan its orders within a set limit rather than bidding afresh each year. Surat, on the western coast of India, was the great textile market of the Bombay presidency, and its chelloes were checked or striped cottons woven in Gujarat. They were among the cloths sold to planters from the store earlier in the year, and the large order of 200 pieces reflects steady demand for cheap patterned cotton for clothing on the island.
192	185	1765 To the President and other Supracargoes of Council at Canton Gentlemen Our last Advices to you went by the Honorable Companys Ship Princess Augusta under date of the 4th June 1764, since when we have received your favours by the Pocock and Lord Clive Enclosed we have transmitted you the Ship Salisburys Charty Party, Victualling Bill, and Manifest of Goods together with a Packet directed to you as likewise a List of the Arrival and Departures of Ships to and from this Island since our last We request you will forward the several Letters directed to the Presidency in India by the first opportunity - We are Gentlemen Your most Obedient humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick St Helena 3d April 1765 - We this day received the following Letter from Captain Wyche viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor & Council of St Helena - Worshipful Sir and Sirs On Sunday the 31st of last Month the five following People	The fourth letter was addressed to the President and the other supercargoes forming the Company's council at Canton. The Council noted that its last letter had gone on 4 June 1764 by the Company's ship *Princess Augusta*. Since then it had received their letters by the *Pocock* and the *Lord Clive*. It enclosed the *Salisbury*'s charter party, victualling bill and cargo manifest, together with a packet addressed to them and a list of ships arriving at and leaving St Helena since the previous letter. It asked them to forward the letters for the presidencies in India at the first opportunity. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 3 April 1765. The Council received a further letter from Captain Wyche that day, addressed to the Governor and Council. Wyche opened it with a report concerning five men on Sunday 31 March. **Interpretations** The documents sent to Canton travelled ahead of the ship's arrival there so that the supercargoes could check the *Salisbury* on reaching port. The charter party set out the terms on which the Company had hired the vessel, the manifest listed the cargo it carried, and the victualling bill recorded the provisions supplied to it at St Helena. With these papers the Canton council could confirm that the cargo matched the manifest and settle the ship's accounts, and the island's charge for the supplies it had furnished would be recovered through the Company's books. Canton served as the relay point for the island's correspondence with India. Ships from China to the presidencies were more frequent than any direct link between St Helena and India, so the supercargoes were asked to forward the letters to Calcutta, Madras and Bombay by the first vessel available.
193	186	3d April People viz, Edward Hilland, Thomas Redden, Daniel Hoskins John Jarman and James Lockart, belonging to the Ship - Salisbury in the Service of the Honorable East India Company, took the Boat away by force from the Ship, and being pursued by Mr John Hall my fourth Mate, and a Guard, they bid them defiance, and got up the Hills, but soon after returned again into the Valley, when I sent	The five men named in Captain Wyche's letter were Edward Holland, Thomas Rodden, Daniel Hoskins, John Jarman and James Lockart, all seamen of the Company's ship *Salisbury*. On Sunday 31 March they seized the ship's boat by force and made for the shore. Mr John Hall, the fourth mate, followed them with a guard, but the men defied him and escaped into the hills. They soon came back down into the valley, and Wyche sent his fifth mate Mr Thomas Winter, the midshipman Mr Robert Cooper, a quartermaster and several other crewmen with a guard to bring them back aboard. The five resisted with sticks and stones. They knocked Winter down

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		Mr Thomas Winter my fifth Mate, Mr Robert Cooper Midshipman a Quarter Master, and some more of my People, together with a Guard to carry them on board, but they attacked the whole with Sticks and Stones and knocked Mr Thomas Winter down twice, besides beating and wounding the Quarter Master and several other People. Edward Hilland before upon our passage to this place was very Mutinous [...] and Struck Mr William Thomlinson my third Mate, also Thomas Redden has been very troublesome, and was last Voyage one of the Ring leaders in a Mutiny on board the Plassey Captain Ward, that I look upon them Two in particular, to be daring, troublesome, and mutinous Persons - I have therefore to request your Worship and Council to enquire into this Affair, that they may meet with a Proper Punishment as bad consequences otherwise may sooner or later happen to some of the Ships in the Honorable Companys Service, and their Effects on board I am Worshipful Sir and Sirs Your most humble Servant (signed) John Wyche Ship Salisbury at St Helena 4th April 1765 Upon which we desired he would produce the - Evidences against the aforesaid Seamen, he then Requested Mr Thomas Compton his Second Mate might be first Examined who being duly sworn Deposeth that on Sunday the 31st of last Month being then commanding Officer on board, Edward Hilland	twice and beat and injured the quartermaster and several others. Wyche added that Holland had been highly mutinous on the voyage out and had struck the third mate, Mr William Thomlinson. Rodden had also caused constant trouble, and on his previous voyage had been one of the ringleaders of a mutiny aboard the *Plassey* under Captain Ward. Wyche regarded these two in particular as bold, disorderly and mutinous men. He asked the Governor and Council to investigate the affair so that the offenders would receive proper punishment. Otherwise, he warned, serious harm might sooner or later befall the Company's ships and the goods they carried. Wyche signed the letter aboard the *Salisbury* at St Helena on 3 April 1765. The Council asked Wyche to bring forward his witnesses against the five seamen. At his request the second mate, Mr Thomas Compton, was examined first. Under oath, Compton stated that he had been the officer in command aboard on Sunday 31 March and described Holland's part in the events of that day. **Interpretations** A captain's power over his crew was strong at sea but uncertain on land, and once the men were ashore Wyche could no longer enforce discipline by his own authority. By referring the case to the Governor and Council he placed it before the island's government, which could hear sworn evidence and impose punishment with the full backing of the Company. The Council's demand that he produce witnesses turned his complaint into a formal hearing, with each deposition taken on oath. Wyche built his case on the men's past conduct as well as on the events of 31 March. Rodden's part in the mutiny aboard the *Plassey* and Holland's assault on the third mate were offered to show a pattern of defiance. This reputation evidence carried weight because mutiny threatened the whole system of Company shipping, where a small body of officers commanded large crews on voyages lasting many months. Seizing a ship's boat was itself a grave offence, since it deprived the vessel of its link with the shore and could strand the men on an island from which escape was nearly impossible.
194	187	1765 Thomas Redden, Daniel Hoskins John Jarman, and James Lockart Seamen belonging to the Ship Salisbury took a Boat from the side of the said Ship without leave from the said Deponent, Upon which he the said Deponent called and Ordered them to return to the Ship which they took no Notice of, but went immediately on Shore, upon which he sent Mr Hall fourth Mte in pursuit of them, who soon afterwards returned and told him this Deponent he could not overtake them, but had followed them as far as the Maldivia Garden Mr Thomas Winter fifth Mte, being duly sworn - Deposeth that on Sunday the 31st of last Month, he was Ordered by Mr Thomas Compton, Commanding Officer on board to go on Shore and acquaint the Captain that some of the People had run away with a Boat from the Ship side, upon his coming on shore, he met with Thomas Beckworth who informed him that the People were at the upper end of the Vally he this Deponent then went and -	Compton stated that Edward Holland, Thomas Rodden, Daniel Hoskins, John Jarman and James Lockart, all seamen of the *Salisbury*, had taken a boat from alongside the ship without his permission. He called to them and ordered them back aboard, but they ignored him and went straight ashore. He then sent the fourth mate, Mr Hall, after them. Hall soon returned to report that he had been unable to catch them, though he had followed them as far as the Maldivia garden. The fifth mate, Mr Thomas Winter, gave evidence next on oath. On Sunday 31 March Compton, as the officer in command aboard, had sent him ashore to tell the captain that some of the crew had made off with a boat. On landing he met Thomas Beckworth, who told him the men were at the upper end of the valley. Winter reported this to the captain, who at once sent him to fetch them down so they could be taken back aboard. When Winter reached them they refused to come, saying they would not go with him even if he brought ten guards. While he was talking to them Holland came up and hit him twice with a stick. The others then set on the quartermaster Peter Goopert, the gunner's mate John Dean and Thomas Beckworth, beating them with stones and sticks. They stopped at once when Captain Wyche arrived with a guard. The midshipman, Mr Robert Cooper, was then sworn. He stated that on the afternoon of Sunday 31

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		acquainted the Capt: with it, who immediately sent him to bring them down in Order to carry them on board, but when this Deponent came up to them they refused to come, and told him if he had ten Guards they would not go with him, while he was Speaking with them Edward Hilland, came up and Struck him twice with a Stick and the rest of them fell upon Peter Goopert Quarter Master John Dean Gunners Mate, and the aforesaid Thomas Beckworth, and beat them with Stones and Sticks but upon Captain Wyches coming with a Guard, they immediately desisted Mr Robert Cooper Midshipman being duly Sworn Deposeth that on Sunday the 31st of March in the afternoon Captain Wyche informed this Deponent that the Men who had left the Ship were a little way above Captain Bazetts House he then immediately went to the Place where they were, and found them assisting the Men that were sent for them, upon which he took hold of Edward Hilland and threw him down upon the Ground and kept him there untill two	March Captain Wyche told him the runaway seamen were a short distance above Captain Bazett's house. Cooper went there immediately and found them attacking the men sent to bring them in. He seized Holland, threw him to the ground and held him there. **Interpretations** The sworn evidence gave a narrower account than Wyche's letter. The captain had written that Hall pursued the men with a guard and that they defied him, but Compton testified only that Hall failed to overtake them and followed as far as the Maldivia garden. By taking depositions on oath from each officer in turn, the Council tested the captain's complaint against what individual witnesses could actually swear to. The men's violence, however, was confirmed by Winter and Cooper, both of whom described a physical attack on the officers and crew sent to fetch them. The seamen defied their own officers but gave way the moment Wyche appeared with a guard of soldiers. Their boast that ten guards would not move them proved empty once armed men arrived, showing that the ship's officers alone could not enforce order ashore without the backing of the island's garrison.
195	188	3d April two Soldiers came to take them in Custody Peter Gospert being duly Sworn Deposeth that on Sunday the 31st of March he was sent on Shore by Mr Compton to bring back the People that had run away with a Boat from the Ship in consequence of which, he followed and overtook them at the Sign of the Swan, upon which Thoms Redden, and Edward Hoskins knocked him the said Deponent down, This Deponent further saith that upon his coming on Shore in pursuit of the abovementioned Men, he found the Boat they had taken from the Ship among the Rocks - Thomas Beckworth Seaman being duly Sworn Deposeth that on Sunday the 31st March in the afternoon Capt. Wyche Ordered him to Assist in taking the Men that had run from the Ship, that upon his coming up with them he - desired them to go on board with him, they then asked him by whose Authority he replied Captain Wyches, Upon which he saw Edward Hillands strike Mr Winter, and upon this Deponents going to his Assistance he was knocked down by the aforesaid Hilland he further Saith that when they were in Custody of the Guard he Hilland told this Deponent that he would heave the Log with him, and two or three more the first opportunity at Sea - William Steadman Corporal being duly Sworn Deposeth that on Sunday the 31st of March last he was Ordered by the Officer of the Guard to take a file of Men and to go	Cooper kept Holland pinned down until two soldiers arrived to take him into custody. Peter Gosport, the quartermaster, gave evidence next on oath. On Sunday 31 March Compton had sent him ashore to bring back the men who had run off with the boat. He followed and caught up with them at the sign of the Swan, where Thomas Rodden and Edward Hoskins knocked him down. When he came ashore in pursuit, he had also found the stolen boat lying among the rocks. Thomas Beckworth, a seaman, was then sworn. He stated that on the afternoon of Sunday 31 March Captain Wyche had ordered him to help catch the runaways. When he reached them he asked them to return aboard with him, and they demanded to know on whose authority. He answered that it was the captain's. He then saw Holland strike Mr Winter, and when he went to Winter's aid Holland knocked him down too. Beckworth added that once the men were held by the guard, Holland threatened to heave the log with him and two or three others at the first chance he got at sea. William Steadman, a corporal, was sworn next. On Sunday 31 March the officer of the guard ordered him to take a file of soldiers up the valley with a ship's officer, who would point out the seamen they were to bring down. At the bridge he met three sailors running across it and ordered them to stop. They told him they would see him damned first, and two of them thrust their fists into his face. **Interpretations** Holland's threat to heave the log with Beckworth was a seaman's way of promising to throw him overboard. The log was the float thrown over the stern on a line to measure the ship's speed, and to heave a man with it meant casting him into the sea. Spoken while Holland was already under guard, the threat went beyond the brawl ashore and pointed to violence once the ship was at sea again, where the officers would have no garrison to call on. It strengthened Wyche's claim that the men were a danger to the ship and not merely disorderly on a run ashore.

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		up the Valley along with an Officer belonging to a Ship to fetch down some Seamen, which he the Officer would shew him, he this Deponent then went up to the Bridge where he met with three - Sailors running over the Bridge, he then Ordered them to Stop they replied they would see him Damned first, and two of them run their Fists in his Face, he said to his Men, if any of them Offer to	The seamen's question to Beckworth, asking on whose authority he acted, went to the heart of the dispute. On land the men denied that a fellow sailor, or even the ship's officers, could compel them, and they yielded only to soldiers. The Swan, where Gosport overtook them, was perhaps a tavern in the town, the natural first stop for sailors ashore without leave. Corporal Steadman belonged to the Fourth Company, and his evidence shows the garrison being used to police the crews of Company ships. The guard supplied a file of soldiers on request, and it was their arrival rather than the officers' orders that ended the affray.
196	189	1765 to go by you, knock them down, two of the Seamen said out with your Knives upon which he gave his Men the same charge as before This Deponent being asked whether he could recollect any of the Mens Faces if he saw them, on his looking upon the Prisoners fixed upon Daniel Haskins as the Man who had mentioned drawing their Knives George Freeman Centinel being duly Sworn Deposeth that on Sunday the 31st March last being one of the party along with Corporal Steadman, and as they were going near the Bridge they met with three or four Seamen, the Corporal Ordered them to stop they replied they would see him Damned first upon which the Corporal Order them not to let them pass, And if they made any Resistance to knock them down, two of the Seamen immediately came up to the Party with their Fists Clinched and said they should not Stop them, at the same time some of them called out where is your knives; This Deponent being asked whether he knew the Men if he saw them again that came up to the Party with their Fists Clinched, saith that to the best of his knowledge, Daniel Haskins and John Jarman were the two Men, but does not know who they were that called out draw your Knives - The Prisoners being called upon to make their Defence had nothing to Offer, - We therefore are of opinion that the aforesaid Seamen have been Guilty of the Charge Alledged against them, but as Edward Hilland, Daniel Haskins, and John Jarman appear to Us to have been the Chief ringleaders, We Sentenced the aforesaid three Men to receive one hundred and fifty Lashes each, and James Lockhart and	Steadman told his soldiers to knock the men down if any of them tried to force their way past. Two of the seamen then shouted to the others to draw their knives, and Steadman repeated his order to his men. Asked whether he would recognise any of the sailors, he looked over the prisoners and picked out Daniel Hoskins as the man who had called for knives. George Freeman, a private soldier, gave evidence next on oath. On Sunday 31 March he had been one of Corporal Steadman's party. Near the bridge they met three or four seamen, and when the corporal ordered them to stop they told him they would see him damned first. The corporal then told his men to block their way and to knock them down if they resisted. Two of the seamen at once advanced on the soldiers with clenched fists, saying the party would not stop them, while others shouted for their knives. Asked whether he could identify the two who came at them, Freeman said that to the best of his knowledge they were Daniel Hoskins and John Jarman. He could not say who had called for knives. The prisoners were invited to answer the charges but offered no defence. The Council found all the seamen guilty as charged. It judged that Edward Holland, Daniel Hoskins and John Jarman had been the chief ringleaders, and sentenced each of them to 150 lashes. **Interpretations** The Council's choice of ringleaders followed the sworn evidence rather than Captain Wyche's view of his men. Wyche had singled out Holland and Rodden as the most dangerous, citing Rodden's part in the mutiny aboard the *Plassey*. The Council named Holland, Hoskins and Jarman instead. Holland had struck Winter and Beckworth before several witnesses. Hoskins was picked out by Steadman as the man who called for knives and by Freeman as one of the two who advanced on the soldiers, and Jarman was the other man Freeman named. Rodden, for all his reputation, was not identified by any witness in the scuffle with the guard, so the heaviest punishment fell on those whom the evidence tied most directly to the violence. The call for knives turned a brawl into an armed threat against soldiers carrying out the Governor's order, and it perhaps weighed heavily in fixing the sentence. Flogging with a fixed number of lashes was the standard punishment for serious offences by seamen and soldiers alike, carried out in public as a warning to others. A penalty of 150 lashes was severe, reflecting the Council's concern, shared with Wyche, that open defiance of officers by a ship's crew could not go unchecked.
197	190	3d April and Thomas Redden to receive one hundred Lashes each, at the common Whipping Post, to morrow at ten OClock in the	Lockart and Thomas Rodden were each sentenced to 100 lashes. All five punishments were to be carried out at the public whipping post at ten o'clock the following morning. Governor Skottowe,

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		forenoon - John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Friday the 5th Day of April 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Govern Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thoms Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was, read, approved, and signed, dated the 3d April 1765 - The ten Working Days allowed by Charter Party for unloading the Ship Dutton being expired, We gave Capt. David Rae sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to China according to the Directions he had received from the Honorable the Court of Directors, We likewise gave him the following Letter to the President and Council at Canton, together with the Duplicates of those we wrote by the Ship Salisbury, to the several Presidencys in India viz	Daniel Corneille, Burling and Kirkpatrick signed the minutes. The Council met at the castle on Friday 5 April 1765, with the Governor, Lieutenant Governor Corneille, Mr Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. The members read, approved and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 3 April 1765. The ten working days allowed under the charter for unloading the *Dutton* had run out. The Council therefore gave Captain David Rea written orders to sail and make his way to China as quickly as possible, following the directions of the Court of Directors. It also gave him a letter for the President and Council at Canton, together with copies of the letters already sent by the *Salisbury* to the presidencies in India. **Interpretations** The sentences were to be carried out on land at the island's common whipping post, not aboard the *Salisbury* under the captain's authority. Punishing the seamen publicly ashore, the morning after sentence, made the penalty a spectacle for the crews of every ship in the road and for the inhabitants alike. It showed that the island's government would uphold the discipline of the Company's ships, and that sailors who defied their officers on shore would meet the same justice as any offender on St Helena. The lighter sentence for Rodden confirmed that the Council graded punishment by each man's proven part in the violence rather than by his captain's account of his past. Sending copies of the *Salisbury*'s letters by the *Dutton* put the Company's practice of duplicate correspondence into effect. Both ships were bound for China, and whichever reached Canton first could pass the letters on to India, so the loss or delay of one vessel would not leave the presidencies without the island's requests for supplies.
198	191	5th April To the President and other Supracargoes of Council at Canton Gentlemen We Addressed you the 3d instant by the Ship Salisbury By the Dutton We have Consigned you on Account of the Honorable Company, one Chest of Treasure as pr Invoice and Bill of Lading Enclosed You will receive in this Packet the Duttons Charter Party Victualling Bill, Manifest of Goods, and a Packet directed to you, as likewise Duplicates of our Letters to the several Presidencys in India, which we request you will forward by the First Conveyance We are Gentlemen Your most Obedient humble Servants (signed) John Skottowe Daniel Corneille M Burling Thos Kirkpatrick St Helena 5th April 1765. - Mr Matthew Burling Reports that he has been on board the Ships Lord Clive & Pocock to Muster their Companys and enquire for Deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow viz	The Council's letter to the President and supercargoes at Canton referred to its earlier letter sent by the *Salisbury* on 3 April. By the *Dutton* it now sent them one chest of treasure on the Company's account, with the invoice and bill of lading enclosed. The packet also contained the *Dutton*'s charter party, victualling bill and cargo manifest, a further packet addressed to them and copies of the letters to the presidencies in India. The Council asked them to forward those letters by the first ship available. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the letter at St Helena on 5 April 1765. Mr Matthew Burling reported that he had gone aboard the *Lord Clive* and the *Pocock* to call the roll of their crews and search for deserters, but had found none. The crew lists of both ships were entered in the minutes. **Interpretations** The chest of treasure shows the island's treasury feeding the Company's trade with China. Tea at Canton had to be bought largely with silver, and the Company constantly needed coin there. In the weeks before, the Council had taken in over £2,000 in cash from officers and passengers in exchange for bills payable in London. That coin could now be sent on to Canton, where it would buy tea for the next season, while the Company settled the bills in London from the proceeds of its sales. St Helena thus served as a collecting point where private money heading home was turned into public silver heading east. The bill of lading was the captain's signed receipt for the chest, acknowledging that he had taken it aboard and undertaking to deliver it at Canton. It made Captain Rea personally answerable for the treasure until the supercargoes signed for it on arrival.

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199	192	5th April	The *Lord Clive*'s crew list was entered first.
		Muster Roll of Ship Lord Clive	William Webber, commander
		William Webber Commander	Barry Bartlett, 1st mate
		Barry Bartlett 1 Mte	Richard Webb, 2nd mate
		Richard Webb 2d Do	William Proctor, 3rd mate
		William Proctor 3d Do	John Somerville, 4th mate
		John Somerville 4th Do	Samuel Gandy, 5th mate
		Samuel Gandy 5th Do	Charles Beaty, 6th mate
		Charles Beaty 6 Do	David Gordon, surgeon
		David Gordon Surgeon	Alexander Gibbons, purser
		Alexr Gibbons Purser	Thomas Williams, carpenter
		Thoms Williams Carpenter	Richard Osgood, boatswain
		Richd Osgood Boatswain	Richard Davy, gunner
		Richd Davy Gunner	Henry Ash, caulker
		Henry Ash Caulker	Thomas Pollard, cooper
		Thos Pollard Cooper	Thomas Keys, ship's steward
		Thoms Keys Ships Stewd	John Clark, captain's steward
		John Clark Capts Do	Robert Granby, sailmaker
		Robt Granby Sailmaker	John Wells, captain's cook
		John Wills Cook Capts	John Parker, ship's cook
		John Parker Ships Cook	Richard Coop, captain's steward's mate
		Richd Cope Capts 1 Mate	James Robinson, ship's steward's mate
		James Robinson 2d Do	James Clifton, surgeon's mate
		James Clifton Surgeons Mte	James Henry, cooper's mate
		James Henry Cooper Do	Henry Yates, armourer
		Henry Yates Armourer	Anthony Conald, butcher
		Anthony Donald Butcher	William White, boatswain's mate
		Wm White Boatswain	William Kelly, quartermaster
		Wm Kelly Quartermaster	James Brown, quartermaster
		James Brown Do	Joseph Marker, quartermaster
		Joseph Marker Quartermr	George Smith, quartermaster
		George Smith Do	John Smith, quartermaster
		John Smith Do	William Courthope, midshipman
		Wm Courthop Midshipman	Daniel Austin, midshipman
		Daniel Austin Do	Richard Williams, midshipman
		Richd Williams Do	Matthew Smith, midshipman
		Matthew Smith Do	John Cummins, midshipman
		John Cummins Do	Robert Brookes, seaman
		Robt Breaks Seaman	Hector McKenzie
		Hector McKenzie	William Frost
		William Tost	James Chapman
		James Chapman	Samuel Smith
		Saml Smith	Thomas Dove
		Thomas Dove	Elias Williams
		Elias Williams	Thomas Spice
		Thoms Speed	John Moyse
		John Meyer	Richard Kelly
		Richard Kelly	Thomas Chalwood
		Thomas Chalkwood	James Nowland
		James Nowland	Richard Turner
		Richard Turner	William Gardiner
		Wm Gardiner	Thomas Liddle
		Thomas Liddle	Robert Lawson
		Robert Lawson	Christopher Nicholson
		Christ Nicholson	Nicholas Sinclair
		Nich Sinclair	John Reid
		John Reed	John Brice
		John Brice	Robert Capstell, seaman
		Peter Copstell Seamn	William Newton
		William Newton	Charles Froud
		Charles Froud	William Usherman
		Will Usherman	James Hoppus
		James Hoppus	Christian Shilgor
		Christian Thilgon	Charles Smith
		Charles Smith	William Moore
		Willm Moore	Patrick Heaton
		Patrick Heaton	John Phillips
		John Phillips	William Fenwick
		Will Fenwick	Justinian Nutt
		Justinian Nutt	Richard Tripe
		Richard Tripe	John Caesar
		John Carr	Frederick Coveton
		Frederick Doveton	Davy Whitacre
		Davy Whitacre	John Bayley
		John Bayley	Aldron Coe

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		Aldron Coo John Griffiths George Ennis George Young Edward Cook Manuel Sunday Sarang Namut Ally Bobagee Laurenzo	John Griffiths George Innes George Young Edward Cook Manuel Samday Savang Nameet Ally Bobagee Laurenzo **Interpretations** The men entered by a single name or by an Asian or Portuguese name were grouped together at the very end of the list rather than scattered among the rest of the crew. Their position suggests they joined the ship late in the voyage, probably in China or at an Indian port, to replace seamen lost to death, sickness or desertion since leaving England. East India ships routinely made up their numbers in this way for the homeward run, and the clerk simply added the new hands to the foot of the roll as they were taken on.
200	193	1765 John Ulebeth Seaman Alpo Greenwich Exector Josephor Domingo Seaman Pedence Thomas John King Thos Davis Sunborn Henty Seaman Nicolo Kervin Augustan John Saunders Thos L'Amour Passengers 4 Women 2 Boys 2 Men (signed) Wm Webber Muster Roll of Ship Pocock Benj: Hooke Commander Mich: Pallister Chief Mate Thomas Cornish 2d Do Benj: Sidenham 3d Do James Baldwin 4th Do Robt Eeles . . 5 Do Alvara Lofthouse 6th Do James Balderston Surgeon Willm Mason Purser Jos Smith Midshipmen Richd Shins Peter Allen Surgeons Mate Henry Meade Carpenter Thoms Pressott Gunner James Webb Boatswain James Harding Ships Stewd Martin Smith Capts Do Oliver Anderson Anthony Joseph Henry Thompson Quartermrs Henry Pollock John Canham Boatsns Mte Wm Newton Caulker Jos Ford Carpenters Mate Wm Hodges Do 2 Do Barnes Spring Sailmaker Thos Grieve Cooper Robt Madison Armorer Wm Gowing Coopers Mate George Harding Caulkers Do	The *Lord Clive*'s list closed with further seamen and its passengers. John Uleheth, seaman Alpo Greenwich Hector Josepho Domingo, seaman Pedence Thoma John King Thomas Davis Sunborn Henty, seaman Nicolo Kerwin Augustin John Saunders Thomas L'Amour Passengers: 4 women 2 boys 2 men William Webber signed the roll. The crew list of the *Pocock* followed. Benjamin Hooke, commander Michael Pallister, chief mate Thomas Cornish, 2nd mate Benjamin Sidenham, 3rd mate James Baldwin, 4th mate Robert Eales, 5th mate Alvara Lofthouse, 6th mate James Balderston, surgeon William Mason, purser Joseph Smith, midshipman Richard Shine, midshipman Peter Allen, surgeon's mate Henry Meade, carpenter Thomas Bassett, gunner James Webb, boatswain James Harding, ship's steward Martin Smith, captain's steward Oliver Anderson, quartermaster Anthony George, quartermaster Henry Thompson, quartermaster Henry Pollock, quartermaster John Canham, boatswain's mate William Newton, caulker Joseph Ford, carpenter's mate William Hodges, carpenter's 2nd mate James Spring, sailmaker Thomas Greive, cooper Robert Madsen, armourer William Gowring, cooper's mate

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		John McDaniel Capts Cook James Morale Ships Do Peter Lucker Gunrs Mate Richd Frost Seaman Thomas Hibbet Thos Grubb Seaman Peter Brown Thos Cook Francis Smith Andw Goulding Peter Gefery Henry Blank Thoms Brooker Charles Wareham Wm Asbery Alexr Bede Thos Halleren James Moody Wm Cooper John Williams John Goodfellow Richd Mugler	George Harding, caulker's mate John McDaniel, captain's cook James Morale, ship's cook Peter Lucker, gunner's mate Richard Frost, seaman Thomas Hebbert Thomas Grubb, seaman Peter Brown Thomas Cook Francis Smith Andrew Goulding Peter Gefery Henry Blank Thomas Brooker Charles Wareham William Asbury Alexander Reid Thomas Hallum James Moody William Cooper John Williams John Goodfellow Richard Mugler **Interpretations** The *Lord Clive*'s passengers were recorded only as a count of 4 women, 2 boys and 2 men, without a single name. Passengers of rank were always named, so these were probably servants, slaves or people of low standing travelling in the ship's common quarters. The omission weakened the muster's purpose, since an officer checking the roll could count heads but could not tell whether an unnamed passenger was the person declared or a runaway from the island taking the place of one.
201	194	5th April Peter York Seaman Peter Peterson John Oxby Robert Petty Jos Pugh John Bush James Atkinson Henry Brown Samuel Howard Joseph Scatton John Germain James Browne Peter Warren Thos Tubb Mark Rice James Stephenson Seaman John Churchill Henry Ham Thomas Summers Saml Shephard Peter Smith Robt White Danl Nobbs John Tenhouf Jos Hicker Williker Gaspher Scollum Robt Pamaly Thoms Mattheson Richd Crisby Joseph Clarford John Hohn Seaman Lanc Mattheson Rassil Rice Wm Blundell Captns Thos Berridge Servts Geo. England 1 Mte Do Thos Lipsum 2d Do James Johnson Carpr Do Geo. Shephard Capts Do Wm Wood Boatswain	The *Pocock*'s crew list continued, followed by its passengers. Peter York, seaman Peter Peterson John Osby Robert Petty Joseph Pugh John Bush James Atkinson Henry Brown Samuel Harwood Joseph Stratton John Germain James Browne Peter Warren Thomas Tubb Mark Rice James Stephenson, seaman John Churchill Henry Ham Thomas Summers Samuel Shephard Peter Smith Robert White Daniel Nobbs John Tinhoof John Hicks Williker Gasper Scollum Robert Pamely Thomas Matthewson Richard Crisby Joseph Clifford John Holm, seaman Lars Matthewson Russel Rice William Blundell, captain's servant Thomas Berridge, captain's servant George England, 1st mate's servant Thomas Lipsum, 2nd mate's servant James Johnson, purser's servant George Shephard, carpenter's servant

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		Jos Hart Surgs Do John Nooty Seaman Henry Salmon Michl Andrews George Day Passengers Lieut. James Capper Mr Hugh Cavenaugh (signed) Benjamin Hooke Messrs Robert Baldwin Surgeon of the Ship Salisbury, and John Rice of the Dutton, Applied to Us for Payment for the care of sixty two Recruits, in their Passage from England, We accordingly Ordered them to be paid five Shillings each the - former for thirty and the latter for thirty two amounting to £15 . 10 The Storekeeper this day delivered the following	William Wood, boatswain's servant Joseph Hart, surgeon's servant John Noaks, seaman Henry Salmon Michael Andrews George Cay Passengers: Lieutenant James Capper Mr Hugh Cavenaugh Benjamin Hooke signed the roll. Mr Robert Baldwin, surgeon of the *Salisbury*, and Mr John Rice of the *Dutton* asked to be paid for looking after 62 recruits on the voyage from England. The Council ordered them to be paid 5s 0d for each man, Baldwin for 30 and Rice for 32, a total of £15 10s 0d. The storekeeper then submitted an account, which was entered in the minutes. **Interpretations** The 62 recruits brought out on the *Salisbury* and the *Dutton* were a large reinforcement for a garrison of little more than 300 private soldiers. Their arrival explains why the Council could release men at the end of their terms and send a matross off as armourer without undue concern. Paying the ships' surgeons a fee for each recruit gave them a direct reason to keep the men alive and fit on a long voyage, when sickness could easily carry off a large part of a draft before it reached the island. The servants listed at the end of the *Pocock*'s roll were attached to individual officers, from the captain down to the surgeon and boatswain. They were usually boys or young men learning the sea, and serving an officer was a common first step towards becoming a seaman or a mate in time.
202	195	1765 Account of Stores received from the Ship Lord Clive vizt. Account of Stores received from Ship Lord Clive vizt. China Ware vizt. Soop Dishes 10 Meat Dishes 70 Meat Plates 290 Soop Plates 168 Tureens with Covers and Dishes 7 Bowls 76 Sneekers 122 Guglets & Basons 15 Chamber Potts 15 Half Pt. Cups & Saucers 48 Sugar 25. 2. 5. Cwt qr lb Single Tea 2. 40. Tu Cat Bohea Do. 2. 31.¾ St. Helena 5th April 1765 - (Signed) James Bowdt Storekeeper John Skottowe Dan Comalle Burling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The storekeeper at St Helena drew up an account of the stores landed from the ship *Lord Clive* in 1765, and the list ran as follows. China ware: 10 soup dishes 70 meat dishes 290 meat plates 168 soup plates 7 tureens with covers and stands 76 bowls 122 sneakers 15 guglets and basins 15 chamber pots 48 half-pint cups and saucers 25 hundredweight 2 quarters 5 pounds of sugar 2 piculs 40 catties of single tea 2 piculs 31¾ catties of bohea tea James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 5 April 1765. Governor Skottowe and three members of the council then added their signatures to confirm it. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The cargo marked the *Lord Clive* as a ship returning from Canton, and the weights showed it. Sugar was measured in the English hundredweight of 112 pounds, divided into quarters of 28 pounds. The tea, by contrast, was weighed in Chinese units exactly as it had been bought. A picul was the load a porter could carry on a shoulder pole, about 133⅓ pounds, and it held 100 catties of about 1⅓ pounds each. The island therefore received roughly 320 pounds of single tea and 308 pounds of bohea. The storekeeper made no conversion, which suggests the chests arrived with their Canton weights marked and were entered unopened.

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		Margin Notes: [...]	Bohea was the cheapest black tea shipped from China, named after the Wuyi hills of Fujian, and it was the everyday drink of ordinary English households. Single tea was a green tea of middling grade, taken from the later leaves of the plant and priced above bohea but below the finer hyson. Sending both grades let the island supply officers and the garrison at different price levels. Several pieces of china had uses now forgotten. A sneaker was a small bowl or large handleless cup used for tea, punch or broth, somewhere between a teacup and a basin. A guglet was a long-necked water bottle, a form adopted from Indian practice, which kept drinking water cool by evaporation through its surface. Paired with a basin, it served as a washing set for a bedroom or cabin. The quantity of tableware, including 290 meat plates alone, went well beyond the needs of a single household. The Company's store probably held it for sale to residents and for the Governor's table, since porcelain travelled as ballast-weight cargo beneath the tea and cost the Company little to land at the island. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploaded material, so no comparison with earlier stores accounts or confirmation of the councillors' full names against the master reference was possible; the surname Burling appears without a forename on the page.
203	196	8th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th Day of April 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor David Comeille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed, dated the 5th April 1765. Friday the 5th Sailed the Dane Ship Crown Prince for Denmark Yesterday Do. the Honble. Company's Ship Lord Clive for England We this day received the following Letter from Captain Mitchell vizt. To the Worshipful the Governor and Council of the Island St. Helena - Gentlemen Being now ready to enter upon a General Survey of the Present State of the Fortifications of this Island, and being ordered to do nothing without the previous Approbation of the Governor and Council, whose Orders and Instructions shall be the only Rules of my Conduct during my stay in this Island; I have therefore taken the Liberty to lay before you my Opinion, relative to the Order in which I apprehend it will be most proper to proceed in the Execution of the Trust reposed in me by the Honble. Company in England	The council met at the Castle on Monday 8 April 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. Members read the minutes of the previous meeting, held on 5 April 1765, then approved and signed them. Two departures were entered in the record. The Danish ship *Crown Prince* left for Denmark on Friday 5 April, and the Company's ship *Lord Clive* set sail for England on 7 April. Captain Mitchell sent the council a letter that day. He explained that he was now prepared to begin a full survey of the island's fortifications. He added that he intended to take no step without the prior approval of the Governor and council, and that their orders alone would guide his conduct for as long as he remained on the island. For that reason he now set out his own view on the sequence in which the work entrusted to him by the Company in England should best be carried out. **Interpretations** Captain Mitchell held his commission from the Company in London, yet his letter placed the survey entirely under the island council's direction. A specialist sent out by the directors could reasonably have treated his orders from England as sufficient authority and begun work on his own plan. Instead he submitted his proposed order of work for approval before touching a single battery. This reflected how the Company governed its outposts: the council remained the sole executive authority on the spot, and even officers dispatched by the directors needed its sanction before acting. The arrangement also protected Mitchell, since any cost or disruption his survey caused would rest on a council decision rather than on his own initiative. The call of the *Crown Prince* showed that St Helena, although a Company possession, served ships of other nations. Danish vessels trading to Tranquebar and Canton regularly broke their homeward voyage at the island for water and fresh provisions. The Company tolerated these visits, since foreign ships paid for what they took and brought news, while the council could still refuse supplies whenever the island's own stocks ran short.

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204	197	1765 It is almost unnecessary to mention (because it is already known) that the sending an Engineer to this Island was principally owing to your own repeated Representations of the bad State of your Fortifications, and the Necessity of having a Skillfull Person sent out capable of forming a proper Judgement of the Defects in the present Works of the Island, and of proposing and carrying into Execution such Repairs and Additions as should be Necessary to render the Garrison (in Case of an Attack) capable of making a vigorous and successfull Defence - As these representations coincided with the Opinion of the Honble. Board of Directors, who looked upon the Present Defences of this Island to be extremely defective, and the immediate Reparation & Improvement of them to be a Measure highly Expedient, I was therefore made Choice of for this Purpose, with Orders to take an exact Survey of the present State of the Works here, which Survey with my Opinion of them and my Proposals for compleating them, I was desired to deliver in to the Governor and Council as soon as possible, in Order to their being immediately transmitted to England for their Approbation - As this Survey and the Execution of it were the only Objects the Honble. Company had in View, in sending me to this Place, I therefore flatter myself that you, Gentlemen, will unanimously agree with me in thinking, that they ought likewise to be the only Objects of my present Attention, and that every secondary Measure whether of publick or private Convenience ought to give way to this principal and Necessary one. I intend therefore immediately to set about taking the abovementioned Survey & Plans, and hope to be able to deliver in my General Report, so as it may be transmitted to England, and the Opinion of the Honble. Board of Directors upon it received by next Years Store Ship -	Captain Mitchell's letter to the council went on to recall why an engineer had come to the island at all. He noted that the council hardly needed reminding, since the decision to send one stemmed chiefly from its own repeated reports on the poor condition of the fortifications. Those reports had stressed the need for a trained specialist who could assess the faults in the existing works. Such a man would also design and build whatever repairs and additions the garrison required to hold out strongly and successfully against an attack. The directors in London shared the council's view. They judged the island's defences seriously inadequate and considered their prompt repair and improvement a matter of real urgency. Mitchell was accordingly selected for the task. His orders were to make a precise survey of the present works and to hand it to the Governor and council as quickly as he could, together with his assessment and his proposals for finishing them. The council was then to forward the whole package to England at once for the directors' approval. Mitchell pointed out that the survey and the building that followed from it were the Company's sole purpose in sending him. He trusted that every member of the council would agree these tasks deserved his undivided attention. In his view, any lesser project, whether for public benefit or private convenience, ought to stand aside for this essential work. He therefore planned to begin the survey and drawings without delay. His hope was to finish his general report in time for it to reach England and for the directors' verdict to return on the following year's store ship. **Interpretations** Mitchell's insistence that projects of "private convenience" must yield to the survey was a pre-emptive refusal. A newly arrived engineer on a small island would normally have been at the council's disposal for whatever building work it wanted, and councillors could easily have drawn him into repairing houses, roads or plantation works of their own. By invoking the directors' single purpose before any such request was made, Mitchell closed that door in writing and placed his refusal on the council's own record, where it could be shown to London if he were later pressed. The timetable he set out exposed how slowly the Company's machinery moved. The store ship was the annual vessel sent from England with the island's supplies, and it was also the most reliable channel for the directors' replies. By tying the directors' verdict to the next year's store ship, Mitchell acknowledged that no major building could lawfully begin for at least twelve months. The island's defences, judged urgent in both St Helena and London, still had to wait for a full round trip of correspondence before a single stone could be laid.
205	198	8th April As in Order to accomplish this in sufficient Time I shall find it necessary to dedicate my whole Time and Attention to this single Object at least for some Months, I must therefore postpone my Attentions of beginning immediately to Exercise & Discipline the Artillery Company, till this Principal Object is Once finished - I thought proper to mention this, least it might be imagined that my not immediately entering upon this part of my Duty proceeded from Dilatoriness or Inattention I have only further to add, that as in taking my Survey	Captain Mitchell's letter then turned to the consequences of giving the survey his full attention. He expected the work to occupy all his time for at least several months if it was to be finished promptly. As a result, he would have to put off his plan to begin drilling and training the Artillery Company straight away, and that duty would wait until the survey was complete. He raised the point so that no one would put the delay down to idleness or neglect on his part. He closed with a practical request. Both the survey and the rest of his stay would require him to travel almost every day by boat between the various posts around the coast. He therefore expected the council to agree that a boat, with a suitable crew, should be set aside for his use alone. He also foresaw the need to apply for a horse and a servant, since

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		and indeed during the whole of my stay in this Island, I shall have almost daily Occasion to make use of a Boat in going to and from the different Posts in the Island, I imagine you will think it proper and Necessary that One, with proper Hands should be appropriated solely for this Purpose. I believe I shall likewise find it necessary to petition for a Horse & Servant as there are several Parts of the Island, where it would be both tedious & inconvenient to go by Water - I have the Honour to be (wt. great Respect) Gentlemen St. Helena Yours most Obedient and most 8th April 1765 humble Servant (signed) Elr. Mitchell Upon which we agreed to furnish him with a Boat and Horse as he Requests	several parts of the island could be reached by water only slowly and with great difficulty. Mitchell signed the letter at St Helena on 8 April 1765. The council agreed to supply him with a boat and a horse, as he had asked. **Interpretations** The council's reply granted less than Mitchell requested. His letter asked for a boat with its crew, a horse and a servant, yet the minute recorded only the boat and the horse. The servant was quietly dropped, perhaps because a man assigned to him would have been drawn from the garrison or from the Company's slaves, both of whom were already committed to labour and guard duty. By agreeing without comment to the two items that cost least in manpower, the council met the engineer's needs for movement while avoiding a standing claim on its own workforce. Mitchell's postponement of the Artillery Company's training revealed that he had been sent with two roles rather than one. Besides surveying the works, he was evidently expected to instruct the gunners who would serve the batteries he designed. He set the drilling aside in favour of the survey, which the directors treated as the more pressing task. That choice left the island's artillery without trained direction for some months, and his care to explain it on the record shows he knew the council might otherwise hold the delay against him. The request for a boat reflected the island's layout. St Helena's defended landing places lay at the mouths of steep valleys along the coast, separated by high ridges and deep ravines. A journey between two neighbouring batteries by land could mean climbing inland and descending again, so a boat along the sheltered leeward shore was often the quickest route. The horse served for the upland posts and the interior, which no boat could reach.
206	199	1765 The Plantation, Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of March last, were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follows vizt. Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month of March last, vizt. Port Wine 6 Bottles 9 - Lisbon 49 Do. 3 13 6 Mountain 12 Do. 18 - Beer 46 Do. 9 3 Arrack 62 Do. 3 9 7 Beef 46 lb. 18 10 Salt Pork 47 lb. 10 2 Mutton 221¼ lb. 4 12 5½ Kid 1 5 - Butter 31½ lb. 1 11 6	The accounts of the plantation, the gunner and the steward for March were presented to the council on 8 April 1765. After examining them, the council approved all three, and the steward's account of provisions used at the Company's table during March was entered as follows. 6 bottles of port wine, £0 9s 0d 49 bottles of Lisbon wine, £3 13s 6d 12 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 18s 0d 46 bottles of beer, £0 9s 5d 62 bottles of arrack, £3 9s 7d 46 pounds of beef, £0 18s 10d 47 pounds of salt pork, £0 10s 2d 221¼ pounds of mutton, £4 12s 5½d 1 [...], £0 5s 0d 31½ pounds of butter, £1 11s 6d 59 pounds of sugar candy, £0 19s 8d 236 pounds of flour, £1 15s 0d 4 geese, £1 0s 0d 11 ducks, £0 16s 6d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 5 fowls, £0 7s 6d Total, £22 15s 1½d **Interpretations** The Company's table was the official mess at the Castle, where the Governor entertained councillors, officers and visiting ship commanders at the Company's expense. Its costs were charged to the steward's monthly account and audited by the council in the same way as the plantation and the gunner's stores. Hospitality to ship captains had a practical purpose, since goodwill at the table eased the purchase of supplies, the carriage of letters and the landing of stores from passing ships. Three of the drinks would be unfamiliar today. Lisbon was a white wine from the country around the Portuguese capital, cheap and robust enough to survive long voyages, and it was the standard table

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		[...] Brandy 5 19 8 Flower 236 lb. 1 15 - Geese 4 1 - - Ducks 11 16 6 Turkeys 4 1 - - Fowls 5 7 6 L 22 15 1½	wine at many British outposts. Mountain was a sweet fortified wine from the hills around Málaga in southern Spain, taken much as sherry or port later would be. Arrack was a spirit distilled in India, Ceylon and Batavia from palm sap or fermented rice and sugar, brought to St Helena by homeward-bound Company ships and widely drunk in punch. Sugar candy was refined sugar crystallised into large hard lumps, usually imported from China or Bengal, and it served both for sweetening and for the table. Mutton made up the largest single charge, at about 5d a pound, well above the beef and salt pork at roughly 5d and 2½d. Much of the beef consumed on the island at this date was tightly controlled because cattle were scarce and reserved for shipping, so the table leaned on the island's sheep instead. Salt pork, the cheapest meat on the list, was probably ship's stock bought from vessels in the road.
207	200	Account of the Honble. Compys. Stock of Neat Cattle &c for the Month of March 1765 vizt. Neat Cattle, Sheeps, Goats, Hogs, Horses, Asses, Poultry Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, [...], Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese Remg. 1st: Bulls 2, Cows 85, Calves 85, Yearlings 36, Heifers 16, Steers 45, Oxen 19, Total 288, Ewes 274, Weathers 81, Lambs 156, Rams 7, Total 518, Ewes 156, Weathers 41, Kids 88, Rams 8, Total 293, Sows 2, Shoats 1, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 4, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, [...] 1, Total 2, Fowls 89, Ducks 40, Turkeys 38, Geese 15 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 7, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 7, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 30, Rams 0, Total 30, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 10, Rams 0, Total 10, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, [...] 0, Total 0, Fowls 12, Ducks 4, Turkeys 0, Geese 2 Total: Bulls 2, Cows 85, Calves 92, Yearlings 36, Heifers 16, Steers 45, Oxen 19, Total 295, Ewes 274, Weathers 81, Lambs 186, Rams 7, Total 548, Ewes 156, Weathers 41, Kids 98, Rams 8, Total 303, Sows 2, Shoats 1, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 4, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, [...] 1, Total 2, Fowls 101, Ducks 44, Turkeys 38, Geese 17 Killed: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 4, Steers 5, Oxen 0, Total 9, Ewes 1, Weathers 8, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 9, Ewes 0, Weathers 2, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, [...] 0, Total 0, Fowls 5, Ducks 12, Turkeys 4, Geese 5 Dead: Bulls [...], Cows [...], Calves [...], Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 0, Ewes 2, Weathers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Total 5, Ewes 3, Weathers 0, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 5, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, [...] 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 2, Geese 0 Remg. 31: Bulls 2, Cows 85, Calves 92, Yearlings 36, Heifers 12, Steers 40, Oxen 19, Total 286, Ewes 271, Weathers 73, Lambs 183, Rams 7, Total 534, Ewes 153, Weathers 39, Kids 95, Rams 8, Total 295, Sows 2, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 3, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, [...] 1, Total 2, Fowls 96, Ducks 32, Turkeys 32, Geese 12 Chang'd the Species: Bulls 3, Cows 90, Calves 50, Yearlings 47, Heifers 29, Steers 48, Oxen 19, Total 286, Ewes 300, Weathers 105, Lambs 122, Rams 7, Total 534, Ewes 160, Weathers 50, Kids 77, Rams 8, Total 295, Sows 2, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 3, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, [...] 1, Total 2, Fowls 96, Ducks 32, Turkeys 32, Geese 12 1 Girl Dead Named Massey	The Company's farm overseer submitted a monthly return of the livestock and poultry held on the Company's land during March 1765, and the council entered it as follows. Stock remaining on 1 March 1765: Cattle: 2 bulls, 85 cows, 85 calves, 36 yearlings, 16 heifers, 45 steers, 19 oxen, total 288 Sheep: 274 ewes, 81 wethers, 156 lambs, 7 rams, total 518 Goats: 156 nannies, 41 wethers, 88 kids, 8 billies, total 293 Pigs: 2 sows, 1 shoat, 0 piglets, 1 boar, total 4 Horses: 8 horses, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 Poultry: 89 fowls, 40 ducks, 38 turkeys, 15 geese Increase during March: Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 7 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 7 Sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 30 lambs, 0 rams, total 30 Goats: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 10 kids, 0 billies, total 10 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 Poultry: 12 fowls, 4 ducks, 0 turkeys, 2 geese Combined total for March: Cattle: 2 bulls, 85 cows, 92 calves, 36 yearlings, 16 heifers, 45 steers, 19 oxen, total 295 Sheep: 274 ewes, 81 wethers, 186 lambs, 7 rams, total 548 Goats: 156 nannies, 41 wethers, 98 kids, 8 billies, total 303 Pigs: 2 sows, 1 shoat, 0 piglets, 1 boar, total 4 Horses: 8 horses, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 Poultry: 101 fowls, 44 ducks, 38 turkeys, 17 geese Slaughtered during March: Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 4 heifers, 5 steers, 0 oxen, total 9 Sheep: 1 ewe, 8 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 9 Goats: 0 nannies, 2 wethers, 1 kid, 0 billies, total 3 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 Poultry: 5 fowls, 12 ducks, 4 turkeys, 5 geese Died during March: Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 0 Sheep: 2 ewes, 0 wethers, 3 lambs, 0 rams, total 5 Goats: 3 nannies, 0 wethers, 2 kids, 0 billies, total 5 Pigs: 0 sows, 1 shoat, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 1 Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0

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		Yam Expended for the Slaves 19,000 Do. for the Stock 4,800 Total 23,800 (signed) Matthw. Barrett Overseer **Margin Notes:** 8th April	Poultry: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 2 turkeys, 0 geese Stock remaining on 31 March 1765: Cattle: 2 bulls, 85 cows, 92 calves, 36 yearlings, 12 heifers, 40 steers, 19 oxen, total 286 Sheep: 271 ewes, 73 wethers, 183 lambs, 7 rams, total 534 Goats: 153 nannies, 39 wethers, 95 kids, 8 billies, total 295 Pigs: 2 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 1 boar, total 3 Horses: 8 horses, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 Poultry: 96 fowls, 32 ducks, 32 turkeys, 12 geese Stock regraded by age and class on 31 March 1765: Cattle: 3 bulls, 90 cows, 50 calves, 47 yearlings, 29 heifers, 48 steers, 19 oxen, total 286 Sheep: 300 ewes, 105 wethers, 122 lambs, 7 rams, total 534 Goats: 160 nannies, 50 wethers, 77 kids, 8 billies, total 295 Pigs: 2 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 1 boar, total 3 Horses: 8 horses, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 Poultry: 96 fowls, 32 ducks, 32 turkeys, 12 geese The overseer also reported that a slave girl named Massey died during the month. He recorded the yams issued in March as follows. Yams issued to the slaves, 19,000 Yams issued to the livestock, 4,800 Total yams issued, 23,800 Matthew Barett signed the return as overseer. **Interpretations** The death of the girl Massey appeared in the same return as the dead lambs and shoat, set down beneath the livestock table in a single line. The Company's slaves on the plantation fell under the same overseer who managed its herds and flocks, and they were accounted for as part of the same working estate. The yam figures show the link directly. The slaves and the animals drew their food from one crop, entered side by side, with the people receiving roughly four times as much as the stock. Yams were the staple ration for the island's slaves, and a failure of the crop threatened labourers and livestock alike. The final row recorded a regrading of the herds rather than any change in numbers. Each total stayed exactly the same, but animals moved between classes as they aged: 42 calves became yearlings or heifers, 61 lambs joined the ewes and wethers, and 18 kids joined the adult goats. One young bull was also promoted to breeding stock. Carrying out this reckoning at the end of March kept the monthly counts honest, since a herd listed by outdated ages would overstate the young stock and conceal how many animals were ready for slaughter. The slaughter figures matched the steward's account of the Company's table for the same month closely. The table received 5 fowls, 4 turkeys, 4 geese and 11 ducks, against 5 fowls, 4 turkeys, 5 geese and 12 ducks killed on the farm. The 221¼ pounds of mutton served there would correspond to the nine sheep slaughtered, at roughly 25 pounds of meat each. The nine cattle killed, however, far exceeded the 46 pounds of beef the table used, which suggests most of the beef went to the garrison, the hospital or ships in the road rather than to the Governor's mess. Almost every slaughtered sheep was a wether, a castrated male, while breeding ewes and rams were spared. Among the cattle, heifers and steers went to the butcher while cows, bulls and oxen were kept for breeding and draught. The overseer was plainly managing the stock to grow the herds, taking surplus young animals for meat and preserving the animals that produced the next generation or pulled the Company's ploughs and carts.

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208	201	1765 Return of Artillery Stores expended in March 1765 Guns Fired, 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended Oz 3, Fired for Capt. Collens, Lally, and Major Fells going on board: Guns Fired 13, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 13, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 13 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Do. for Major Prices going on board: Guns Fired 13, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 13, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 13 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 4, Do. for Capt. Paynes Going on board: Guns Fired 13, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 13, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 13 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 5 Departed his Majestys Ships, Panther Weymouth & Seaford: Guns Fired 13, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 13, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 13 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 6 Fired for Major Sherlocks going on board: Guns Fired 13, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 13, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 13 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Departed the Anson and Boscawen: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 4, 3 lb 1, 2 lb 4, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 13 lb, Powder Expended 2 Oz 9 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 10th Arrived the Ship Devonshire: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 16th A Double Alarm 6 Ships that passed the Island: Guns Fired 15, 4 lb 6, 3 lb 6, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 3, Powder Expended 33 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 20 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 21st Arrived the Salisbury: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Fired for Lt. Govr. Cornellis coming on Shore: Guns Fired 17, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 17, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 22 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Do. at Turks Cap: Guns Fired 2, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 4 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Arrived the Dutton: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 26th Departed the Devonshire: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 27th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Arrived a Dane Ship: Guns Fired 11, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 11, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 11 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 28th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Arrived the Lord Clive: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 31st An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Arrived a Dane Ship: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Powder for Running Different Times: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 29 lb, Powder Expended 12 Oz Do. for the Funeral of a Soldr.: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 lb, Powder Expended 4 Oz Do. for the use of the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 4 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Do. for Shooting Goats at the Side of the Hill: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1 lb, Powder Expended 4 Oz	The gunner's return of artillery stores used in March 1765 set out every occasion on which the guns were fired, with the number of pieces discharged under each of four columns headed 4, 3, 2 and 1 pounds, and the gunpowder consumed in pounds and ounces. 3 March, salute for Captain Collins, Lally and Major Tells going aboard: 13 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 13 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 13 lb 0 oz of powder 3 March, salute for Major Price going aboard: 13 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 13 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 13 lb 0 oz of powder 4 March, salute for Captain Payne going aboard: 13 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 13 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 13 lb 0 oz of powder 5 March, departure of His Majesty's ships *Panther*, *Weymouth* and *Seaford*: 13 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 13 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 13 lb 0 oz of powder. 6 March, salute for Major Sherlock going aboard: 13 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 13 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 13 lb 0 oz of powder 6 March, departure of the *Anson* and the *Boscawen*: 9 guns fired (4 at 4 lb, 1 at 3 lb, 4 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 13 lb 2 oz of powder. 9 March, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 10 March, arrival of the ship *Devonshire*: 9 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 16 March, double alarm for 6 ships passing the island: 15 guns fired (6 at 4 lb, 6 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 3 at 1 lb), 33 lb 0 oz of powder 20 March, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 21 March, arrival of the *Salisbury*: 9 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 21 March, salute for Lieutenant Governor Corneille coming ashore: 17 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 17 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 17 lb 0 oz of powder 22 March, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 22 March, alarm at Turk's Cap: 2 guns fired (2 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 4 lb 0 oz of powder 22 March, arrival of the *Dutton*: 9 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 26 March, departure of the *Devonshire*: 9 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 27 March, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 27 March, arrival of a Danish ship: 11 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 11 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 11 lb 0 oz of powder 28 March, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 28 March, arrival of the *Lord Clive*: 9 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 31 March, alarm: 6 guns fired (2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 31 March, arrival of a Danish ship: 9 guns fired (0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for priming the guns on various occasions: 0 guns fired, 29 lb 12 oz of powder Powder for a soldier's funeral: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 4 oz of powder Powder for the main guard: 0 guns fired, 4 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for shooting goats on the hillside: 0 guns fired, 1 lb 4 oz of powder Powder for signals: 0 guns fired, 4 lb 4 oz of powder Totals: 209 guns fired (24 at 4 lb, 17 at 3 lb, 151 at 2 lb, 15 at 1 lb), 311 lb 0 oz of powder

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		Do. for Signals: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 4 lb, Powder Expended 4 Oz Totals: Guns Fired 200, 4 lb 34, 3 lb 17, 2 lb 131, 1 lb 15, Powder Expended 311 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz	**Interpretations** The alarm entries recorded the island's early-warning system in action. Lookouts on the high ground signalled each sail they sighted, and guns fired in a set pattern relayed the warning to the Castle and the garrison so that the batteries could be manned before an unknown ship came within range. Every ordinary alarm used the same combination of six guns across three columns, which shows that the pattern itself carried the message. The double alarm on 16 March, when six ships passed the island without calling, used a larger sequence, since a squadron of that size might have been an enemy fleet. Turk's Cap was an outlying lookout on the island's eastern side, and the separate alarm fired there on 22 March was a local signal passed along the chain of posts. Salutes followed a scale of rank. Departing officers such as Major Price and Major Sherlock received 13 guns, as did the three royal naval ships leaving on 5 March. Lieutenant Governor Corneille received 17 when he landed on 21 March. His arrival that day, alongside the *Salisbury*, explains why he appeared at the council table on 8 April 1765 as a newly installed member. Company merchant ships and the two Danish vessels were answered with 9 or 11 guns, a courtesy that also served to acknowledge the ships as friendly once identified. The small charge of powder for shooting goats reveals a problem of land management. Goats that had run wild on the steep hillsides grazed the island's native trees and shrubs down to bare ground and caused serious erosion, so the garrison was periodically employed to cull them. These wild animals were separate from the 295 goats held on the Company's farm and counted in the overseer's return for the same month. The single largest use of powder outside the salutes and alarms went on priming. Every gun kept ready for action needed fresh powder in its touch-hole, and in the damp air of the coastal batteries the priming spoiled quickly and had to be renewed regularly. Almost 30 pounds a month spent this way was the hidden cost of keeping the defences in a constant state of readiness.
209	202	8th April Paper for making Cartridges 6 Quires Sheep Skins for repairing the Spunges 25 Trunk Nails for Do. 657 Spunge Staves for Do. 8 Rammers heads for do. 3 Spunge Heads 4 Bitts Broke 3 Match Burnt 6 fm Tallow to the Carpenters 2 lb Lead Balls for Shooting the Goats 1 lb 4 Oz Hand Spikes Broke 2 One Field Carriage for a Six Pounder rotten (signed) El. Mitchell Pursuant to the Order in Consultation of the 1st April last, the Inhabitants this day assembled at the Chappel in the Valley to chuse Parish Officers for the ensuing Year	The gunner's return continued with the stores consumed or lost in the artillery during the same month. Paper for making cartridges, 6 quires Sheepskins for repairing the sponges, 25 Trunk nails for the sponges, 657 Sponge staves for the sponges, 8 Rammer heads for the sponges, 3 Sponge heads, 4 Bills broken, 3 Slow match burnt, 6 lb Tallow issued to the carpenter, 2 lb Lead balls for shooting the goats, 1 lb 4 oz Handspikes broken, 2 Field carriage for a six-pounder, 1, found rotten Mitchell signed the return. Acting on the council's order of 1 April 1765, the island's inhabitants met on 8 April at the chapel in the valley to elect the parish officers for the coming year. They were also asked to put forward three leading residents, from whom one would be chosen as sheriff, and to name a suitable man to serve as constable. The meeting returned the following names. John Desfountain, nominee for sheriff Samuel Alexander, nominee for sheriff Matthew Bazett, nominee for sheriff James Powell, coroner William Hayes, constable Jonathan Doveton, churchwarden Orlando Bagley, churchwarden

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		and likewise to return three of the Principal Inhabitants that one might be Elected to serve the Office of Sheriff, and to chuse a proper Person to serve in that of Constable, they accordingly returned the following Persons vizt. Messrs. John Desfountain Saml. Alexander Matthw. Bazett Sheriffs James Bowell Coroner William Hayes Constable Jonathan Dovison Orlando Bagley Henry Bazett Richard Goodwin Churchwardens	Henry Bazett, churchwarden Richard Goodwin, churchwarden **Interpretations** The meeting at the chapel gave the settlers a real but limited voice in their own government. They elected the coroner, the constable and the churchwardens outright, yet for the post of sheriff they could only offer three names. The final choice rested with the Governor and council, who could pick the man they judged most reliable from the list. This arrangement let the Company draw on local knowledge and consent while keeping the island's chief civil enforcement officer in its own hands. The sheriff served writs, seized goods for debt and carried out the sentences of the island's court, so control over his appointment mattered more than control over the parish offices. James Powell, who signed the stores account of 5 April 1765 as the Company's storekeeper, now also became coroner, which shows how a small settlement filled its offices from the same few men. Several of the gunner's stores belonged to the routine of loading a muzzle-loading cannon. After each shot the barrel was swabbed out with a sponge, a wooden head covered in sheepskin with the fleece still on, which put out any smouldering remains before the next charge went in. The sheepskins were fixed to the heads with trunk nails, small broad-headed tacks of the kind used on travelling trunks, and the sponge was mounted on a wooden staff. The rammer, on the other end or on a separate staff, pushed the charge and shot home. Handspikes were stout wooden levers used to shift the heavy gun carriage and adjust its aim. Slow match was cord soaked in saltpetre that burned steadily for hours, kept alight at each battery to fire the guns, and six pounds of it burning away in a month reflected the constant state of readiness also seen in the priming powder. Cartridge paper held a measured charge of powder so that it could be loaded quickly in one piece, and the quire was a standard measure of 24 sheets. The 25 sheepskins for new sponges drew directly on the Company's own flock. The overseer's return for March recorded nine sheep slaughtered, and the skins from those animals and earlier kills evidently passed to the gunner rather than being sold, so the farm supplied the artillery as well as the Company's table. The rotten field carriage for a six-pounder illustrated the problem Mitchell had been sent to address. Wooden carriages decayed quickly on the island, and a gun without a sound carriage could not be moved or fired. Its appearance at the end of the return, set apart from the ordinary stores, recorded a loss of fighting capacity rather than routine wear.
210	203	1765 John Worrall William Beale Overseers of the East Division Gabriel Isacke Robert Ballard Do. of the West Do. James Easthope Henry Easthope Do. of the South Do. - We appointed Mr. John Desfountain to serve the Office of Sheriff and Ordered Warrants to be drawn for Messrs. Jonathan Dovison, and Orlando Bagley Senr. Church Wardens, and John Worrall, Gabriel Isacke, and James Easthope Overseers Mr. John Bland this day presented the following Petition vizt. -	The meeting also returned two candidates for overseer in each of the island's three divisions. John Worrall, nominee for overseer of the East Division William Beale, nominee for overseer of the East Division Gabriel Isacke, nominee for overseer of the West Division Robert Ballard, nominee for overseer of the West Division James Easthope, nominee for overseer of the South Division Henry Easthope, nominee for overseer of the South Division From these lists the council appointed John Desfountain as sheriff. It ordered warrants of appointment for Jonathan Doveton and Orlando Bagley senior as churchwardens. Similar warrants

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		To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr. Governor &c. Council The humble Petition of John Bland Sheweth That your Petitioner is Desirous of Disposing of his property to sixteen Acres of Lease Land commonly known by the Name of - Sextons, Adjoining to the Land of Benjamen Pledger and to Except of Mr. John Desfountain as a Tennant to the same, and your Petitioner as in Duty Bound will, Ever Pray. (signed) John Bland St. Helena 8th April 1765 Granted	went to John Worrall, Gabriel Isacke and James Easthope as the overseers for their divisions. John Bland submitted a petition to Governor Skottowe and the council on the same day, 8 April 1765. He wished to part with his interest in 16 acres of leased land known as Seatons, which bordered land held by Benjamin Pledger. He asked the council to accept John Desfountain as the new tenant in his place. The council approved the request. **Interpretations** The appointments showed that the inhabitants' meeting nominated and the council chose, not only for sheriff but for every office. The settlers returned four names for churchwarden and two for each overseer's post, and the council confirmed only half of them. In every case the council took the first name listed: Desfountain for sheriff, Doveton and Bagley for churchwarden, and the first of each pair of overseers. The inhabitants' order of listing therefore amounted to a ranked preference, and the council's choice to follow it rather than pass over anyone suggests the double return was a formality that preserved the Company's right of selection without provoking the settlers by using it. Bland's petition revealed how landholding worked under the Company. The land belonged to the Company, and settlers held it on lease rather than owning it outright. A leaseholder could not simply sell his holding to whoever he chose, since the council had to approve the incoming tenant before the transfer took effect. The rule let the Company keep track of who held each plot and ensured the new occupant was someone able to pay the rent and carry out the lease's conditions. John Desfountain gained both the office of sheriff and Bland's 16 acres at the same meeting. His selection as the leading nominee and his acceptance as a tenant on the same day point to a man already standing high in the council's favour and among the island's more substantial settlers.
211	204	8th April On the 5th Instant Anthony Reed and William Pawton Centinels, and this day Richard Wright Serjeant, and Joseph Gelder Centinel, Petitioned for their several Discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times Granted The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ships Salisbury and Dutton Account of Stores Short received from the following Ships vizt. Ship Salisbury vizt. Globe Lamp 1 Barl. Blackg. broke 2 Mens Wove Stockings Short Packed 2 Prs. Bushel Salt Short Measure 1 Sole Leather Short Weight 6 lb Cordage Do. 2 Cwt 0 qr 7 lb Wine vizt. No. 1 One Hhd. Port gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 2 Galls. 2 One Do. Do. 60 Galls. Do. 3 120 Galls.	Four soldiers asked the council to release them from the garrison because they had completed the term of service agreed with the Company. Anthony Reid and William Pawton, both privates, submitted their petitions on 5 April 1765. Sergeant Richard Wright and Private Joseph Gilder followed on 8 April. The council granted all four discharges. The storekeeper presented an account that day of stores found missing or deficient on delivery from the ships *Salisbury* and *Dutton*. The shortfalls from the *Salisbury* were as follows. Globe lamp, 1, broken Barrels of blacking, 2, broken Men's worsted stockings, 2 pairs, missing from the packing Salt, 1 bushel, under measure Sole leather, 6 lb, under weight Cordage, 2 cwt 0 qr 7 lb, under weight Wine: No 1, 1 hogshead of port, gauged at 60 gallons, 2 gallons short of full No 2, 1 hogshead of port, gauged at 60 gallons, 3 gallons short of full Port gauged in total, 120 gallons Port short in total, 5 gallons Port received, 115 gallons No 3, 1 hogshead of Lisbon wine, gauged at 60 gallons, 16 gallons short of full Lisbon wine received, 44 gallons **Interpretations** The account of short deliveries was a claim against the ships that carried the stores. Each commander signed for his cargo in London, and on arrival the storekeeper checked every package against the invoice. Anything broken, missing or light was set

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		5 Galls. 115 Galls. No. 3 One Hhd. Lisbon gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 16 Galls. 16 Galls. Galls. 44 Recd.	down formally so the Company could charge the loss to the ship's owners or deduct it from what was due to the commander and his officers. Recording the entries in the council's own minutes gave the claim official standing when the ship reached England. Wine casks were checked by gauging, measuring the internal capacity of the cask with a gauging rod and comparing it to the liquid actually inside. Some loss through seepage was expected on a long voyage, and the few gallons missing from each port hogshead fell within that range. The Lisbon cask, more than a quarter empty, suggests leakage from a damaged stave or deliberate tapping by the crew, a common way for sailors to take drink on the passage. The port and Lisbon wine were probably intended for the Company's table, which consumed 49 bottles of Lisbon and 6 of port in March alone. Blacking was a paste of lampblack or bone black mixed with oil or wax, used to polish and waterproof leather such as soldiers' shoes, belts and cartridge boxes. Worsted stockings, knitted from long-staple combed wool, were standard issue for the garrison. The globe lamp was a glass-sided lantern, probably for the Castle or a guardhouse, and its fragility explains its loss in transit. The discharges showed that the Company's soldiers served on fixed-term contracts rather than for life. Once the agreed term expired, a man was entitled to leave the garrison, and the council's role was to confirm the date and release him. Discharged soldiers on St Helena often stayed on as settlers or took work with the Company, while others sought passage home on the next ship.
212	205	1765 No. 4 Half Hhd. Mountain 30 Galls. wants to fill 1 Galls. 1 Galls. 29 Received Ship Dutton vizt. 16 Sqrs. Glass 6 by 8 17 Do. 8 by 10 9 Do. 10 by 12 3 Do. 10½ by 13½ found broke upon opening the Packages 376 Tiles 123 Feet Purbeck Pavement broke 6 Double Deals 2 Single Do. 3 Elm Boards 8 Feet Purbeck Pavement Short Delivered 1 Small Watering Pot 20 doz. Lines No. 3 2 Pr. Mens Wove Stockings 1 Spunge Staff found Short upon opening the Packages 5 Iron Rolled Plates 27 lb Soap Short Weight 2 Bushels Salt Short Measure Wine vizt. No. 1 One Hhd. Port gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 1½ Galls. 1½ Galls. Galls. 58½ Received No. 2 One Hhd. Lisbon gages 60 Galls. wants to fill 3 Galls. 3 One Do. Do. 61 Do. 5 Do. 121 Galls. 8 Galls. Gallons 113 Received No. 4 One Hhd. Mountain gages 59 Galls. wants to fill 3 Galls. 3 Galls.	The *Salisbury* account closed with one further cask of wine. No 4, 1 half-hogshead of Mountain wine, gauged at 30 gallons, 1 gallon short of full Mountain wine received, 29 gallons The stores from the *Dutton* showed the following losses. Window glass, 16 panes of 6 by 8 inches, broken when unpacked Window glass, 17 panes of 8 by 10 inches, broken when unpacked Window glass, 9 panes of 10 by 12 inches, broken when unpacked Window glass, 3 panes of 10½ by 13½ inches, broken when unpacked Tiles, 376, broken Purbeck paving stone, 123 feet, broken Double deals, 6, not delivered Single deals, 2, not delivered Elm boards, 3, not delivered Purbeck paving stone, 8 feet, not delivered Small watering can, 1, missing when unpacked Lines of size No 3, 20 dozen, missing when unpacked Men's worsted stockings, 2 pairs, missing when unpacked Sponge staff, 1, missing when unpacked Rolled iron plate, 5 lb, under weight Soap, 27 lb, under weight Salt, 2 bushels, under measure Wine: No 1, 1 hogshead of port, gauged at 60 gallons, 1½ gallons short of full Port received, 58½ gallons No 2, 1 hogshead of Lisbon wine, gauged at 60 gallons, 3 gallons short of full No 3, 1 hogshead of Lisbon wine, gauged at 61 gallons, 5 gallons short of full Lisbon wine gauged in total, 121 gallons Lisbon wine short in total, 8 gallons Lisbon wine received, 113 gallons

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		Gallons 56 Received	No 4, 1 hogshead of Mountain wine, gauged at 59 gallons, 3 gallons short of full Mountain wine received, 56 gallons **Interpretations** The *Dutton* carried building materials that point to construction work on the island. Purbeck stone came from the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset, a hard, fine-grained limestone that split into flat slabs and was widely used for paving floors, kitchens and courtyards in England. It was measured by the superficial foot, the area of the upper face, so 131 feet in all amounted to a modest floor. Deals were sawn planks of pine or fir imported into England from the Baltic and Norway, a standard 3 inches thick for a double deal and roughly half that for a single one. The island produced little usable timber of its own, which made every plank shipped from England valuable. The window panes, cut in four sizes, would have glazed sash windows of different proportions, perhaps for the Castle or other Company buildings. The breakages fell almost entirely on glass, tiles and stone, the heaviest and most brittle items in the hold. The losses in wood, lines, stockings and the sponge staff, by contrast, were goods missing rather than damaged, recorded as either never delivered or absent when the packages were opened. The distinction mattered for the Company's claim. Breakage could be blamed on poor stowage or rough weather, while items absent from sealed packages pointed to short packing in London or theft on the passage. The sponge staff was part of the gunner's equipment, and its loss fell on an artillery already short of sponge fittings, since the gunner's return for March recorded eight new sponge staves issued. The 20 dozen lines of size No 3 were probably fishing lines, an essential supply on an island where fish formed a large part of the diet of slaves and garrison alike.
213	206	8th April Beer vizt. No. 1 One Hhd. gages 63 Galls. wants to fill 5¾ Galls. 2 One Do. 60 Galls. Do. 4¾ Galls. 3 One Do. 60 Galls. Do. 11¼ Galls. 4 One Do. 60 Galls. Do. 3¼ Galls. 5 One Do. 64 Galls. Do. 3¼ Galls. 6 One Do. 63 Galls. Do. 3¼ Galls. 370 Galls. 32 Galls. 32 Galls. Galls. 338 Received St. Helena 8th April 1765 (signed) Jo. Powell Storekeeper We this day granted the two following Setts of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors One Sett to Capt. David Rice for eight hundred - pounds payable to Mrs. Peter (Doe) or Order) And one sett to Mr. William Burton for three hundred and ten pounds payable to Thomas Clift Esqr. (or Order) both sets drawn at Ninety days sight - John Skottowe Dan Comeille Burling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The last of the *Dutton*'s shortfalls concerned six hogsheads of beer. Beer: No 1, 1 hogshead, gauged at 63 gallons, 5¾ gallons short of full No 2, 1 hogshead, gauged at 60 gallons, 4½ gallons short of full No 3, 1 hogshead, gauged at 60 gallons, 11¼ gallons short of full No 4, 1 hogshead, gauged at 60 gallons, 3¾ gallons short of full No 5, 1 hogshead, gauged at 64 gallons, 3¼ gallons short of full No 6, 1 hogshead, gauged at 63 gallons, 3¼ gallons short of full Beer gauged in total, 370 gallons Beer short in total, 32 gallons Beer received, 338 gallons James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 8 April 1765. The council also approved two sets of bills of exchange that day, both drawn on the Company's Court of Directors in London and payable 90 days after being presented. Captain David Rice received one set for £800 0s 0d, payable to Peter Rice or to whoever he nominated. The second set went to William Burton for £310 0s 0d, payable to Thomas Clift or his nominee. Governor Skottowe and three members of the council signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations**

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			The bills of exchange were the island's means of sending money home. A captain or settler with cash on St Helena paid it into the Company's treasury there, and the council in return issued a written order directing the directors in London to pay the same sum to a named person. The island gained ready coin for wages and purchases without shipping specie, while the payee collected in England without risking money at sea. Each set consisted of several identical copies sent on different ships, so that the loss of one vessel did not lose the payment; once any copy was honoured, the others became void. The 90 days' grace gave the directors time to check the bill against the council's letters before paying. The phrase allowing payment to the payee's nominee made each bill transferable, so it could circulate in London as a form of money before being cashed. Captain David Rice's bill for £800 0s 0d, payable to a Peter Rice, was a large sum for the island, well beyond the £22 15s 1½d spent on the Company's table in a month. A ship's commander often carried on private trade in addition to his Company duties, and remitting the proceeds of such trade through an island's treasury was a common and lawful way to bring profits home, here apparently to a relative. The beer lost more of its volume than the wine, almost 9 per cent across the six hogsheads, with the third cask alone giving up more than a sixth of its contents. Beer was brewed weak and was prone to fermenting and forcing its way out of the cask in warmer waters on the passage south, so higher losses were expected than with fortified wines such as port.
214	207	10th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th Day of April 1765 at the Castle - Present John Skottowe Esqr. Govern. Daniel Comeille Esqr. Lieut. Govern. Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed dated the 8th April 1765. Tuesday the 9th Sailed the Honble. Company's Ships Dutton and Salisbury for China This day arrived a French Ship from Mauritius called the Penthievre Capt. Dordelin Burthen about 700 Tons carrys 20 Guns and 160 Men, loaden with Tea and China Ware bound to France We this day received the following Letter from Mr. Thomas Hamilton Surgeon of the Snow Mercury vizt. To the Worshipful Governor & Council of St. Helena Gentlemen Having attended the Fly catchers Company in the Capacity of Surgeon, by the desire of Captain Sea, who I flatter - my self will do me that justice (if asked) to Vouch that I always was ready to give my his People assistance when necessary both on shore and at Sea during our eight Months Voyage to and from Madagascar, and as Many Services of the like Nature in life are often left unrewarded for want of asking. I presume you'll excuse the liberty I take in laying this to your Consideration, And am Gentlemen Your most Obedient Humble Servant (signed) Thoms. Hamilton	The council met at the Castle on Monday 15 April 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. Members read the minutes of the meeting of 8 April 1765, then approved and signed them. The Company's ships *Dutton* and *Salisbury* left for China on Tuesday 9 April. A French ship called the *Penthièvre*, commanded by Captain Dordelin, arrived from Mauritius on 15 April. She measured about 700 tons, mounted 20 guns and carried a crew of 160, with a cargo of tea and porcelain bound for France. Thomas Hamilton, surgeon of the snow *Mercury*, sent the council a letter that day. He explained that he had acted as surgeon to the crew of the *Flycatcher* at the request of Captain Lea. Hamilton felt confident that Lea would confirm, if asked, that he had always been ready to treat the men whenever they needed him. That care had continued both ashore and afloat throughout their eight-month voyage to Madagascar and back. He observed that services of this kind often went unpaid simply because no one asked for payment. He therefore trusted the council would forgive him for bringing the matter to its attention. **Interpretations** Hamilton's letter was a claim for payment dressed as a modest reminder. He had served the *Flycatcher*'s crew on Captain Lea's request rather than under any agreement with the council, so he had no formal right to a fee. By naming Lea as his witness and pointing out that such work was often left unrewarded, he placed the council in a position where refusing him would look ungrateful to a man who had kept a Company crew fit through a long voyage. His careful wording avoided naming a sum, leaving the council free to decide what the service was worth. The *Flycatcher*'s eight-month round trip to Madagascar was perhaps a slaving voyage on the Company's behalf. The island's plantations and works depended on slave labour, and Madagascar was the nearest and most regular source for St Helena. A voyage of that length exposed crews to fever along the Malagasy coast, which made a surgeon's

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			attendance especially valuable and strengthens the case Hamilton was making. The *Penthièvre* was a French East India Company ship on her way home from the Indian Ocean. Her arrival came barely two years after the end of the Seven Years' War, in which France and Britain had fought each other in India and at sea. The council recorded her guns and crew precisely because a well-armed foreign ship in the road was a potential threat as well as a customer for provisions. Admitting her reflected the terms of the peace, under which the island could supply former enemies while keeping a close watch on their strength. A snow was a two-masted vessel rigged much like a brig, with a small additional mast just behind the mainmast carrying a trysail. The type was common for small merchant and Company craft in the eighteenth century.
215	208	15th April In consequence of the above Letter we sent for Captain Sea to ask him what attendance Mr. Hamilton had given to the Men belonging to the Fly Catcher, he acquaints Us, that his Men were much more Sickly than the Snow Mercury's, and that he always gave them proper attendance during the Voyage, upon which we - thought it reasonable to allow him £12 - as a Gratuity for his - trouble, and risk he run upon that Service The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collections and Paymaster his Accounts for the Quarter commencing January the 1st and ending 31st March 1765 which were examined and approved and are as follow vizt. Collection of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honorable Company's Ware Houses from 1st Jany. to 31st March 1765 vizt. Sold to the Honble. Companys Servants at 10 per Cent Lead vizt. Sheet 41 lb 9 6 Shott 10 lb 2 3 11 9 Arrack 3½ gallons 17 6 Corks 4 Gross 10 6 Blankets 9 2 13 10 Buckram 5 Pieces 5 6 Thread vizt. Coloured 3 lb 10 9 Brown ½ lb 3 7 14 4 Carried Over 5 13 5	Following Hamilton's letter, the council called in Captain Lea and asked him what care the surgeon had given to the crew of the cutter *Fly*. Lea reported that his own men had suffered far more sickness than those of the snow *Mercury*. He confirmed that Hamilton had looked after them properly throughout the voyage. The council judged it fair to award Hamilton £12 0s 0d as a gratuity, both for his trouble and for the danger he had faced in the work. The storekeeper then presented his sales and payroll accounts for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1765. The council examined and approved them, and the first was an account of goods sold and issued from the Company's warehouses over that period. Sold to the Company's employees at 10 per cent above cost: Lead: Sheet lead, 41 lb, £0 9s 6d Lead shot, 10 lb, £0 2s 3d Lead in total, £0 11s 9d Arrack, 3½ gallons, £0 17s 6d Corks, 4 gross, £0 10s 6d Blankets, 9, £2 13s 10d Buckram, 5½ yards, £0 5s 6d Thread: Coloured thread, 3 lb, £0 10s 9d Whited-brown thread, ½ lb, £0 3s 7d Thread in total, £0 14s 4d Carried forward, £5 13s 5d **Interpretations** The council rewarded Hamilton even though he had no claim to payment. He had served the *Fly*'s crew as a favour to Captain Lea while employed as surgeon to a different vessel, and the council could easily have thanked him and paid nothing. Instead it sought independent confirmation from Lea, and his evidence that the *Fly*'s men had been far sicker than the *Mercury*'s turned the request from a plea for courtesy into a case of real risk. The minute accordingly justified the £12 0s 0d as payment for danger as well as trouble. Treating a crew wracked by fever meant exposure to the same infection, and rewarding a surgeon who accepted it encouraged others to do the same on future voyages to Madagascar. The warehouse account shows the Company acting as the island's shop. Goods shipped out for its own use were also sold to its employees, from officers to soldiers, at invoice price plus a markup of 10 per cent. The margin covered freight, breakage and storage while keeping prices below what private traders would have charged, and it bound the island's residents to the Company for everyday necessities as well as for their pay. Two of the textiles would be unfamiliar today. Buckram was a coarse linen or cotton cloth stiffened

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			with glue or size, used to line and shape garments, particularly coat collars, cuffs and hat brims. Whited-brown thread was linen thread only partly bleached, a cheaper grade between raw brown and fully white thread, suitable for everyday sewing and mending. Corks sold by the gross, 144 at a time, were for sealing bottles, and their sale alongside arrack suggests residents bottled their own drink from the casks in which spirits and wine reached the island.
216	209	1765 Brought over L 5 13 5 Pease ½ Bushel 4 9 Grindstone 1 6 9 Oar 1 4 3 Sugar and Candy vizt. Sugar 2555 lb 37 5 2 Candy 1631 lb 40 5 6 77 10 8 Flour 2733 lb 20 5 10 Do. Backed 233 Cwt 0 qr 24 lb 265 - 8 285 6 6 Rice and Paddy vizt. Rice 4 Cwt 0 qr 21 lb 1 14 6 Paddy 4 Cwt 2 qr 25 lb 19 10 2 14 4 Salt vizt. Cape Salt 1012 lb 3 9 5 Bushels English Do. 1/8 3 9 3 13 2 Sope 642 lb 23 8 1 Beef and Pork vizt. Do. Beef 2004 lb 200 8 Do. Pork 2313 lb 231 16 432 4 Candles 190 20 11 8 Challow 24 lb 13 1 Cordage 289 lb 5 14 5 Pewter 4 lb 13 1	The warehouse sales account for the quarter continued with provisions and general stores. Brought forward, £5 13s 5d Peas, ½ bushel, £0 4s 9d Grindstone, 1, £0 6s 9d Oar, 1, £0 4s 3d Sugar and sugar candy: Sugar, 2,555 lb, £37 5s 2d Sugar candy, 1,631 lb, £40 5s 6d Sugar and sugar candy in total, £77 10s 8d Flour, 2,733 lb, £20 5s 10d Flour baked into bread, 223 cwt 3 qr 24 lb, £265 0s 8d Flour in total, £285 6s 6d Rice and paddy: Rice, 4 cwt 0 qr 21 lb, £1 14s 6d Paddy, 4 cwt 2 qr 25 lb, £0 19s 10d Rice and paddy in total, £2 14s 4d Salt: Cape salt, 1,012 lb, £3 9s 5d English salt, 1⅛ bushels, £0 3s 9d Salt in total, £3 13s 2d Soap, 642 lb, £23 8s 1d Beef and pork: Beef, 2,004 [...], £200 8s 0d Pork, 2,313 [...], £231 16s 0d Beef and pork in total, £432 4s 0d Candles, 190 [...], £20 11s 8d Tallow, 24 lb, £1 3s 1d Cordage, 289 lb, £5 14s 5d Pewter, 4 lb, £1 3s 1d Leather: Sole leather, 58 lb, £2 18s 0d Calf skins, 3, £1 9s 9d Leather in total, £4 7s 9d Carried forward, £376 8s 11d **Interpretations** Salt beef and pork made up more than half the value of everything sold in the quarter. At roughly 2s for each unit entered, the meat cannot have been sold by the pound, since fresh beef at the Company's table cost about 5d a pound in March. The figures more probably counted the standard pieces into which salt meat was cut and packed in casks for naval and Company stores, each weighing several pounds. These casked provisions from England fed the garrison and the Company's servants, and selling them through the warehouse kept the island's own scarce cattle for breeding and for supplying ships. The largest item after meat was flour baked into bread, more than 11 tons of it in three months. The Company ran its own bakehouse and sold loaves rather than raw flour to most of its employees, which explains why baked flour outweighed the plain flour sold by more than 10 times. Bread and salt meat together formed the basic ration of a soldier on the island. Paddy was rice still in its husk, as harvested, and it cost barely half the price of cleaned rice. It kept better than husked rice in storage and served as feed for poultry and livestock, or could be pounded by hand to yield grain for slaves. Cape salt came from the salt pans near the Cape of Good Hope, shipped in bulk on vessels calling at St Helena. It was much cheaper than English salt, sold here by the bushel at a

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		Leather vizt. Sole 58 lb 2 18 - Calf Skins 3 1 9 9 4 7 9 Carrd. Over L 376 8 11	far higher rate per measure, and supplied the island's needs for curing fish and meat. The quantity of sugar candy sold, more than 1,600 pounds in a single quarter, suggests it served as an everyday sweetener rather than a luxury. Homeward ships from China and Bengal carried it cheaply, and on St Helena it perhaps took the place of refined loaf sugar from the West Indies, which had to come the longer way round through England.
217	210	15th April Broughtover L 376 8 10 Starch 14 lb 13 6 Coffee 46 lb 2 2 2 Hook & Lines vizt. 975 No. 1 50 5 925 12 200 14 Hooks 2 17 8 224 No. 2 54 3 14 4 3 Doz. Lines 4 19 - 7 16 8 Broad Cloth vizt. Scarlet 1¼ Yd. 1 1 4 Do. Green ¼ 4 4 Do. Black 10½ 10 8 3 11 13 11 Oil vizt. Linseed 7¾ Galls. 1 12 7 Do. Train 19 3 6 6 Florence 8 Bottles 1 3 4 6 2 5 Haberdashery vizt. Silk 20 Sk. 10 10 Do. Mohair 16 8 - Carnation Tape 1 Pc. 7 White Buckram 1 Ps. 17 - Mohair Br. Buttons 3 Doz. 9 Haberdashery Carrd. Over L 1 16 2 Carrd. Over L 405 2 6	The warehouse sales account for the quarter went on with further stores and textiles. Brought forward, £376 8s 10d Starch, 14 lb, £0 18s 6d Coffee, 46 lb, £2 2s 2d Fish hooks and lines: Fish hooks size No 1, 975 Fish hooks size No 5, 50 Fish hooks size No 12, 925 Fish hooks size No 14, 200 Fish hooks in total, £2 17s 8d Fishing lines size No 2, 224 Fishing lines size No 3, 54 Fishing lines size No 4, 14 Fishing lines of unstated size, 3 dozen Fishing lines in total, £4 19s 0d Fish hooks and lines in total, £7 16s 8d Broadcloth: Scarlet broadcloth, 1¼ yards, £1 1s 4d Green broadcloth, ¼ yard, £0 4s 4d Black broadcloth, 10½ yards, £10 8s 3d Broadcloth in total, £11 13s 11d Oil: Linseed oil, 7½ gallons, £1 12s 7d Train oil, 19 gallons, £3 6s 6d Florence oil, 8 bottles, £1 3s 4d Oil in total, £6 2s 5d Sewing materials and trimmings: Silk, 20 skeins, £0 10s 10d Mohair thread, 16 skeins, £0 8s 0d Carnation tape, 1 piece, £0 0s 7d White buckram, 1 piece, £0 17s 0d Mohair breast buttons, 3 dozen, £0 0s 9d Sewing materials and trimmings carried forward, £1 16s 2d Carried forward, £405 2s 6d **Interpretations** The fish hooks and lines revealed how heavily the island depended on the sea for food. Almost 2,200 hooks and nearly 300 lines were sold in a single quarter, far more than private recreation could explain. Fish was a staple for slaves, soldiers and poorer settlers alike, and the Company supplied the tackle that made the catch possible. The range of hook sizes, from large No 1 hooks for deep-water fish to small No 14s for inshore species, shows fishing was carried on across the whole range of waters around the island. This sale matched the 20 dozen lines of size No 3 reported missing from the *Dutton* a week earlier, whose loss would have been felt at once. Three kinds of oil served different needs. Linseed oil, pressed from flax seed, was mixed with pigments to make paint and used to preserve woodwork, both important on an island where timber was scarce and decayed quickly. Train oil was rendered from whale or seal blubber and burned in lamps, the cheapest lighting after tallow candles. Florence oil was olive oil from Tuscany, shipped from Livorno in straw-covered flasks sealed with a layer of oil on top, and it was used for cooking and salads by those who could afford it. Broadcloth was a dense, finely woven woollen cloth, fulled and sheared to a smooth finish, and the standard material for coats. Black was the colour of

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			civilian dress for officers of the Company and professional men, which accounts for its much larger sale, while scarlet served for military uniforms and green for facings or linings. Carnation tape was a narrow woven band dyed flesh-pink or light red, used for binding and trimming. Mohair breast buttons were small buttons covered in mohair thread for waistcoats, and their price of 3d a dozen reflects how cheaply such fittings were made. Coffee appeared in the account at about 11d a pound, suggesting it was available to residents as an ordinary purchase rather than a rarity. The Company's ships calling from Mocha and India brought it direct, and on St Helena it perhaps competed more closely with tea than it did in England, where tea had largely displaced coffee in popular use by this date.
218	211	1765 Broughtover L 405 2 6 Haberdashery brought over L 1 16 2 Silver Wire Coat Buttons 3 Doz. 17 - Do. Wt. Do. 3 doz. 7 3 3 1 5 Paint vizt. W. Lead dry 15 lb 5 3 B. Smalts 28 lb 1 17 4 Whiting 25 lb 1 1 Indico 26½ lb 2 9 - Stony Colour 14 lb 7 7 Ven. Red dry 9 lb 2 - Red Lead 5 lb 1 4 Blacking 3 lb 2 - 5 5 7 Tin Ware vizt. Do. Saucepans 9 5 - Lamp 1 1 3 Small Horn Lanthorn 1 3 - Dripping Pan 1 3 - Gallon Funnel 1 2 3 Solder 2 lb 1 11 16 5	The warehouse sales account for the quarter continued with the remaining sewing goods, paints and household wares. Brought forward, £405 2s 6d Sewing materials and trimmings brought forward, £1 16s 2d Silver wire coat buttons, 3 dozen, £0 17s 0d Silver wire breast buttons, 3 dozen, £0 7s 3d Sewing materials and trimmings in total, £3 1s 5d Paint: White lead, dry, 15 lb, £0 5s 3d Blue smalt, 28 lb, £1 17s 4d Whiting, 25 lb, £0 1s 1d Indigo, 26½ lb, £2 9s 0d Stone colour, 14 lb, £0 7s 7d Venetian red, dry, 9 lb, £0 2s 0d Red lead, 5 lb, £0 1s 4d Blacking, 3 lb, £0 2s 0d Paint in total, £5 5s 7d Tinware: Pint saucepans, 9, £0 5s 0d Lamp, 1, £0 1s 3d Small horn lantern, 1, £0 3s 0d Dripping pan, 1, £0 3s 0d Gallon funnel, 1, £0 2s 3d Solder, 2 lb, £0 1s 11d Tinware in total, £0 16s 5d Canvas: Osnaburg, 52 yards, £2 3s 4d Ticklenburg, 34 yards, £1 17s 6d Canvas in total, £4 0s 10d Twine: Twine, 39 lb, £1 2s 9d Cotton wick, 2½ lb, £0 5s 6d Twine in total, £1 8s 3d Carried forward, £419 14s 11d **Interpretations** Osnaburg and ticklenburg were coarse, unbleached linens named after the Westphalian towns of Osnabrück and Tecklenburg, where they were first woven. Britain imported them from Germany and re-exported them in large quantities to colonies across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. They were the standard cloth for slave clothing, sacking, tents and work aprons, cheap and hard-wearing but rough against the skin. Their sale here, more than 80 yards in three months, reflects the demands of an island whose labour force was largely made up of slaves who had to be clothed by their owners. The paints were bought as dry pigments and mixed on the island with linseed oil, sold in the same quarter. White lead gave the base white and was the commonest house paint, while red lead, a bright orange-red oxide of lead, served as a rust-proof primer for ironwork such as gun carriages and hinges. Venetian red was a cheap earth pigment of iron oxide, used for barns, doors and outbuildings. Stone colour was a pale buff mixture, often of white lead

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Canvas vizt. Yards Oznbs. 52 2 3 4 Do. Ticklingburgs 34 1 17 6 4 - 10 Twine vizt. Twine 39 lb 1 2 9 Cotton Wick 2½ lb 5 6 1 8 3 Carrd. Over L 419 14 11	and ochre, used to make plastered or timber surfaces imitate stone. Smalt was powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, giving a deep blue for paint and also used by laundresses to whiten linen. Whiting, finely ground chalk, cost only a penny for 25 pounds and served for whitewash and as a cheap filler. Indigo, a dye from the Indian indigo plant, was probably bought here chiefly for bluing laundry and dyeing cloth rather than for house paint. Silver wire buttons were made by winding fine silver or silver-plated wire over a wooden or bone core, giving a bright finish at modest cost. They were fashionable on coats and waistcoats of the period, and the difference in price between coat and breast buttons simply reflected their size. A horn lantern had its sides glazed with thin translucent sheets of horn instead of glass, which made it far less fragile, a practical advantage on an island where glass arrived broken, as the *Dutton*'s account showed a week earlier.
219	212	15th April Brought over L 419 14 11 China Ware vizt. Tea Pots 14 12 10 Sneekrs. 33 7 6 Setts Dishes and Plates 11 10 14 - Chamber Pots 12 1 - - Bowls 6 9 - Half Pt. Cups and Saucers 48 1 2 - Quart. Pt. Do. Do. 108 1 14 10 Soop Dish 1 7 4 Guglets and Basons 16 2 - - Blue and White Soop Plates 24 12 2 Salts 2 1 4 Sauce Boats 4 1 9 19 2 9 Cutlery vizt. Horn Combs 33 5 6 Ivory Do. 12 15 - Horn Moulds 2 doz. 6 1 1 - Turners Ware vizt. Shoe Brushes 13	The warehouse sales account for the quarter continued with porcelain, combs and brush ware. Brought forward, £419 14s 11d Porcelain: Teapots, 14, £0 12s 10d Sneakers, 33, £0 7s 6d Sets of dishes and plates, 11, £10 14s 0d Chamber pots, 12, £1 0s 0d Bowls, 6, £0 9s 0d Half-pint cups and saucers, 48, £1 2s 0d Quarter-pint cups and saucers, 108, £1 14s 10d Soup dish, 1, £0 7s 4d Guglets and basins, 16, £2 0s 0d Blue and white soup plates, 24, £0 12s 2d Salt cellars, 2, £0 1s 4d Sauce boats, 4, £0 1s 9d Porcelain in total, £19 2s 9d Combs and small wares: Horn combs, 33, £0 5s 6d Ivory combs, 12, £0 15s 0d Horn button moulds, 2 dozen, £0 0s 6d Combs and small wares in total, £1 1s 0d Woodware and brushes: Shoe brushes, 13, £0 8s 1½d Carrying yoke, 1, £0 1s 8d Hair brooms, 2, £0 5s 0d Clothes brushes, 4, £0 5s 11d Paint brushes, 4 pairs, £0 2s 3d Plasterers' brushes, 2, £0 2s 5½d Scrubbing brush, 1, £0 2s 6d Tray, 1, £0 4s 0d Flasket, 1, £0 3s 2d Woodware and brushes in total, £1 15s 1d Carried forward, £441 12s 10d **Interpretations** The porcelain sold here matched the forms landed from the *Lord Clive* and recorded on 5 April 1765: sneakers, guglets and basins, half-pint cups and saucers, chamber pots and bowls. The island's warehouse was evidently stocked regularly from homeward China ships, and the prices show the advantage. Quarter-pint cups with saucers sold at under 4d each, and a guglet with its basin at half a crown. In England at the same date Chinese porcelain carried the costs of the long voyage, customs duty and the London sale, and was largely a middle-class purchase. On St Helena it reached the shelves at little more than Canton prices plus the Company's 10 per cent, so settlers of modest means could furnish their tables with porcelain that their counterparts in England would have replaced with earthenware or pewter. A flasket was a long, shallow basket with two handles, used for carrying washed linen or produce. A carrying yoke was a shaped wooden bar laid across

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		8 1½ Tubmans Yoaks 1 1 8 Hair Brooms 2 5 - Cloth Brushes 4 5 11 Pairs Do. 4 2 3 Plaisterers Do. 2 2 5½ Scrubbing Do. 1 2 6 Tray 1 4 - Flasket 1 3 2 1 15 1 Carrd. Over L 441 12 10	the shoulders to carry a pail or tub from each end, the ordinary means of fetching water from springs and streams to houses and gardens. Horn button moulds were small discs of horn, sometimes pierced, over which cloth or thread was worked to make covered buttons at home. Both horn and ivory combs served for dressing hair, while the finer-toothed ivory comb also cleared lice, a practical necessity in crowded barracks and ships. The goods grouped as woodware were the products of the turner, a craftsman who shaped wood on a lathe to make handles, brush backs, bowls and trays. Brushes suited to plastering, painting and scrubbing sold in the same quarter as the paints and whiting, which suggests residents were repairing and whitewashing their houses themselves with materials drawn from the Company's stores.
220	213	1765 Broughtover L 941 12 10 Glass Ware vizt. Sqrs. 8 by 10 60 2 - - Do. 6 by 8 25 7 9 Do. 10 by 12 2 1 10 Wine Glasses 12 7 8 Beer Do. 3 3 10 3 1 1 Iron Ware vizt. Small Frying Pans 3 8 11 H. Hatchets 3 5 9 Splinter Locks 12 6 6 Spade 1 4 5 Pr. Planking Cards 1 7 - Stock Locks 16 2 3 8 Chest Do. 6 1 1 6 Box Iron 1 7 11 Blank Keys 2	The warehouse sales account for the quarter went on with glass, hardware and stockings. Brought forward, £441 12s 10d Glassware: Window panes of 8 by 10 inches, 60, £2 0s 0d Window panes of 6 by 8 inches, 25, £0 7s 9d Window panes of 10 by 12 inches, 2, £0 1s 10d Wine glasses, 12, £0 7s 8d Beer glasses, 3, £0 3s 10d Glassware in total, £3 1s 1d Hardware: Small frying pans, 3, £0 8s 11d Hand hatchets, 3, £0 5s 9d Splinter locks, 12, £0 6s 6d Spade, 1, £0 4s 5d Blanking cards, 1 pair, £0 7s 0d Stock locks, 16, £2 3s 8d Chest locks, 6, £1 1s 6d Box iron, 1, £0 7s 11d Blank keys, 2, £0 1s 6d Maul, 1, £0 9s 0d Rasp, 1, £0 1s 6d Pickaxes, 2, £0 6s 11d Closet locks, 2, £0 7s 2d Padlocks, 2, £0 3s 5d Gimlet, 1, £0 1s 10d Wood screws, 5 dozen, £0 0s 3d Hardware in total, £7 17s 0d Stockings: Boys' stockings, 2 pairs, £0 4s 7d Women's stockings, 1 pair, £0 3s 5d Stockings in total, £0 8s 0d Carried forward, £452 3s 6d **Interpretations** The window glass sold in the quarter shows why the breakage on the *Dutton* mattered. Residents bought 87 panes in three months, almost all in the common 8 by 10 and 6 by 8 inch sizes, and the 42 panes found smashed when the *Dutton*'s packages were opened on 8 April 1765 amounted to half a quarter's supply. Glass could not be made on the island, so each broken pane meant an unglazed window until the next ship from England. A box iron was a hollow smoothing iron with a hinged or sliding door at the back, into which a separately heated iron slug was placed. It kept the linen free of the soot and ash that marked an ordinary

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 6 Maul 1 9 - Rasp 1 16 Pickaxes 2 6 11 Closet Locks 2 7 2 Bed Do. 2 3 5 Gimblet 1 1 10 Doz. Wood Screws 5 3 7 17 - Hosiers Ware vizt. Pr. Boys Stockings 2 4 7 Pr. Womens Do. 1 3 5 8 - Carrd. Over L 952 3 6	flat iron heated directly on the fire, and it was the preferred tool for fine washing. Its price of nearly 8s made it one of the costlier household items on the list. Several locks served different purposes. A stock lock was a large door lock set in a wooden case, or stock, fixed to the face of an outside door, and it was the standard lock for houses and stores. Chest locks secured sea chests and storage boxes, the main furniture of many soldiers and settlers, while closet locks were smaller fittings for cupboards. Blank keys were uncut keys that a smith could file to fit an existing lock. Splinter locks cannot be identified with certainty and may have been a light spring lock or latch, sold cheaply at about 6d each. A maul was a heavy wooden or iron-headed hammer for driving fence posts, stakes and wedges. A gimlet was a small hand tool with a screw point and a cross handle, used to bore holes for nails and screws in timber. The pair of blanking cards were perhaps hand cards, flat boards set with wire teeth used to comb and raise the nap on woollen cloth or blankets.
221	214	15 April Brought over L 952 3 6 Pitch and Tar vizt. Pitch 1 lb 2 Rozen 24 lb 5 6 5 8 Nails vizt. 2½ 2 1 11 9 3 7 3½ 51 4 1 12 11 63 6 1 16 9 16 10 3 - 3 20 1 3 ½ Jacks 4½ 4 2 6 Ticking 12 yards 1 12 - Shoes vizt. Pr. mens Ordy. 96 15 4 - Pr. Callemancoe 1 4 3 15 8 3 Long Cloth vizt. Ps. Y 4 14 1 8	The warehouse sales account for the quarter continued with naval stores, nails, shoes and cotton cloth. Brought forward, £452 3s 6d Pitch and tar: Pitch, 1 lb, £0 0s 2d Rosin, 24 lb, £0 5s 6d Pitch and tar in total, £0 5s 8d Nails: Twopenny nails, 2½, £0 1s 11d Threepenny nails, 9, £0 7s 3½d Fourpenny nails, 51, £1 12s 11d Sixpenny nails, 63, £1 16s 9d Tenpenny nails, 16, £0 3s 0d Twentypenny nails, 3, £0 1s 3d Tacks, ½, £0 0s 4½d Nails in total, £4 2s 6d Ticking, 12 yards, £1 12s 0d Shoes: Men's ordinary shoes, 96 pairs, £15 4s 0d Calamanco shoes, 1 pair, £0 4s 3d Shoes in total, £15 8s 3d Longcloth: Longcloth marked Y, 4 pieces, £14 1s 8d Longcloth marked T, 12 pieces, £18 0s 0d Longcloth marked R, 8 pieces, £35 4s 0d Longcloth marked W, 25 pieces, £38 2s 6d Longcloth marked 9, 1 piece, £1 10s 6d Longcloth marked Y, 1 piece, £3 6s 11d Longcloth marked E, 1 piece, £3 11s 0d Longcloth in total, £113 16s 7d Carried forward, £1,037 15s 6d **Interpretations** Longcloth was a plain-woven cotton made on the Coromandel coast of south-east India and shipped to Europe in pieces of around 36 to 40 yards. The Company graded its Indian textiles at the port of purchase and marked each bale with a letter or sign showing its quality and origin, so the letters here identified distinct grades rather than colours or patterns. The spread of prices bears this out: a piece of the R grade fetched more than 4 times as much as

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		Do. T 12 18 - - Do. R 8 35 4 - Do. W 25 33 2 6 Do. 3 1 1 10 6 Do. Y 1 3 6 11 Do. E 1 3 11 - 113 16 7 Carried over L 1087 15 6	one marked T. Longcloth was bleached for shirts, shifts, sheets and linings, and on St Helena it came directly from Company ships calling on the way home from Madras. In England the same cloth passed through the London sales and paid heavy duties, and domestic weavers had pressed Parliament to restrict Indian cottons, so islanders could dress in Indian cotton far more cheaply than people of the same standing at home. The nails were sized by the old penny system, which originally referred to the price per hundred and later came to denote length, from the small twopenny nail of about an inch to the twentypenny nail of about 4 inches. Sixpenny and fourpenny nails, the general sizes for boarding, fencing and roofing, made up by far the largest sales. Rosin was the solid residue left when turpentine was distilled from pine resin, and with pitch it served to seal boat seams and waterproof rope and timber. Ticking was a heavy, closely woven linen or cotton twill, often striped, used for mattress and pillow covers because its tight weave kept feathers and straw from working through. Calamanco was a glossy worsted wool, woven with a satin finish and often patterned, and shoes with calamanco uppers were a lighter, more fashionable style usually worn by women. The single pair contrasted with the 96 pairs of ordinary men's shoes, which at about 3s 2d a pair were probably the heavy leather shoes worn by soldiers and labouring men.
222	215	1764 Brought over L 1027 15 6 Braziers Ware vizt. Pr. Candle Sticks 10 8 5½ Brass Plate 11½ 1 4 10½ Pr. Snuffers 1 3 4 Bottle Cock 1 3 6 2 - 2 Pewter vizt. Basons 3 7 6 Half Gallon Pot 1 6 - 13 6 Shirts vizt. Ps. Irish Linnen 1½ 2 13 4 Yds. B Holland 4½ 9 2 3 2 6 Deals vizt. Double Deals 2 7 6 Single Do. 15 1 11 10 1 19 4 Books vizt. Spelling Book 1 1 3½	The warehouse sales account for the quarter closed with brass ware, pewter, linen, timber, books and a few sundries. Brought forward, £1,037 15s 6d Brass ware: Candlesticks, 1 pair, £0 8s 5½d Brass plate, 11½ lb, £1 4s 10½d Snuffers, 1 pair, £0 3s 4d Bottle cock, 1, £0 3s 6d Brass ware in total, £2 0s 2d Pewter: Basins, 3, £0 7s 6d Half-gallon pot, 1, £0 6s 0d Pewter in total, £0 13s 6d Shirting: Irish linen, 1½ pieces, £2 13s 4d Brown holland, 4½ yards, £0 9s 2d Shirting in total, £3 2s 6d Deals: Double deals, 2, £0 7s 6d Single deals, 15, £1 11s 10d Deals in total, £1 19s 4d Books: Spelling book, 1, £0 1s 3½d Book of Common Prayer, 1, £0 3s 1d Primer, 1, £0 0s 3½d Books in total, £0 4s 8d Earthenware pans, 7, £0 3s 5d White bunting, 7 yards, £0 4s 1d Total sales for the quarter, £1,096 5s 2d **Interpretations** The three books sold in the quarter were the basic tools of elementary schooling. The primer taught the alphabet and simple reading, usually through prayers and short scriptural passages, and at 3½d it was within reach of almost any household. The spelling book carried a child on to longer words and graded reading lessons. The Book of Common Prayer served both as the text of Anglican worship and, for many families, as a further reading book. Their sale through the Company's warehouse suggests that settlers taught their children at home or through a small island school, relying on the Company to import the texts.

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		Common Prayer Do. 1 3 1 Primmer 1 3½ 4 8 Earthen Ware 7 Pans 3 5 Bunting 7 Yds. White 4 1 L 1096 5 2	Bunting was a light, loosely woven worsted cloth made specifically for flags, since it dried quickly and flew well in a breeze. The seven yards of white bunting were probably for making or repairing flags, perhaps for a private signal or a boat, while the Company's own signal flags drew on the gunner's stores. Irish linen was fine, bleached linen from Ulster, then the leading source of good shirting cloth in the British Isles. Brown holland was an unbleached linen originally woven in the Netherlands, stiffer and coarser than bleached linen and used for linings, aprons and window blinds as well as work shirts. The pair of snuffers was a scissor-like tool with a small box on one blade, used to trim and catch the charred wick of a tallow candle, which otherwise burned smoky and dim. The bottle cock was a small brass tap, perhaps fitted to a cask or large bottle to draw off liquor without removing the bung.
223	216	15th April Sold to the Planters at 25 per Cent Kersey 13 Yards 1 13 9 Challow 1 Piece 12 4 Shalloon Coloured ⅓ 1 5 Shoes Prs. Mens Ordinary 5 1 5 - Hosiers Ware Pr. India Cotton Stockgs. 1 16 4 40 per Cent vizt. Sugar and Candy vizt. Sugar 432 lb 8 9 6 Candy 31 lb 1 - 8 9 10 2 Flour 450 lb 4 13 9 Tea vizt. Single 9 lb 18 - Congo 25 lb 2 10 - Bohea 63 lb 3 18 9 7 6 9 Sope 38 lb 1 16 10 Salt Cape 423 lb 2 3 - Cordage 164 lb 4 5 5 Thread Coloured 4 lb 18 4 Caps 2 10 10 Lead vizt.	The storekeeper's account went on to record goods sold to the island's planters, charged at higher markups than those paid by the Company's own employees. Sold to the planters at 25 per cent above cost: Kersey, 13 yards, £1 13s 9d Chelloe, 1 piece, £0 12s 4d Coloured shalloon, ⅓, £0 1s 5d Men's ordinary shoes, 5 pairs, £1 5s 0d Indian cotton stockings, 1 pair, £0 16s 4d Sold to the planters at 40 per cent above cost: Sugar and sugar candy: Sugar, 432 lb, £8 9s 6d Sugar candy, 31 lb, £1 0s 8d Sugar and sugar candy in total, £9 10s 2d Flour, 450 lb, £4 13s 9d Tea: Single tea, 9 lb, £0 18s 0d Congou tea, 25 lb, £2 10s 0d Bohea tea, 63 lb, £3 18s 9d Tea in total, £7 6s 9d Soap, 38 lb, £1 16s 10d Cape salt, 423 lb, £2 3s 0d Cordage, 16 lb, £4 5s 5d Coloured thread, 4 lb, £0 18s 4d Caps, 2, £0 10s 10d Lead: Sheet lead, 7½ lb, £0 2s 1½d Lead shot, 13 lb, £0 3s 6¼d Lead in total, £0 5s 8d Buckram, 4⅓, £0 5s 11d Rice, 24 lb, £0 2s 6d Starch, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Carried forward, £36 12s 6d **Interpretations** The Company ran a graded price scale through its warehouse. Its own employees paid cost plus 10 per cent, as the earlier part of this quarter's account showed, while planters paid 25 per cent on cloth, shoes and stockings and 40 per cent on food and general stores. The settlers were free tenants rather than servants, and the Company treated sales to them as trade rather than as a benefit of employment. The higher margin on provisions such as sugar, flour, tea and salt fell on exactly the goods planters could not produce for themselves, which gave the Company both revenue and leverage over the island's leaseholders. Cloth and footwear carried the lower rate perhaps because private traders from passing ships competed more directly in those lines. Congou was a black tea of better quality than bohea, made from leaves rolled and fired with more care, and it sold here at about 2s a pound against roughly 1s 3d for bohea. Single tea, the green tea landed from the *Lord Clive* on 5 April 1765, came in between. The planters' purchase of all three grades in

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Sheet 7½ lb 2 1½ Shot 13 lb 3 6½ 5 8 Buckram 4⅓ 5 11 Rice 24 lb 2 6 Starch 1 lb 6 Carrd. Over L 36 12 6	a single quarter shows tea already established as an everyday drink on the island. Kersey was a coarse, ribbed woollen cloth woven on a four-thread twill, hard-wearing and warm, and used for working coats, breeches and soldiers' clothing. Chelloe was an Indian cotton cloth, usually woven in blue and white checks, shipped from Bengal and the Coromandel coast in bulk for cheap clothing and bedding. Shalloon was a light, closely woven worsted, most often used to line coats. Indian cotton stockings were knitted or woven in India and prized for their softness, which suited the mild island climate better than heavy woollen hose.
224	217	1765 Broughtover L Twine vizt. Twine 6 Sk. 4 6 Cotton Wick ½ lb 1 5 5 11 Pepper 7 lb 5 3 Coffee 16 lb 13 8 Canvas 2 yards 2 2 Hatts Officers 1 2 3 11 Candles 8 lb 1 2 4 Corks 1 Gross 3 4 Pork 20 lb 3 5 - Nails vizt. 10½ 6 7 8½ 1½ 10 1 ½ 2 40 1 ½ ½ 4 5 ½ Jacks 10½ 2 Spikes 11 12 - Hooks and Lines vizt. 30 No. 3 9 4 54 2 Lines 2 - 11 400 No. 1 225 12 Hooks 1 10 10 3 11 -	The account of goods sold to the planters at 40 per cent above cost continued as follows. Brought forward, £36 12s 6d Twine: Twine, 6 skeins, £0 4s 6d Cotton wick, ½ lb, £0 1s 5d Twine in total, £0 5s 11d Pepper, 7 lb, £0 5s 3d Coffee, 16 lb, £0 13s 8d Canvas, 2 yards, £0 2s 2d Officer's hat, 1, £2 3s 11d Candles, 8, £1 2s 4d Corks, 1 gross, £0 3s 4d Salt pork, 20 pieces, £3 5s 0d Nails: Sixpenny nails, 10½, £0 7s 8½d Tenpenny nails, 1½, £0 1s 0½d Fortypenny nails, 2, £0 1s 0½d Fourpenny nails, ½, £0 0s 5d Tacks, ½, £0 0s 10½d Spikes, 2, £0 0s 11d Nails in total, £0 12s 0d Fish hooks and lines: Fishing lines size No 3, 30 Fishing lines size No 4, 9 Fishing lines size No 2, 54 Fishing lines in total, £2 0s 11d Fish hooks size No 1, 400 Fish hooks size No 12, 225 Fish hooks in total, £1 10s 10d Fish hooks and lines in total, £3 11s 0d Paint: Blue smalt, 3 lb, £0 5s 1d Indigo, 3½ lb, £0 9s 2d Paint carried forward, £0 14s 3d Carried forward, £49 11s 1d **Interpretations** The entry for pork, counted in pieces, settles the unit behind the large meat sales recorded earlier in the quarter's account. Salt pork was packed in England in cut pieces of standard weight, usually around 4 pounds for pork and 8 for beef, so that rations could be issued by count straight from the cask. At about 3s 3d a piece to planters, against roughly 2s to the Company's employees, the difference reflected the 40 per cent rate charged to settlers against 10 per cent to staff. The officer's hat was by far the costliest single item sold to the planters, more than the 20 pieces of pork. It was perhaps a laced cocked hat of the kind worn by officers of the island's militia, in which leading planters held commissions. Buying it through the Company's warehouse shows that even marks of rank and status had to come from the same source as nails and salt. The planters bought fishing tackle in quantity just as the Company's employees did, including 400

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Paint vizt. Blue Smalts 3 lb 5 1 Indico 3½ 9 2 Paint Carrd. Over L 14 3 Carrd. Over L 49 11 7	large No 1 hooks suited to deep-water fishing. Farms on St Helena were small and often on steep ground, and fish probably supplied a substantial part of the protein eaten in planter households as well as by their slaves.
225	218	15th April Brought over L 49 11 1 Paint brought over L 14 2 Red mixed 1 lb 3½ Barl. Blacking 1 10 White Lead dry 20 lb 9 7 Do. Do. mixed 13 lb 7 4 Verdigrease 3 lb 16 6 Whiting 1 lb 1 2 9 - Pitch vizt. Rozin 3 lb 10 Barl. Black & Turpentine 1 3 16 3 Gs. Tar 1½ 1 10 3 18 11 Haberdashery 1 Sk. Silk 8 Tin Ware vizt. Small Lanthorns 5 13 9 Quart Saucepans 3 1 6 1 - 3 Glass Ware vizt. 6 Squares 6 by 8 2 7 Deals vizt. Baulk 1 12 6 Single Deals 3 3 3 1 - 9 Turners Ware vizt. Shoe Brushes 3 2 4 Paint Do. 6 4 6	The planters' purchases at 40 per cent above cost continued with paint, naval stores and household goods. Brought forward, £49 11s 1d Paint brought forward, £0 14s 2d Red paint, mixed, 1 lb, £0 0s 3½d Blacking, 1 barrel, £0 0s 10d White lead, dry, 20 lb, £0 9s 7d White lead, mixed, 13 lb, £0 7s 4d Verdigris, 3 lb, £0 16s 6d Whiting, 1 lb, £0 0s 1d Paint in total, £2 9s 0d Pitch and tar: Rosin, 3 lb, £0 0s 10d Black turpentine, 1 barrel, £3 16s 3d Tar, 1½ gallons, £0 1s 10d Pitch and tar in total, £3 18s 11d Silk, 1 skein, £0 0s 8d Tinware: Small lanterns, 5, £0 13s 9d Quart saucepans, 3, £0 1s 6d Tinware in total, £0 15s 3d Window panes of 6 by 8 inches, 6, £0 2s 7d Timber: Baulk, 1, £0 12s 6d Single deals, 3, £0 3s 3d Timber in total, £0 15s 9d Brushes: Shoe brushes, 3, £0 2s 4d Paint brushes, 6, £0 4s 6d Brushes in total, £0 6s 10d Pewter basin, 1, £0 3s 2d Earthenware colander, 1, £0 6s 8d Carried forward, £58 17s 11d **Interpretations** Verdigris was the costliest pigment on the list at 5s 6d a pound, more than 10 times the price of white lead. It was a green crust of copper acetate, made chiefly around Montpellier in France by layering copper plates with fermenting grape skins and scraping off the green deposit that formed. Mixed with oil it gave a bright green paint for doors, shutters and garden fixtures, and it also resisted rot and insects in timber. Its purchase by a planter suggests decorative painting of a house rather than mere weatherproofing, for which the cheap white lead and whiting would have served. A baulk was a large squared beam of timber, roughly hewn from a whole trunk, used for main joists, gateposts and structural framing. At 12s 6d it cost almost 4 times as much as a single deal, and it would have been one of the few pieces of heavy structural timber a settler could obtain, since the island's own trees were too few and small to supply beams. The barrel described as black turpentine was perhaps crude or coarse turpentine, the dark, sticky resin tapped from pine trees before distillation. Mixed with tar and pitch it served for caulking boats, coating ropes and protecting exposed woodwork, and its sale alongside rosin and tar places it firmly among the naval stores rather than the paints.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		6 10 Pewter 1 Bason 3 2 Earthen Ware 1 Colouring Pane 6 8 Carrd. Over L 58 17 11	
226	219	1765 Broughtover L 110 1 4 Oil Linseed 16¾ Galls. 4 8 7 Iron Ware vizt. Splinter Locks 4 2 10 Joyners Rubstone 1 4 Small Frying Pan 1 3 9 Pad Locks 4 8 10 Chest Do. 2 9 - Doz. Wood Screws ½ 3 Pr. Dovetail Hinges 1 7 1 9 3 Tin Ware vizt. Sneekers 12 5 3 Blue and White Bo. Dishes 1 1 1 8 Qr. Pint Cups and Saucers 54 1 2 6 Half Pt. Do. & Do. 66 1 13 6 Mugs 3 6 6 Blue and White Guglets and Basons 8 16 - Tea Pots 5 8 10 Chamber Pots 10 1 1 8 Sauce Boats 3 1 8 B. and White Sallt. Dishes 3 8 8 Salts 2 1 9 Blue & White Soop Plates 42 1 7 5	The planters' purchases at 40 per cent above cost concluded with oil, hardware, porcelain and coal. Brought forward, £110 1s 4d Linseed oil, 16¾ gallons, £4 8s 7d Hardware: Splinter locks, 4, £0 2s 10d Joiner's rubstone, 1, £0 4s 0d Small frying pan, 1, £0 3s 9d Padlocks, 4, £0 8s 10d Chest locks, 2, £0 9s 0d Wood screws, ½ dozen, £0 0s 3d Dovetail hinges, 1 pair, £0 0s 7d Hardware in total, £1 9s 3d Tableware: Sneakers, 12, £0 5s 3d Blue and white dishes, 1 set, £1 11s 8d Quarter-pint cups and saucers, 54, £1 2s 6d Half-pint cups and saucers, 66, £1 13s 6d Mugs, 3, £0 6s 6d Blue and white guglets and basins, 8, £0 16s 0d Teapots, 3, £0 3s 10d Chamber pots, 10, £1 1s 8d Sauce boats, 3, £0 1s 8d Blue and white salad dishes, 3, £0 8s 8d Salt cellars, 2, £0 1s 9d Blue and white soup plates, 42, £1 7s 5d Bowl, 1, £0 2s 0d Sets of dishes and plates, 7, £8 13s 10d Tableware in total, £18 13s 3d Coal, 8 chaldrons 32 bushels, £26 13s 4d Total, £110 1s 4d **Interpretations** Coal was the largest single sale to the planters in the quarter, almost a quarter of everything they bought. A chaldron was a measure of volume rather than weight, standardised in London at 36 bushels, so the planters took roughly 9 chaldrons, or well over 10 tons. Coal had to be shipped all the way from England, often as ballast in the holds of outward-bound Company ships, which kept the freight cheap. Its sale in such bulk reflected the island's shortage of firewood. Goats, cattle and clearing for pasture had stripped much of St Helena's native woodland during the previous century, and the Company had long struggled to find enough fuel for cooking, brewing and lime-burning. Burning imported coal from England, as a London household would, marked a striking reversal for a small island that had once been densely wooded. A joiner's rubstone was a flat whetstone used to hone the edges of chisels and plane irons, essential for woodworking where cutting tools needed constant sharpening. Dovetail hinges were flat hinges with leaves shaped like a bird's tail, spreading wider from the knuckle, fitted to the surface of chests, boxes and light doors rather than set into the wood. The planters bought porcelain in the same forms and much the same quantities as the Company's employees earlier in the quarter's account, including the blue and white wares landed regularly from Canton. Even at the 40 per cent markup, a quarter-pint cup with its saucer cost planters barely 5d, so Chinese porcelain was within reach of settler households as well as officials.

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		Bowl 1 2 - Setts Dishes and Plates 7 8 13 10 18 13 3 Coals 8 Chall. 39 Bushels 26 13 4 L 110 1 4	
227	220	15th April Sold to the Honble. Company's Ships at 40 per Cent Hooks and Lines vizt. Hooks 30 12 4 Lines 18 2 7 4 Log Do. 2 2 9 10 5 Pitch 3 Barls. 7 14 6 Paint Red Lead 6 lb 2 6 Glass Ware Half Minute Glasses 2 1 6 Nails vizt. 10 10 10 6 1 1 11 Beef and Pork vizt. Hhds. Beef 4 62 12 - Pun. Beef 2 40 9 - 95 1 - Flour 315 lb 3 12 3 Canvas Engl. 100 yds. 5 10 5 L 113 14 6	The storekeeper's account closed with goods sold to the Company's own ships, also charged at 40 per cent above cost. Fish hooks and lines: Fish hooks size No 12, 30, £0 0s 4d Lines size No 2, 18, £0 7s 4d Log lines, 2, £0 2s 9d Fish hooks and lines in total, £0 10s 5d Pitch, 3 barrels, £7 14s 6d Red lead, 6 lb, £0 2s 6d Half-minute glasses, 2, £0 1s 6d Nails: Tenpenny nails, 10 Sixpenny nails, 10 Nails in total, £1 1s 11d Beef and pork: Beef, 4 hogsheads, £62 12s 0d Beef, 2 puncheons, £40 9s 0d Beef and pork in total, £95 1s 0d Flour, 315 lb, £3 12s 3d English canvas, 100 yards, £5 10s 5d Total, £113 14s 6d **Interpretations** The Company charged its own ships the same 40 per cent markup it charged the planters, not the 10 per cent granted to its employees. Each ship was accounted for separately, and its commander drew stores on the ship's account, so the island's warehouse treated the vessel as a customer rather than as part of the Company's own household. The arrangement let the island's accounts show a profit on provisioning, while the cost fell on the voyage accounts kept in London. The log line and the half-minute glass were used together to measure a ship's speed. A wooden board, the log, was thrown overboard on a line knotted at fixed intervals, and a sailor counted the knots running out while the sand in the glass emptied. The number of knots passed in that half minute gave the ship's speed, the origin of the knot as a unit. Both wore out or were lost in regular use, and replacing them was essential for navigation on the long passages to and from India and China. Beef dominated the ships' purchases, sold in whole casks rather than pieces. A hogshead held around 63 gallons and a puncheon rather more, and both were packed with salt beef in brine for long keeping. Supplying salted provisions to Company ships was one of St Helena's chief purposes, and the 100 yards of English canvas were perhaps for repairing sails worn on the long passage to the island.
228	221	1765 Charges General Dr. to following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1765 vizt. Sope 46 lb 1 9 9 Starch 7 lb for Linen 2 6 Paint vizt.	The storekeeper's accounts also recorded the stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1765 for the Company's own use, charged to the general expenses account. Soap, 46 lb, for washing linen, £1 9s 9d Starch, 7 lb, for washing linen, £0 2s 6d Paint: Indigo, 3 lb, £0 5s 5¾d Blue smalt, 1 lb, £0 1s 2d Venetian red, mixed, 29 lb, £0 13s 3½d Copperas, 1½ lb, £0 1s 5½d Blacking, 2 barrels, £0 1s 2d

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		Indico 3 lb 5 5½ B. Smalts 1 1 2 Ven. Red mixed 29 13 3½ Copperas 1½ 1 5½ Barl. Blacking 2 1 2 Umber ½ 1½ Stone Colour 98 2 6 11½ Whiting 170 3 6½ W. Lead dry 6 1 10½ Red Lead Do. 2 5½ Ven. Lead mixed 4 1 6 Ven. Red dry ½ 1 3 17 6 Deals vizt. 206 Single 19 14 10 127 Double 21 13 11 1 Wainsct. Bd. 6 9 for the Casks 1 Cuff for the Masons 4 1 41 19 7 Nails vizt. 40 2 23 3 46 6 82 10 32 20 30 40 5 Barr. 62 Hf. Brads for the Casks 2 4 8½ Nails Carrd. Over L 2 4 8½ Carrd. Over L 47 19 4	Umber, ½ lb, £0 0s 1½d Stone colour, 93 lb, £2 6s 11½d Whiting, 170 lb, £0 3s 6½d White lead, dry, 6 lb, £0 1s 10½d Red lead, dry, 2 lb, £0 0s 5½d White lead, mixed, 4 lb, £0 1s 6d Venetian red, dry, ½ lb, £0 0s 1d Paint in total, £3 17s 6d Timber: Single deals for the casks, 206, £19 14s 10d Double deals for the casks, 127, £21 13s 11d Wainscot board for the casks, 1, £0 6s 9d Coffer for the masons, 1, £0 4s 1d Timber in total, £41 19s 7d Nails for the casks: Twopenny nails, 40 Threepenny nails, 23 Sixpenny nails, 46 Tenpenny nails, 82 Twentypenny nails, 32 Fortypenny nails, 30 Barrel nails, 5½ Flooring brads, 6½ Nails for the casks in total, £2 4s 8½d Nails carried forward, £2 4s 8½d Carried forward, £47 19s 4d **Interpretations** The general expenses account, kept as charges general, was where the Company recorded stores consumed on its own behalf rather than sold. Every issue from the warehouse had to be matched either by a sale or by a charge to a named purpose, so that the storekeeper could account in full for the stock entrusted to him. The directors in London reviewed these charges line by line, and a clear note of the purpose, such as the washing of linen or the making of casks, protected the storekeeper against the suspicion of loss or private use. Timber and nails for casks took the greater part of the quarter's charges, over £44 in deals, wainscot and nails. The island had to supply ships with water, salted meat and other provisions, and every one of those needed a cask. Rather than depend on empty casks returned from ships, the Company had its coopers build them on the island from imported planks. More than 330 deals in three months shows the scale of this cooperage, which was as much a part of the island's service to shipping as the provisions themselves. Wainscot was quartersawn oak from the Baltic, straight-grained and resistant to splitting, used here perhaps for cask heads or for the coopers' own work surfaces. Copperas was iron sulphate, a green crystalline salt used to darken and fix colours, to make black dye and ink, and in small amounts to preserve timber. Umber was a natural brown earth pigment from Umbria in Italy, used to tone paints. The 93 pounds of stone colour and 170 pounds of whiting point to a large programme of whitewashing and painting on the Company's buildings during the quarter, perhaps in the Castle or barracks.
229	222	15th April Broughtover L 47 19 4 Nails brought over L 2 4 8½ Glazs. Brads for the Casks Buckets 3 5 2½ Coopers Rivets Coopers use 3½ lb 3 11 2 13 10	The general expenses account for the quarter continued with nails, candles and tools issued to the Company's departments. Brought forward, £47 19s 4d Nails brought forward, £2 4s 8½d [...] brads for the cask buckets, 3, £0 5s 2½d Coopers' rivets for the coopers' use, 3½, £0 3s 11d Nails in total, £2 13s 10d Candles: Candles for the cask house, 30, £2 17s 9d Candles for the council, 150, £14 13s 9d

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		Candles vizt. Casks 30 lb 2 17 9 Council 150 14 13 9 Doctors Shop 4 7 10 Carpenters 1 1 11½ Secretary's Office 2 3 10½ for the Officer in the Castle 13 for when the Governor is in y Country 100 1 9 4 19 17 6 Iron Ware vizt. Helves for the Armr. and Bakers 4 2 4 Joyners Rubstones Carpenr. use 3 8 7 Blank Keys Castle Line & Shops 2 1 4 Pad Lock for the Castle 1 1 6½ Files Armr. 48 1 4 - Plaisterers Trowels Masons 7 11 8 Yd. Spelter Armr. 1 1 9½ Hammer for Lathing 1 1 4½ Pr. Stone Saw Handles Masons 2 10 11 Stone Saws 2 9 - Claw Hammer Do. 1 1 3½ Farriers Rasp Armr. 1 9 Smiths Rubbers 2 10 3 File Hafts 12 1 1 Brickl. Trowels 1 1 7 Iron Ware Carrd. over L Carrd. Over L 74 0 8	Candles for the doctor's shop, 4, £0 7s 10d Candles for the carpenters, 1, £0 1s 11½d Candles for the secretary's office, 3, £0 5s 10½d Candles for the officer at the Castle, 13, and for use while the Governor was in the country, 100, £1 9s 4d Candles in total, £19 17s 6d Hardware: Helves for the armourer and the baker, 4, £0 2s 4d Joiner's rubstones for the carpenters' use, 3, £0 8s 7d Blank keys for the Castle and the doctor's shop, 2, £0 1s 4d Padlock for the Castle, 1, £0 1s 6½d Files for the armourer, 48, £1 4s 0d Plasterers' trowels for the masons, 7, £0 11s 8d Spelter for the armourer, 1 lb, £0 1s 9½d Hammer for lathing, 1, £0 1s 4½d Stone-saw handles for the masons, 2 pairs, £0 10s 11d Stone saws for the masons, 2, £0 9s 0d Claw hammer for the masons, 1, £0 1s 3½d Farrier's rasp for the armourer, 1, £0 0s 9d Smith's rubbers, 2, £0 10s 3d File handles, 12, £0 1s 1d Bricklayer's trowel, 1, £0 1s 7d Carried forward, £74 0s 8d **Interpretations** The candle entries show how the Company treated light as an administrative cost to be allocated department by department. The council's 150 candles accounted for three-quarters of the quarter's candle charge, far more than the doctor's shop, the carpenters or the secretary's office. Meetings of the council often ran into the evening, and the Castle's council chamber served also for hearing petitions and entertaining visiting commanders. The separate charge for candles used while the Governor was in the country recorded the cost of keeping his rural residence lit, which the Company paid alongside his official quarters at the Castle. The tools issued to the masons, seven plasterers' trowels, stone saws and a lathing hammer, point to building and repair work in progress during the quarter, consistent with the large quantities of whiting and stone colour issued in the same period. Lathing was the fixing of thin wooden strips to walls and ceilings to hold plaster, so the masons were evidently finishing interiors as well as laying stone. Spelter was the trade name for zinc, which the armourer alloyed with copper to make brazing solder for joining and repairing metal fittings on muskets and other arms. Smith's rubbers were heavy, coarse-cut files used to take down rough metal before finer finishing, while the farrier's rasp was a broad file used on horses' hooves and also for shaping wood and soft metal. Helves were wooden handles for axes, hammers and similar tools, fitted and replaced as they broke in use.
230	223	1765 Brought over L 76 - 8	The general expenses account for the quarter continued with further hardware, oil, spirits and cordage.

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		Iron Ware brought over L Cubd. Lock Castle 1 2 10 Chaffer Dish Do. 1 6 8 Borax Tinning ½ lb 3 4 Gimblets Carpenters 3 2 5 1 2 Oil vizt. Train for the Kitchen and Armoury 7½ Galls. 1 3 9 Florence Doctors Shop and Do. 2 Bottles 5 3 Linseed to Paint the Castle Cranes 14¾ 2 15 11 4 4 11 Arrack for Sundries hauling up the Launch, the L. Boat, Carpenters, and to the Work Men for bringing the Goods to the Stores from the two Store Ships 31 Galls. 15 15 10 Lines vizt. 6 2 for the Carpenters 1 6½ 18 4 for the Stone Layers 6 10½ 1 Deep Sea Line for a Bed Cord in the Castle 5 - 13 7 Twine for the Castle and to mend Rice Bags ½ Sk. 2 Canvas vizt. Osenbrugs for the Buckets 5¾ Yds. 4 4 English for a Cot 5½ Yds. 6 2 10 6 Turners Ware vizt. Plaisterers Brushes for the Masons 7 7 9 Paint Do. to paint the Castle 12 6 13 9 Naval Stores 60 Sand Bags to get sand from Rupert 1 13 9 Carried Over L 104 17 2	Brought forward, £76 0s 8d Cupboard lock for the Castle, 1, £0 2s 10d Chafing dish for the Castle, 1, £0 6s 8d Borax for tinning, ¼ lb, £0 3s 4d Gimlets for the carpenters, 3, £0 0s 2d Hardware in total, £5 1s 2d Oil: Train oil for the kitchen and the armoury, 7½ gallons, £1 3s 9d Florence oil for the doctor's shop and the [...], 2 bottles, £0 5s 3d Linseed oil for painting the Castle and the cranes, 14¾ gallons, £2 15s 11d Oil in total, £4 4s 11d Arrack for various men hauling up the launch and the longboat, for the carpenters and for the workmen carrying goods from the two storeships to the warehouse, 31½ gallons, £15 15s 10d Lines: Lines size No 2 for the carpenters, 6, £0 1s 6½d Lines size No 4 for the stonelayers, 18, £0 6s 10½d Deep-sea line for a bed cord at the Castle, 1, £0 5s 0d Lines in total, £0 13s 7d Twine for the cask house and for mending rice bags, ½ skein, £0 2s 0d Canvas: Osnaburg for the buckets, 5¾ yards, £0 4s 4d English canvas for a hanging cot, 5½ yards, £0 6s 2d Canvas in total, £0 10s 6d Brushes: Plasterers' brushes for the masons, 7, £0 7s 9d Paint brushes for painting the Castle, 12, £0 6s 0d Brushes in total, £0 13s 9d Sandbags for fetching sand from Rupert's, 60, £1 13s 9d Carried forward, £104 17s 2d **Interpretations** The 31½ gallons of arrack were the single largest charge on the page, more than all the oil, lines, canvas and brushes together. The Company paid for heavy, irregular labour partly in spirits: hauling the launch and longboat up the beach, and carrying stores up from the landing place after the two storeships unloaded. A dram issued on the spot rewarded men at once, kept them working through exhausting tasks and cost the Company far less than extra wages at invoice price. The practice was universal in ships and garrisons of the period, and entering it as a general expense made the arrack an official part of the island's labour costs rather than a private indulgence. The sandbags were for carrying sand up from Rupert's, a valley and bay east of Jamestown with a beach of usable sand. Sand was essential for mortar and plaster, and its collection ties in with the masons' plastering and stone-laying work recorded elsewhere in the quarter's charges. Fishing lines appeared here too in unexpected uses, as chalk lines for the carpenters and stonelayers to mark straight courses, and a deep-sea line as a bed cord, the lacing strung across a bedstead to support the mattress. A chafing dish was a small metal pan set over a brazier of charcoal, used at table to keep food warm or to cook light dishes in front of guests. A hanging cot was a canvas bed slung between two points, used at sea and in barracks and sickrooms because it was light, portable and kept the sleeper clear of the floor. Borax, a mineral salt from Tibet and India, served as a flux in tinning, allowing molten tin to bond cleanly to copper or iron when coating cooking pots against corrosion.

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231	224	15th April Broughtover L 104 17 2 Cordage for the Masons and a Crane Rope 88½ lb 1 11 4 Chellow for Rubbers in the Castle 1 Pc. 9 11 Glass Ware vizt. 35 Sqrs. 10 by 12 1 9 2 4 Do. 8 by 10 2 5 4 Do. 6 by 8 1 1 for the Castle 1 12 8 Tar for the Castle 1½ Galls. 1 3 Candy 50 lb 1 - 10 Tea Congo for the Groom and Gardener 6 lb 8 3 Tin Ware vizt. Dripping Pan Castle 1 2 8 Salammoniac to Tin Kitchen furniture ½ 2 5 5 1 Braziers Ware Brass Wire Armourer 4 lb 1 3 Thread W. Brown to mend Table Cloths in y Castle 1 lb 6 8 Cutlery Iv. Handle Knives and Forks Castle 2 Doz. 3 2 - Bunting White for Strainers 1 Yd. 6 China Ware Bowls Castle 2 1 4 Lead Sheet for Tinning 2 5 Iron To mend the Store Cart 47 lb 9 9 Coals for the Armourers Shop 90 Bushels 5 5 - L 119 12 5	The general expenses account for the quarter closed with cordage, glass, household goods for the Castle and fuel. Brought forward, £104 17s 2d Cordage for the masons and for a crane rope, 88¾ lb, £1 11s 4d Chelloe for cleaning cloths at the Castle, 1 piece, £0 9s 11d Glass for the Castle: Window panes of 10 by 12 inches, 35, £1 9s 2d Window panes of 8 by 10 inches, 4, £0 2s 5d Window panes of 6 by 8 inches, 4, £0 0s 11d Glass in total, £1 12s 8d Tar for the Castle, 1½ gallons, £0 1s 3d Sugar candy for the groom and the gardener, 50 lb, £1 0s 10d Congou tea for the groom and the gardener, 6 lb, £0 8s 3d Tinware: Dripping pan for the Castle, 1, £0 2s 8d Sal ammoniac for tinning the kitchen utensils, ½ lb, £0 2s 5d Tinware in total, £0 5s 1d Brass wire for the armoury, ½ lb, £0 1s 3d Whited-brown thread for mending table linen at the Castle, 1 lb, £0 6s 2d Ivory-handled knives and forks for the Castle, 2 dozen, £3 2s 0d White bunting for streamers, 1 yard, £0 0s 6d Porcelain bowls for the Castle, 2, £0 1s 4d Sheet lead for tinning, 2 lb, £0 0s 5d Iron for mending the store cart, 47 lb, £0 9s 9d Coal for the armourer's shop, 90 bushels, £5 5s 0d Total, £119 12s 5d **Interpretations** Much of the quarter's general expense went on the Castle as the Governor's household. The Company paid for its window glass, table linen repairs, cleaning cloths, porcelain, a dripping pan and two dozen ivory-handled knives and forks. The Castle served at once as the seat of government, the council chamber and the Governor's residence, so the line between official and domestic costs was blurred. The directors accepted this because entertaining visiting commanders and officials at a well-furnished table was part of the Governor's public role. The sugar candy and tea issued to the groom and the gardener were perhaps part of their allowance as servants of the Governor's household. Paying employees partly in goods of this kind, charged to the Company at cost, was cheaper than raising their wages and gave them items otherwise sold at a markup. Fifty pounds of sugar candy in three months was a generous allowance, which suggests the two men had families or other dependants to supply. The coal for the armourer's shop fuelled his forge. Coal burned far hotter and more steadily than wood or charcoal, which mattered for forging, welding and brazing gun fittings, and the island's shortage of timber made it the practical choice. Sal ammoniac was ammonium chloride, originally imported from Egypt, used like borax as a flux to clean metal surfaces so that tin would bond evenly when copper or iron pans were coated. Chelloe, the cheap checked cotton from India, was cut here into rubbers, the cloths used for scouring and polishing.
232	225	1765 Diet Expences Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st of March 1765 vizt. Beef and Pork vizt. Ps. Beef 4 12 7 Do. Pork	The storekeeper then set out the stores issued between 1 January and 31 March 1765 and charged to the account for the table's provisions. Beef and pork: Salt beef, 4 pieces, £0 12s 7d Salt pork, 21 pieces, £2 9s 0d Beef and pork in total, £3 1s 7d Rice, 150 lb, £0 11s 3d

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		21 2 9 - 3 1 7 Rice 150 lb 11 3 Arrack 48 Galls. 9 6 - Flour 765 lb 4 15 7 Salt 1 Bushel 3 10 Candy 16 lb 3 10 Tea Bohea 3 lb 4 2 Pepper 3 lb 1 6 Oil Florence 3 Bottles 7 11 L 22 1 10 Garrison Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1765 vizt. Oil Train 112½ Galls. 17 17 - Tea Bohea 90 lb 3 16 11 Senl. Guards Lines vizt. 1 Whip lead for Whips 3 - 12 No. 3 for Drum Cords 3 11 6 11 Iron Ware vizt. 1 Hand Hatchet for Banks's 1 9 1 Hatchet Helved Turks Cap 3 Carrd. Over L 22 2 10	Arrack, 18 gallons, £9 6s 0d Flour, 765 lb, £4 15s 7d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 3s 10d Sugar candy, 16 lb, £3 10s 0d Bohea tea, 3 lb, £0 4s 2d Pepper, 3 lb, £0 1s 6d Florence oil, 3 bottles, £0 7s 11d Total, £22 1s 10d The garrison's account for the same quarter recorded the following issues. Train oil for the sentries' guardhouses, 112½ gallons, £17 7s 0d Bohea tea for the sentries' guardhouses, 90 lb, £3 16s 11d Lines: Whipcord for whips, 1 lb, £0 3s 0d Lines size No 3 for drum cords, 12, £0 3s 11d Lines in total, £0 6s 11d Hardware: Hand hatchet for Banks's, 1, £0 1s 9d Hatchet, with its handle, for Turk's Cap, 1, £0 3s 0d Carried forward, £22 2s 10d **Interpretations** The tea issued to the sentries reveals a practice unusual for its date. Ninety pounds of bohea in a quarter went to the guardhouses alongside the train oil that lit them, which means tea was brewed for men standing watch. In England at this time soldiers drank small beer, and tea was only beginning to spread among the labouring poor, where critics still condemned it as a costly and enervating luxury. On St Helena, tea arrived cheaply from Canton on every homeward China ship, while beer had to come from England and lost almost a tenth of its volume on the voyage, as the *Dutton*'s casks showed on 8 April 1765. Hot tea also suited night duty at exposed upland posts such as Turk's Cap, where the air grew cold and damp, and the garrison had adopted it as a ration well before the army at home. The diet expenses account supplied the dry and salted stores for the Company's table, alongside the fresh meat, poultry and wine bought in by the steward each month. Its arrack, flour, salt meat and sugar candy came from the warehouse at cost rather than from the market, so splitting the table's costs between the two accounts let the council see what the island's own stores contributed as against what had to be bought locally. The whipcord for whips sat beside the lines for drum cords, and both perhaps belonged to the garrison's drummers. Drummers in eighteenth-century British regiments were responsible for carrying out floggings ordered by courts martial, so the cord was probably for the cat or whip used in military punishment. Banks's was a coastal battery guarding a landing place on the island's northern shore, and like Turk's Cap it needed its own tools for clearing brush and cutting wood.
233	226	15th April Brought over L 22 2 10 Deals Single 6 for a Coffin 11 6 Nails vizt. 3 3 for a Coffin 1 7½ 2 2 to mend Cots 1 4½ ½ Jacks for Drums 4 3 4 Tin Ware vizt.	The garrison's account for the quarter continued with timber, clothing and provisions for new recruits. Brought forward, £22 2s 10d Single deals for a coffin, 6, £0 11s 6d Nails: Threepenny nails for a coffin, 3, £0 1s 7½d Twopenny nails for mending cots, 2, £0 1s 4½d Tacks for the drums, ¼, £0 0s 4d Nails in total, £0 3s 4d Tinware: Lamps for the outlying forts, 3, £0 3s 4½d Large horn lantern for Banks's, 1, £0 4s 10½d Tinware in total, £0 8s 3d Blankets for the recruits and others, 68, £20 2s 4d Glass:

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		Lamps for the out Forts 3 3 4½ Large Horn Lanthorn for Banks's 1 4 10½ 8 3 Blankets for the Recruits &c. 68 20 2 4 Glass Ware vizt. Sqrs. 6 by 8 Munden's Point 5 1 4 Do. 8 by 10 Officers Guard Room 3 1 10 3 2 Soldiers Cloaths Matross's Ct. & Breeches 1 2 2 6 Shoes Pr. Ordinary 1 4 - Hats Centinels 1 for a Recruit 2 10 Rice 62 lb 4 6 Pork 73 lb 9 2 - Flour 364 lb for the Recruits 2 5 6 L 57 12 9	Window panes of 6 by 8 inches for Munden's Point, 5, £0 1s 4d Window panes of 8 by 10 inches for the officers' guardroom, 3, £0 1s 10d Glass in total, £0 3s 2d Matross's coat and breeches, 1 set, £2 2s 6d Ordinary shoes for a recruit, 1 pair, £0 4s 0d Private soldier's hat for a recruit, 1, £0 2s 10d Rice for the recruits, 62 lb, £0 4s 6d Salt pork for the recruits, 73 pieces, £9 2s 0d Flour for the recruits, 364 lb, £2 5s 6d Total, £57 12s 9d **Interpretations** The 68 blankets and the separate rations of pork, flour and rice point to a draft of recruits reaching the island during the quarter. New soldiers arrived from England on Company ships with little more than the clothes they wore, and the garrison had to bed and feed them at once, before they were placed on the regular pay and ration lists. Charging their first issues to the garrison account kept these start-up costs separate from the ordinary monthly expenditure. The recruits balanced the discharges of men whose contracts had expired, such as the four soldiers released on 5 and 8 April 1765. The coffin was a garrison expense because the Company buried its own soldiers. Its cost of six deals and some nails matched the gunner's return for March, which recorded powder spent for a soldier's funeral, and the two entries perhaps refer to the same burial. The Company paid for the coffin and the volley over the grave as part of its obligation to men who died in its service far from home. A matross was a soldier of the artillery who assisted the gunners in loading, firing and moving the guns, ranking below a gunner. His coat and breeches, at over £2, cost far more than a private soldier's hat or shoes, which reflected the heavier cloth and distinctive facings of the artillery uniform. Munden's Point was a fortified headland on the eastern side of James Bay, commanding the approach to the town and the anchorage, and like Banks's it needed glazed windows and lanterns to keep its guardroom habitable and lit at night.
234	227	1765 Blacks Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Jany. to the 31st of March 1765 vizt. Tea Bohea 62 lb 2 12 11 Arrack for Drams &c. 13½ Galls. 2 13 3 Shoes Mens Ordinary for the Handycraftsmen 32 6 8 - Sugar 172 lb 2 3 - Hosiers Ware Pr. Womens Stockings 2 6 2 Hooks & Lines vizt. 150 No. 1 100 12 Hooks 7 7 3 doz. 2 2½ Do. 3 ½ Do. 4 Lines 12 5 for Fishing 1 10 -	The storekeeper's accounts also recorded the stores issued to the Company's slaves between 1 January and 31 March 1765. Bohea tea, 62 lb, £2 12s 11d Arrack for drams and other uses, 13¾ gallons, £2 13s 3d Men's ordinary shoes for the skilled tradesmen, 32 pairs, £6 8s 0d Sugar, 172 lb, £2 3s 0d Women's stockings, 2 pairs, £0 6s 2d Fish hooks and lines for fishing: Fish hooks size No 1, 150 Fish hooks size No 12, 100 Fish hooks in total, £0 7s 7d Fishing lines size No 2, 3 dozen Fishing lines size No 3, 2½ dozen Fishing lines size No 4, ½ dozen Fishing lines in total, £1 2s 5d Fish hooks and lines in total, £1 10s 0d Twine for fishing, 1 skein, £0 0s 6d Beef and pork: Salt beef, 343 pieces, £59 19s 0d Salt pork, 1,030 pieces, £120 3s 4d Beef and pork in total, £180 2s 4d Rice, 109 cwt 3 qr 0 lb, £41 3s 1d Flour, 24 lb, £0 5s 6d Train oil, 1¾ gallons, £0 5s 7d Blankets, 30, £8 17s 6d Hardware: Stock lock for the slaves' house, 1, £0 2s 8½d Small frying pans, 3, £0 8s 1½d

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		Twine for Do. 1 Skain 6 Beef & Pork vizt. Ps. Beef 343 59 19 - Ps. Pork 1030 120 3 4 180 2 4 Rice 109 Cwt 3 qr 41 3 1 Flour 24 lb 5 6 Oil Train 1¼ Galls. 5 7 Blankets 30 8 17 6 Iron Ware vizt. Stock Lock for the Blacks House 1 2 8½ Small frying Pans 3 8 1½ 10 10 Sailors Cloaths vizt. Mens Jackets and Breeches 5 4 2 5 Boys Do. 2 Prs. Breeches 2 1 1 8 Sailors Cloaths Carrd. over L 5 10 1 Carrd. Over L 247 18 8	Hardware in total, £0 10s 10d Sailors' clothing: Men's jackets and breeches, 5 sets, £4 2s 5d Boys' jackets and breeches, 2 sets, and breeches, 2 pairs, £1 1s 8d Sailors' clothing carried forward, £5 10s 1d Carried forward, £247 18s 8d **Interpretations** The account shows how the Company fed and clothed its slaves, and at what cost. Salt meat and rice made up almost all the value: 1,373 pieces of beef and pork and nearly 5½ tons of rice in three months. These imported rations sat alongside the yams grown on the Company's own land, of which the overseer issued 19,000 to the slaves in March alone. Flour, by contrast, amounted to just 24 pounds, against 765 pounds charged to the Company's table over the same period. Bread was the food of free men on the island, and rice and yams the food of slaves. The Company distinguished among its slaves by skill. The 32 pairs of shoes went only to the tradesmen, the slave carpenters, masons, smiths and coopers whose work the Company valued most, while field and general labourers went barefoot. The sailors' clothing marked out another group, the slaves who crewed the Company's boats. They manned the launch, the longboat and the boat assigned to Captain Mitchell on 8 April 1765, and they needed jackets and breeches against the wind and spray. The two boys' suits suggest that young slaves were trained to the boats early. Arrack issued for drams, together with sugar and tea, served as rewards and incentives rather than as necessary rations. As with the workmen hauling up the launch, a measure of spirits after hard or unpleasant work was a cheap way to secure effort without paying wages. The fishing hooks and lines issued to the slaves let them add fish to their diet, which saved the Company further provisions and gave the slaves some means of feeding themselves. The single stock lock for the slaves' house indicates they were locked in at night.
235	228	15th April Brought over L 247 18 8 Sailors Cloaths brought over L 5 10 1 Mens Shirts 16 2 19 4 Boys Do. 2 5 10 8 15 3 Canvas English 1½ Yds. 1 8 Tin Ware 1 Lamp 1 2 L 255 16 9 Plantation Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st of March 1765 vizt. Rice and Paddy vizt. Rice 2 Cwt 1 qr 16 10 Paddy 33 Cwt 3 qr 31 lb 6 7 2 Poultry & Horses 7 4 -	The account of stores issued to the Company's slaves concluded with shirts and a few sundries. Brought forward, £247 18s 8d Sailors' clothing brought forward, £5 10s 1d Men's shirts, 16, £2 19s 4d Boys' shirts, 2, £0 5s 10d Sailors' clothing in total, £8 15s 3d English canvas, 1½ yards, £0 1s 8d Tin lamp, 1, £0 1s 2d Total, £255 16s 9d The plantation's account for the same quarter began with feed, tools and nails. Rice and paddy for the poultry and horses: Rice, 2 cwt 1 qr 0 lb, £0 16s 10d Paddy, 33 cwt 3 qr 21 lb, £6 7s 2d Rice and paddy in total, £7 4s 0d Hardware: Plate iron to [...] the mill, 5½ lb, £0 2s 3d Spades for the gardener, 7, £1 2s 0d Spring rat traps, 4, £0 6s 0d Pickaxes for the gardener, 2, £0 6s 3d Rod iron for making nails for the plantation, 9½ lb, £0 2s 2d Hardware in total, £1 18s 8d Nails for mending the plantation gates: Sixpenny nails, 6 lb, £0 3s 1½d Fourpenny nails, 2, £0 1s 2d Twopenny nails, 2, £0 1s 4½d Nails in total, £0 5s 8d Pruning knife for the gardener, 1, £0 0s 11d Carried forward, £10 1s 3d

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		Iron Ware vizt. Plate Iron to cap the Mast 5½ lb 2 3 Spades for the Gardener 7 1 2 - Spring Rat Traps 4 6 Pickaxes Gardener 2 6 3 Rod Iron to make Nails for Carts 9½ lb 2 2 2 10 8 Nails vizt. 6 lb 6 3 1½ 2 4 to repair Gates in the Parks 1 2 2 20 1 4½ 5 8 Cutlery Prunn. Knife for the Gardener 11 Carried Over L 10 1 3	**Interpretations** The plantation account covered the Company's own farm, the same estate whose herds, flocks and poultry the overseer reported each month. The paddy issued here confirms its role as animal feed: nearly 34 hundredweight of unhusked rice went to the poultry and horses in three months, against barely 2 hundredweight of cleaned rice. The farm's 101 fowls, 44 ducks, 38 turkeys and 17 geese at the start of March, along with 14 horses, consumed grain the island could not grow in sufficient quantity, so the Company fed its livestock partly on rice shipped from India. The rod iron issued to make nails shows the plantation's smith forging nails on site rather than drawing them all from the warehouse. Nail rods were thin bars of iron sold for exactly this purpose, cut and headed by hand into nails of whatever size was needed. Making them locally saved on the cost of finished nails when imported stock ran short or the right size was not available. The spring rat traps reflected a constant problem. Rats had come ashore from ships and multiplied on the island, damaging crops, stored grain and young poultry. Traps issued to the plantation formed part of a long struggle against them that the Company never fully won.
236	229	1765 Broughtover L 10 1 3 Lines No. 4 for the great Wood 2 9 Tar for Do. and the Carts 1 Gall. 10 Oil Train for the Overseer 1½ Galls. 4 9 Cart Wheels 2 Wheel Barrows Gardr. 1 8 - Cordage for Carts 27 lb 10 5 L 12 6 - Military Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st of March 1765 vizt. Rice 1 Cwt 3 qr 11 3 Beef 136 lb 2 - 10 Arrack 4¼ Galls. 16 6 Sugar 31 lb 7 9 Sope 8 lb 5 2 Tea Bohea 4 lb 3 5 Pepper 1 lb 6 Flour 6 lb 9 Salt Cape 25 lb	The plantation's account for the quarter closed with lines, tar, oil and equipment for the carts. Brought forward, £10 1s 3d Lines size No 4 for the Great Wood, 2, £0 0s 9d Tar for the Great Wood and the carts, 1 gallon, £0 0s 10d Train oil for the overseer, 1½ gallons, £0 4s 9d Cart wheels, 2, and wheelbarrows for the gardener, £1 8s 0d Cordage for the carts, 27 lb, £0 10s 5d Total, £12 6s 0d A separate account, headed with the name Mallary, recorded the following stores issued over the same quarter. Rice, 1 cwt 3 qr 0 lb, £0 11s 3d Salt beef, 13 pieces, £2 0s 10d Arrack, 4¼ gallons, £0 16s 6d Sugar, 31 lb, £0 7s 9d Soap, 8 lb, £0 5s 2d Bohea tea, 4 lb, £0 3s 5d Pepper, 1 lb, £0 0s 6d Flour, 6 lb, £0 0s 9d Cape salt, 25 lb, £0 1s 8d Train oil, 1 gallon, £0 3s 2d Total, £4 11s 0d **Interpretations** The Great Wood was the largest surviving stretch of woodland on the island, on the high eastern plateau, and the Company guarded it as a reserve of timber and firewood. Lines and tar issued for it suggest work on its boundaries, perhaps marking out or repairing fences to keep out goats and cattle, which destroyed young trees by browsing and trampling. Protecting the wood mattered all the more on an island that was already importing coal from England because its native timber had been so heavily cut. The account headed Mallary covered a small but complete household ration: meat, rice, flour, sugar, tea, spices, soap, salt, lamp oil and arrack. Its range suggests provisions for an individual or a small household maintained at the Company's expense for the quarter, rather than stores for any department. Such accounts were kept for men on special service, for pensioners, or for others whom the council had agreed to support, and recording them separately

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		1 8 Oil Train 1 Gall. 3 2 L 4 11 -	allowed the directors to see exactly what each allowance cost.
237	230	15th April Boats Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1765 vizt. Nails vizt. 3 10 1 4 1 6 2 2 3 7 Deals Elm Board ½ 3 4 Pitch and Tar vizt. Barl. Pitch 1 1 16 9 Tar 29 Galls. 1 4 2 3 - 11 Paint vizt. Ven. Red dry 12 2 6 Do. Do. mixed 3 1 5 Barl. Blackg. 1 7 Copperas ½ 1½ Yel. Oaker Dry ½ 1½ W. Lead mixed ½ 2 5 3 Turners Ware Pr. Brushes 2 1 - Oil Linseed ¾ 2 10 Twine 2 Skains 1 - Cordage 461 lb 8 3 3 Oars 7 1 7 3 L 13 8 5	The storekeeper's accounts also recorded the stores issued to the Company's boats between 1 January and 31 March 1765. Nails: Tenpenny nails, 3 Fourpenny nails, 1 Sixpenny nails, 1 Twopenny nails, 2 Nails in total, £0 3s 7d Elm board, ½, £0 3s 4d Pitch and tar: Pitch, 1 barrel, £1 16s 9d Tar, 29 gallons, £1 4s 2d Pitch and tar in total, £3 0s 11d Paint: Venetian red, dry, 12 lb, £0 2s 6d Venetian red, mixed, 3 lb, £0 1s 5d Blacking, 1 barrel, £0 0s 7d Copperas, ½ lb, £0 0s 5½d Yellow ochre, dry, ½ lb, £0 0s 1½d White lead, mixed, ½ lb, £0 0s 2d Paint in total, £0 5s 3d Paint brushes, 2, £0 1s 0d Linseed oil, ¾ gallon, £0 2s 10d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 0d Cordage, 461 lb, £8 3s 3d Oars, 7, £1 7s 3d Total, £13 8s 5d **Interpretations** The boats were the island's lifeline to every ship in the road. St Helena had no quay where vessels could berth, so passengers, stores, water casks and provisions all passed between ship and shore in the Company's launch, longboat and smaller craft, landed through the swell at the steps below Jamestown. Cordage made up well over half the quarter's charge for the boats, more than 4 hundredweight, which reflected the constant wear on painters, mooring lines and the tackle used to hoist heavy casks in and out. Seven new oars in three months shows how hard the boat crews, largely slaves, were worked. Pitch and tar kept the boats watertight. Seams between the planks were packed with oakum and sealed with hot pitch, while tar was brushed over the hull and rigging to protect them from salt water and rot. Venetian red and yellow ochre were cheap earth pigments of iron oxide, the ordinary colours for painting working boats, and mixed with linseed oil they gave a durable coat that resisted weather at little cost.
238	231	1765 Hospital Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1765 vizt. Sugar 269 lb 3 7 3 Flour 269 lb 1 13 7 Oil Train 10¾ 1 14 - Tea Bohea	The storekeeper's accounts also set out the stores issued to the hospital between 1 January and 31 March 1765. Sugar, 269 lb, £3 7s 3d Flour, 269 lb, £1 13s 7d Train oil, 10½ gallons, £1 14s 0d Bohea tea, 3 lb, £0 6s 10d Rice, 3 cwt, £1 2s 6d Cape salt, 125 lb, £0 3s 6d Total, £8 12s 3d The fortifications account recorded the following issues over the same quarter.

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		3 Cwt 9 6 10 Rice 3 Cwt 1 2 6 Salt Cape 125 lb 3 6 L 18 12 3 Fortification Dr. for the follows. Stores Issued from the 1st January the 31st March 1765 vizt. Cordage for Hallyards for Prosperous Bay Flag 7½ lb 2 8 Thread Coloured 1 lb 3 3 Twine 2 Skains to mend Cartridges 1 - L 6 11	Cordage for the flag halyards at Prosperous Bay, 7½ lb, £0 2s 8d Coloured thread for mending cartridges, 1 lb, £0 3s 3d Twine for mending cartridges, 2 skeins, £0 1s 0d Total, £0 6s 11d **Interpretations** The hospital's stores show the sick being fed differently from the healthy. Sugar was the largest item, together with flour for bread, whereas the Company's slaves received less than a tenth as much flour for a far larger number of people and lived chiefly on rice, yams and salt meat. The patients were mostly soldiers and sailors from ships in the road, and the ration of bread, sweetened drinks and rice reflected contemporary medical opinion that easily digested, nourishing food helped recovery. The train oil lit the wards through the night. Prosperous Bay lay on the island's remote eastern coast, where a steep but usable landing had given an English force access to the interior when it retook the island from the Dutch in 1673. The Company kept a lookout and signal post there ever after, and the halyards were for hoisting the flag that passed warnings of approaching ships along the chain of posts to the Castle. The thread and twine issued to mend cartridges were probably for repairing the cloth or paper bags that held each gun's measured charge of powder, which wore and split in storage and had to be stitched before use.
239	232	15 April Fly Cutter Dr. for the follows. Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1765 Flour 390 lb 2 8 9 Beef 36 lb 9 5 Nails vizt. 4 3 2 11 6 6 3 1½ 6 10 2 7½ 6 40 2 1½ 3 Spikes 11½ 4 Coopers Rivets 1 10 13 7 Iron Ware vizt. Plate Iron 36 lb 2 14 - Yell. Spelter ½ lb 11 Borax ½ lb 6 3 3 1 7 Twine 76 Skains 1 13 - Canvas English 5 Ps. 11 5 - Cordage 255 lb 15 2 9 Pitch and Tar vizt. Tar	The *Fly* cutter's account recorded the stores issued to her between 1 January and 31 March 1765. Flour, 390 lb, £2 8s 9d Beef, 36 lb, £0 9s 5d Nails: Threepenny nails, 4, £0 2s 11d Sixpenny nails, 6, £0 3s 1½d Tenpenny nails, 6, £0 2s 7½d Fortypenny nails, 6, £0 2s 1½d Spikes, 3, £0 0s 11½d Coopers' rivets, 4, £0 1s 10d Nails in total, £0 13s 7d Hardware: Plate iron, 36 lb, £2 14s 0d Spelter, ½ lb, £0 0s 11d Borax, ½ lb, £0 6s 3d Hardware in total, £3 1s 7d Twine, 76 skeins, £1 13s 0d English canvas, 5 pieces, £11 5s 0d Cordage, 255 lb, £15 2s 9d Pitch and tar: Tar, 13 gallons, £0 15s 0d Rosin, 42 lb, £0 8s 9d Pitch and tar in total, £1 3s 9d Arrack, 32¼ gallons, £6 4s 11d Paint: Blacking, 4 barrels, £0 2s 4d Yellow ochre, mixed, 1 lb, £0 0s 2½d Venetian red, mixed, 3 lb, £0 1s 4½d Paint in total, £0 3s 11d Carried forward, £42 11s 8d **Interpretations** The issues to the *Fly* amounted to a refit after a hard voyage. She was the cutter whose crew Thomas Hamilton attended during an eight-month passage to Madagascar and back, reported to the council on 15 April 1765. Five pieces of English canvas and 76 skeins of twine were for making or repairing sails, since twine was used to stitch sail seams. The cordage renewed her rigging, and tar and rosin sealed her hull and ropes after months in tropical waters. The plate iron, spelter and borax point to metalwork, perhaps repairs to ironwork or tinned fittings aboard. The 32¼ gallons of arrack were the crew's spirit ration for the quarter, part of the ordinary allowance

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		13 Galls. 15 - Rozen 42 lb 8 9 1 3 9 Arrack 32¼ Galls. 6 4 11 Paint vizt. Barl. Blackg. 4 2 4 Yell. Oaker mixed 1 lb 2½ Ven. Red Do. 3 lb 1 4½ 3 11 Carrd. Over L 42 11 8	at sea rather than a reward for special labour. Charging it to the cutter's own account, rather than to the general expenses, kept the full cost of running the vessel in one place. The directors in London could then judge whether a Company-owned cutter making voyages from the island, perhaps to buy slaves, paid its way.
240	233	1765 Broughtover L 42 11 8 Turners Ware vizt. Pr. Brushes 2 1 - Oil Linseed ½ Gall. 1 11 Oars 4 15 7 Iron 45 lb 9 4 Lines Deep Sea 1 5 - Blocks vizt. 1 Single of 3 Inches 1 Do. 9 Do. 2 3 1 Do. 11 Do. 1 Do. 12 Do. 3 6 5 9 Coals 13 Chaldrons 11 - Masts vizt. 1 Mast 18 Inches Diamr. 70 Ft. Long 21 7 - 1 Boom 13 Do. Do. 56 Do. 6 12 - 27 19 - L 73 10 3	The *Fly* cutter's account for the quarter closed with further fittings, fuel and a new mast and boom. Brought forward, £42 11s 8d Paint brushes, 2, £0 1s 0d Linseed oil, ½ gallon, £0 1s 11d Oars, 4, £0 15s 7d Iron, 45 lb, £0 9s 4d Deep-sea line, 1, £0 5s 0d Blocks: Single block of 3 inches, 1, and single block of 9 inches, 1, together £0 2s 3d Single block of 11 inches, 1, and single block of 12 inches, 1, together £0 3s 6d Blocks in total, £0 5s 9d Coal, [...] chaldrons, £1 1s 0d Masts: Mast of 18 inches diameter and 70 feet long, 1, £21 7s 0d Boom of 13 inches diameter and 56 feet long, 1, £6 12s 0d Masts in total, £27 19s 0d Total, £73 10s 3d **Interpretations** The mast and boom accounted for well over a third of the *Fly*'s charges for the quarter. A spar 70 feet long and 18 inches thick could only come from a large, straight conifer, most likely Baltic or North American pine shipped out from England. Nothing on St Helena could have supplied it. A cutter carried a single tall mast with a long boom for her great fore-and-aft mainsail, and replacing both suggests the originals had been damaged or sprung on the Madagascar voyage. Holding spars of this size in store was costly, but without them the island's only seagoing Company vessel would have been laid up until a replacement arrived from England. Blocks were the wooden pulleys through which ropes ran to raise and control sails, yards and cargo. They were measured by the length of the shell, the wooden casing, so a 3-inch block served light lines while a 12-inch block handled the heavy halyards and sheets of the mainsail. A single block had one sheave, or pulley wheel, the simplest and commonest pattern. The coal was perhaps for the cutter's galley stove or for the smith working on her ironwork, in keeping with the 45 pounds of iron issued alongside it.
241	234	15th April Mercury Snow Dr. for the following Stores Issued from the 1st January to the 31st March 1765 vizt. Canvas English 10 Ps.	The snow *Mercury*'s account recorded the stores issued to her between 1 January and 31 March 1765. English canvas, 10 pieces, £22 10s 0d Hardware: Plate iron, 54 lb, £4 1s 0d Blank keys, 8, £0 5s 4d

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		22 10 - Iron Ware vizt. Plate Iron 54 lb 4 1 - Blank Keys 8 5 4 4 6 4 Nails vizt. Coopers Rivets 4 lb 1 10 Glazs. Brads 1 lb 10 Scupper Nails 12 lb 5 3 7 11 Cordage 16 Cwt 1 qr 9 lb 32 7 9 Flour 25 lb 3 1 Pitch and Tar vizt. Barrels Pitch 2 3 13 7 Do. Tar 1 1 4 8 Do. Rozin 1 1 16 - Turpentine 63 lb 14 2 7 8 5 Deals vizt. Double 4 13 8 Single 2 3 10 17 6 Bunting vizt. White 6 yards 3 1½ Red 18 yds. 13 1½ Blue 6 yds. 3 4 19 7 Carried over L 69 - 7	Hardware in total, £4 6s 4d Nails: Coopers' rivets, 4, £0 1s 10d Glaziers' brads, 1 lb, £0 0s 10d Scupper nails, 12 lb, £0 5s 3d Nails in total, £0 7s 11d Cordage, 16 cwt 1 qr 9 lb, £32 7s 9d Flour, 25 lb, £0 3s 1d Pitch and tar: Pitch, 2 barrels, £3 13s 7d Tar, 1 barrel, £1 4s 8d Rosin, 1 barrel, £1 16s 0d Turpentine, 68 lb, £0 14s 2d Pitch and tar in total, £7 8s 5d Deals: Double deals, 4, £0 13s 8d Single deals, 2, £0 3s 10d Deals in total, £0 17s 6d Bunting: White bunting, 6 yards, £0 3s 1½d Red bunting, 18 yards, £0 13s 1½d Blue bunting, 6 yards, £0 3s 4d Bunting in total, £0 19s 7d Carried forward, £69 0s 7d **Interpretations** The *Mercury* was evidently a Company vessel refitted at the island's expense in the same quarter as the *Fly*. Her surgeon, Thomas Hamilton, had cared for the *Fly*'s crew during the eight-month voyage to Madagascar, and Captain Lea told the council on 15 April 1765 that the *Fly*'s men had been far sicker than the *Mercury*'s. The two vessels had therefore sailed in company, and both came back needing sails, rigging and hull work. The *Mercury*'s cordage alone, over 16 hundredweight, cost more than twice the *Fly*'s, which fits a larger vessel with the two masts of a snow. The 30 yards of red, white and blue bunting were for making flags. Red was the dominant colour, perhaps for a new ensign, since the red ensign flown by British merchant and Company vessels needed far more red cloth than any other colour. White and blue were used in smaller amounts for the canton or for signal flags. Scupper nails were short, broad-headed nails used to fix lead or leather linings around the scuppers, the drain holes along a ship's deck edge that let water run overboard. Their wide heads held soft lead sheet without tearing it. Glaziers' brads were small headless nails used to hold panes of glass in window frames before puttying, here perhaps for the stern or cabin windows.
242	235	1765 Broughtover L 69 - 7 Thread vizt. W. Brown 1 lb 6 7 Coloured 1 lb 3 3 9 10 Turners Ware vizt. Paint Brushes 6 3	The *Mercury*'s account for the quarter closed with thread, an anchor and a set of spars. Brought forward, £69 0s 7d Thread: Whited-brown thread, 1 lb, £0 6s 7d Coloured thread, 1 lb, £0 3s 3d Thread in total, £0 9s 10d Paint brushes, 6, £0 3s 0d Anchors: Anchor weighing 9 cwt 1 qr 27 lb, 1, £16 5s 2d Anchor stock, 1, £1 14s 8d Anchors in total, £17 19s 10d Masts and spars:

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Anchors vizt. Anchor Wt. 9 Cwt 1 qr 27 lb 1 16 5 2 Do. Stock 1 1 14 8 17 19 10 Masts vizt. 1 Top Mast 11 Ins. Diamr. 32 Feet Long 6 1 - 1 Fores Do. 13½ Do. Do. 49 Do. 7 10 - 1 Top Sail Yd. 7 Do. Do. 31 Do. 1 8 - 1 Gaff 7½ Do. Do. 26 Do. 1 5 - 1 Topg. Jib Boom 7½ Do. Do. 26 Do. 1 5 - 1 Spar for two Top Gallant Masts 32 Do. 15 7 18 17 - L 105 14 10 Errors Excepted St. Helena 31st March 1765 - (signed) Jas. Powell Storekeeper	Topmast of 11 inches diameter and 32 feet long, 1, £6 1s 0d Foremast of 15½ inches diameter and 49 feet long, 1, £7 10s 0d Topsail yard of 7 inches diameter and 31 feet long, 1, £1 5s 0d Gaff of 7½ inches diameter and 26 feet long, 1, £1 5s 0d Flying jib boom of 7½ inches diameter and 26 feet long, 1, £1 5s 0d Spar for two topgallant masts, 32 feet long, 1, £0 15s 7d Masts and spars in total, £18 1s 7d Total, £105 14s 10d James Powell signed the stores accounts as storekeeper at St Helena on 31 March 1765, with the customary reservation that any errors in them remained open to correction. **Interpretations** The new anchor and the full set of spars point to real damage on the *Mercury*'s voyage. A vessel rarely gave up an anchor weighing nearly half a ton unless she had been forced to cut her cable in a gale or on a foul bottom, and replacing a foremast, topmast, yard, gaff and jib boom together suggests she had been dismasted or badly strained aloft. The anchor stock was the heavy wooden crossbar fixed at the top of the shank, set at right angles to the arms, which forced one fluke down into the seabed so the anchor could bite. Stocks were made separately from oak and often replaced, since they rotted or split long before the iron wore out. The formula of reserving errors, set above Powell's signature, had a precise legal and financial effect. It meant that by signing the accounts the storekeeper vouched for them as a true statement of stores received and issued, while keeping the right to amend any mistake found later without that correction being treated as proof of fraud. Given the scale of the quarter's figures, running to well over £1,000 in sales alone, the reservation protected Powell against being held personally liable for small clerical slips when the directors in London came to audit the books.
243	236	15th April List of the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants on the Island St. Helena, with their Salarys Diet Money &c. for the Quarter commencing the 1st Day of January and ending the 31st Day of March 1765 vizt. John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Saly. 125 - - Do. Allowance for Servants as usual 31 14 9 156 14 9 Daniel Cornelle Esqr. Lieut. Governor 11 1 1 Matthew Purling of Council Saly. 15 - - Do. Accomptant 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 - - Do. 1 19 5 49 9 5 Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Saly. 7 10 - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 10 - - Archibald Mitchel Engineer 9 6 10	The storekeeper's accounts closed with a list of the Company's officers and employees on St Helena, showing their salaries, food allowances and other payments for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1765. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, customary allowance for servants, £31 14s 9d John Skottowe in total, £156 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, £11 1s 1d Matthew Burling, member of council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Burling, as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Burling, food allowance, £15 0s 0d Matthew Burling, further allowance, £1 19s 5d Matthew Burling in total, £49 9s 5d Thomas Kirkpatrick, member of council, salary, £7 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Kirkpatrick in total, £10 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, engineer, £9 6s 10d John Thackeray, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d John Thackeray, food allowance, £15 0s 0d John Thackeray in total, £40 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, secretary, salary, £17 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, food allowance, £15 0s 0d Matthew Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d Matthew Bazett in total, £35 0s 0d James Powell, storekeeper, salary, £17 10s 0d James Powell, food allowance, £15 0s 0d

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		John Thackeray Chaplain Salary 25 - - Do. Diet Money 15 - - 40 - - Matthew Bazett Secretary Salary 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 35 - - James Powell Storekeeper Salary 17 10 - Do. Diet Money 15 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 35 - - William Wrangham Factor Saly. 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - Do. Assistant Storekeeper 5 - - Do. Assistant to the Governor 4 12 1 29 12 - Francis Wrangham Factor Salary 7 10 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House 2 10 - 20 - - Carrd. Over L 296 4 1	James Powell, house rent, £2 10s 0d James Powell in total, £35 0s 0d William Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, food allowance, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d William Wrangham, as assistant to the Governor, £4 12s 1d William Wrangham in total, £29 12s 0d Francis Wrangham, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Francis Wrangham, food allowance, £10 0s 0d Francis Wrangham, house allowance, £2 10s 0d Francis Wrangham in total, £20 0s 0d Carried forward, £296 4s 1d **Interpretations** The list shows how the Company paid its officials through a basic salary topped up by allowances and extra posts. A factor's salary of £7 10s 0d a quarter was modest, but food money and house rent more than doubled it. Additional appointments added more again: William Wrangham drew separate sums as assistant storekeeper and as assistant to the Governor, and Matthew Burling was paid as accountant on top of his seat on the council. Holding several offices at once was the normal route to a living income in the Company's service, and it also let a small island administration cover many functions with few men. Two payments were plainly for part of the quarter only. Lieutenant Governor Corneille received just £11 1s 1d, which matches his arrival on the island on 21 March 1765, when the gunner fired a salute for his landing. Archibald Mitchell, the engineer who laid his survey plans before the council on 8 April 1765, was likewise paid only from the date his service on the island began. The Company paid its officers from the day they took up their posts, and the pro-rated sums record those arrival dates in the accounts. Governor Skottowe's quarterly salary of £125 0s 0d, or £500 a year, was the largest by far, and his servants' allowance of almost £32 a quarter was itself more than most officials' total pay. The allowance recognised that the Governor maintained a household suited to entertaining visiting commanders and dignitaries, which served the Company's interests in keeping ships' captains cooperative.
244	237	1765 Broughtover L 296 4 1 Richard Law Factor Salary 42 Day 3 12 10½ Do. Diet Money Do. 5 5 2 Do. House Rent Do. 1 6 3½ Do. Assistant to the Governor Do. 5 5 2 15 15 6 David Mack Writer Salary 5 - - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House 2 10 - 17 10 - Richd. Wright Writer Salary 5 - - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 17 10 - Jonathan Doveton Factor Saly. from 20th March	The list of the Company's officers and employees for the quarter continued as follows. Brought forward, £296 4s 1d Richard Law, factor, salary for 42 days, £3 12s 10½d Richard Law, food allowance for 42 days, £5 5s 2d Richard Law, house rent for 42 days, £1 6s 3½d Richard Law, as assistant to the Governor for 42 days, £5 5s 2d Richard Law in total, £15 15s 6d David Alcock, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d David Alcock, food allowance, £10 0s 0d David Alcock, house allowance, £2 10s 0d David Alcock in total, £17 10s 0d Brit[...] Wright, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Brit[...] Wright, food allowance, £10 0s 0d Brit[...] Wright, house rent, £2 10s 0d Brit[...] Wright in total, £17 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, factor, salary from 20 March, £2 8s 2d John Goodwin, writer, salary from 20 March, £1 16s 2d Jonathan Doveton and John Goodwin in total, £4 4s 4d Robert Barclay, surgeon, salary, £9 15s 0d Robert Barclay, food allowance, £10 0s 0d

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		2 8 2 John Goodwin Writer from Do. 1 16 2 4 4 4 Robert Barclay Surgeon Saly. 9 15 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 22 5 - John Burkhard Surgeons Mate Saly. 6 5 - Do. Diet Money 10 - - Do. House Rent 2 10 - 18 15 - Richard Beale Judge Advocate Saly. 10 - - Do. Schoolmaster 3 8 3 13 8 3 Samuel Alexander 7 10 - Matthew Bazett 12 10 - Overseers 20 - - John Bland Master Mason 79 Days 15 3 - Do. Diet Money 8 13 1½ Do. House Rent 1 5 11½ 25 2 1 William Hoolbrook Asst. Mason from the 20th March 3 12 3½ Thomas Townsend Stone Mason Saly. 19 10 - Thomas Bailey Do. from the 20th March 2 7 - 25 9 3½ John Robinson Carpenter Saly. 12 10 - Do. House Rent 15 - 13 5 - Carried Over L 589 8 6½	Robert Barclay, house rent, £2 10s 0d Robert Barclay in total, £22 5s 0d John Burkhard, surgeon's mate, salary, £6 5s 0d John Burkhard, food allowance, £10 0s 0d John Burkhard, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Burkhard in total, £18 15s 0d Richard Beale, judge advocate, salary, £10 0s 0d Richard Beale, as schoolmaster, £3 8s 3d Richard Beale in total, £13 8s 3d Samuel Alexander, overseer, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, £12 10s 0d Overseers in total, £20 0s 0d John Bland, master mason, salary for 79 days, £15 3s 0d John Bland, food allowance, £8 13s 1½d John Bland, house rent, £1 5s 11½d John Bland in total, £25 2s 1d William Holbrook, assistant mason, from 20 March, £3 12s 3½d Thomas Townsend, stonemason, salary, £19 10s 0d Thomas Bailey, stonemason, from 20 March, £2 7s 0d Masons in total, £25 9s 3½d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d John Robinson, house rent, £0 15s 0d John Robinson in total, £13 5s 0d Carried forward, £589 8s 6½d **Interpretations** Several men began drawing pay on 20 March 1765: Jonathan Doveton and John Goodwin as factor and writer, William Holbrook as assistant mason and Thomas Bailey as stonemason. The date fell just before the arrival of the *Salisbury* and *Dutton* on 21 and 22 March and the landing of Lieutenant Governor Corneille, and the group perhaps reached the island on the same ships, with pay dated from a common point. Doveton was also one of the churchwardens appointed on 8 April 1765, which suggests the new factor was already known on the island and perhaps came from a settler family. The addition of two masons at this moment would have strengthened the workforce available to Mitchell for the fortification works he proposed. Richard Beale combined the posts of judge advocate and schoolmaster. The judge advocate advised the council on legal procedure and conducted prosecutions at courts martial and in the island's courts, a role requiring education and familiarity with law. That same learning qualified him to teach, and the Company, keen to economise, joined the two posts under one man. His school would have used the spelling books, primers and prayer books sold through the warehouse in the same quarter. Matthew Bazett appeared here as an overseer on the Company's land, the post whose monthly livestock return for March 1765 was signed by the overseer, and his pay of £12 10s 0d a quarter was far higher than that of his fellow overseer Samuel Alexander. Both men had also been nominated for sheriff by the inhabitants on 8 April 1765, which shows how the Company's paid posts and the island's civic offices drew on the same small group of settlers.
245	238	15th April Broughtover L 589 8 6½ Phillip Mahony Clerk of the Peace 10 - - Joseph Chamberlain Carpenters Mate 7 10 - David Bilford Gardener 10 - - James Tebbell Cooper 8 15 - William Mear Steward 47 Days Ditto	The list of the Company's officers and employees for the quarter continued with the civil staff and then the officers and sergeants of the First Company. Brought forward, £589 8s 6½d Phillip Mahoney, clerk of the peace, £10 0s 0d Joseph Chamberlain, carpenter's mate, £7 10s 0d David B[...]ford, gardener, £10 0s 0d James Corbett, cooper, £8 15s 0d William Mear, steward, food allowance for 47 days, £3 17s 3d

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		3 17 3 Thomas Brian Do. 43 Do. 3 10 8 Michael Frost Clock and Instrument Cleaner 1 5 - Zedekiah Saunderson Groom 2 - - George Straight Armourer 9 - - Solomon St. Maurice Master at Arms 6 5 - John Crisswell Cockswain of the Long Boat 7 10 - John Price Marshall and Goaler 7 10 - William Smith Clerk 5 - - 82 2 11 First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Captain Saly. 45 12 6 Solomon St. Maurice Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Samuel Desfountain Lieut. Salary 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Solomon Jacob Adjutant Saly. 22 16 3 Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 29 13 1½ Serjeants Robert Cager Discd. 23d. March 7 5 - John Tulk Do. 23 Do. 7 5 - John Hazard 7 12 1 Phillip Mahoney 7 12 1 29 14 2 Carrd. Over L 831 15 -	Thomas Brain, steward, food allowance for 43 days, £3 10s 8d Michael Frost, clock and instrument cleaner, £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Saunderson, groom, £2 0s 0d George Wright, armourer, £9 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, marshal at arms, £6 5s 0d John Griswell, coxswain of the longboat, £7 10s 0d John Price, marshal and gaoler, £7 10s 0d William Smith, clerk, £5 0s 0d Civil staff in total, £82 2s 11d First Company: Thomas Kirkpatrick, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Solomon St Maurice, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Solomon St Maurice, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Solomon St Maurice, house rent, £2 10s 0d Solomon St Maurice in total, £27 11s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Samuel Desfountain, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Samuel Desfountain, house rent, £2 10s 0d Samuel Desfountain in total, £27 11s 10½d Solomon Jacob, adjutant, salary, £22 16s 3d Solomon Jacob, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Solomon Jacob in total, £29 13s 1½d Sergeants: Robert Cager, discharged 22 March, £7 5s 0d John Tuft, discharged 23 March, £7 5s 0d John Hazard, £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahoney, £7 12s 1d Sergeants in total, £29 14s 2d Carried forward, £831 15s 0d **Interpretations** Several men held two posts at once, one civil and one military. Solomon St Maurice was both the Company's marshal at arms and a lieutenant in the First Company, and Phillip Mahoney served as clerk of the peace while also drawing pay as a sergeant. The garrison supplied the island's pool of literate, disciplined men, and appointing soldiers to civil offices spared the Company the cost of separate officials. The same practice appeared among the council, where Captain Kirkpatrick sat as a councillor while commanding the First Company. The two sergeants discharged on 22 and 23 March 1765 were paid only up to their date of release, like the officials paid from their date of arrival. Sergeants earned barely a third of a lieutenant's total, with no food or house allowance, which marked the sharp line between commissioned officers and the men who rose from the ranks. The clock and instrument cleaner, paid a small retainer, kept the Castle's clocks and the garrison's surveying and navigational instruments in working order, while the coxswain commanded the longboat that carried stores and people between ships and shore.
246	239	1765 Broughtover L 831 15 - Corporals Jonathan Lake Resignd. 5th Jany. 5 10 Do. Centinel from the 6th Jany. 3 10 10 Thomas Payne March 28th made Serjeant 5 1 6 Do. Serjeant from 29th March 5 - William Bannister 5 6 5½ Anthony Reynolds 5 6 5½ 19 16 1	The list continued with the corporals, drummers and privates of the First Company. Brought forward, £831 15s 0d Corporals: Jonathan Lake, corporal until he gave up the rank on 5 January, £0 5s 10d Jonathan Lake, private from 6 January, £3 10s 10d Thomas Payne, corporal until 28 March, when promoted sergeant, £5 1s 6d Thomas Payne, sergeant from 29 March, £0 5s 0d William Bannister, £5 6s 5½d Anthony Reynolds, £5 6s 5½d Corporals in total, £19 16s 1d Drummers: Richard Platfoot, £5 6s 5½d

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		Drummers Richard Flatfoot 5 6 5½ Henry Hewell 5 6 5½ Joseph Buchanan 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Centinels John Allis 3 16 ½ John Arkinstal 3 16 ½ John Aiman 3 16 ½ James Avery Entd. 20th March 10 - James Armstrong Do. 23 Do. 2 4 Thomas Berwick 3 16 ½ John Brown 3 16 ½ Joseph Buchmans 3 16 ½ William Burr 3 16 ½ Thomas Blake 3 16 ½ Edward Cocker 3 16 ½ Henry Crabb 3 16 ½ William Clifford Entd. 20th March 10 - Patrick Conner Do. 22d. Do. 2 4 Isaac Cay 3 16 ½ Centinels Carried over L 43 13 1½ Carrd. Over L 867 10 5½	Henry Hewell, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Buchanan, £5 6s 5½d Drummers in total, £15 19s 4½d Privates: John Ellis, £3 16s 0½d John Arkinstall, £3 16s 0½d John Aiman, £3 16s 0½d James Avery, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d James Armstrong, enlisted 22 March, £0 2s 4d Thomas Berwick, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Buchmans, £3 16s 0½d William Burn, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Blake, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cocker, £3 16s 0½d Henry Crabb, £3 16s 0½d William Clifford, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Patrick Conner, enlisted 22 March, £0 2s 4d Isaac Cay, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £43 13s 1½d Carried forward, £867 10s 5½d **Interpretations** The changes of rank in the list followed directly from the discharges recorded elsewhere. Two sergeants left the First Company on 22 and 23 March 1765, and Thomas Payne was promoted from corporal to sergeant on 29 March to fill one of the gaps. Jonathan Lake, by contrast, gave up his corporal's rank at the start of January and served the rest of the quarter as a private. Resigning a non-commissioned rank was sometimes a way to avoid a court martial for a minor offence, or a man might simply prefer the lighter responsibilities of a private. The pay difference was substantial, since a corporal drew about £5 6s a quarter against £3 16s for a private. The privates enlisted on 20 and 22 March 1765 were the recruits for whom 68 blankets and rations of pork, flour and rice were charged to the garrison account in the same quarter. They arrived with the ships that reached the island in the third week of March, and their pay ran only from the day they joined. Drummers were paid at the same rate as corporals, reflecting their importance in relaying orders and signals, and, as noted with the whipcord in the garrison stores, their role in carrying out corporal punishment.
247	240	15th April Brought Over L 867 10 5½ Centinels brought over L 43 13 1½ Henry Cudby 3 16 ½ Moses Baffett Entd. 20th March 10 - John Britt Entd. 20 Do. 10 - John Brame Do. 22 Do. 2 4 Timothy Brion Do. 22 Do. 2 4 John Cairs 3 16 ½ John Doey 3 16 ½ David Davis 3 16 ½ James Drake 3 16 ½ Thomas Durham 3 16 ½ James Dun Enterd. 22d. March 2 4 Samuel Eales	The roll of privates in the First Company continued as follows. Brought forward, £867 10s 5½d Privates brought forward, £43 13s 1½d Henry Cudby, £3 16s 0½d Moses Baffett, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d John Brill, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d John Brame, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Timothy Brion, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d John Cavis, £3 16s 0½d John Deacy, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Durham, £3 16s 0½d James Dun, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Samuel Eales, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, £3 16s 0½d John Finis, discharged 23 March, £3 12s 6d Cornelius Fish, £3 16s 0½d William French, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ferris, enlisted 20 March and promoted sergeant, £1 0s 0d Jonathan Godby, £3 16s 0½d James Granger, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d William Greenwood, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d James Holt, £3 16s 0½d William Hawkes, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 16 ½ Adam Evans 3 16 ½ John Finnis Dischd. 23d. March 3 12 6 Cornelius Fish 3 16 ½ William French 3 16 ½ Thomas Ferris Entd. March 20th made Serjeant 1 - - Jonathan Godby 3 16 ½ James Grainger Entd. 22d. March 2 4 William Greenwood Entd. 22d. Do. 2 4 James Holt 3 16 ½ William Hawkes 3 16 ½ William Hibert Jany. 5th made Corporal 4 2 Do. Corporal from 6th Jany. 4 19 2 William Henderson 3 16 ½ James Hedge 3 16 ½ John Howden 3 16 ½ Centinels brought over L 117 7 3½ Carried over L 867 10 5½	William Hebert, private until promoted corporal on 5 January, £0 4s 2d William Hebert, corporal from 6 January, £4 19s 2d William Henderson, £3 16s 0½d James Hedge, £3 16s 0½d John Howden, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £117 7s 3½d Carried forward, £867 10s 5½d **Interpretations** The promotions and discharges in the roll fitted together as a single reshuffle. William Hebert was made corporal on 6 January 1765, the day after Jonathan Lake gave up that rank and returned to the ranks as a private. Thomas Ferris enlisted on 20 March and was promoted sergeant at once, which suggests he was a former soldier or non-commissioned officer who arrived with the recruits and brought experience the garrison needed. His promotion, together with Thomas Payne's on 29 March, replaced the two sergeants discharged on 22 and 23 March. The Company kept its establishment of sergeants and corporals filled by moving men up from within the ranks or appointing experienced newcomers. The batch of new privates enlisted on 20 and 22 March, eight on this page alone and four more on the preceding one, confirms that a sizeable draft of recruits joined the garrison at that moment. Their entries match the blankets and provisions issued for recruits during the quarter. The discharge of John Finis on 23 March, on the same day as a sergeant, indicates that time-expired men were released in a group as soon as their replacements had landed, so the garrison's strength never fell.
248	241	1765 Broughtover L 867 10 5½ Centinel brought over L 117 7 3½ Edward Haddock Entd. 20th March 10 - William Holmes Do. 20 Do. 10 - William Johnson 3 16 ½ Richard Knight 3 16 ½ George Kibbet Desert. 5th March 2 13 4 William Luke 3 16 ½ Duncan MacClaron 3 16 ½ William Mumford 3 16 ½ John May 3 16 ½ Thomas Marshall 3 16 ½ Thomas Mears 3 16 ½ John Pickering 3 16 ½ William Pawton 3 16 ½ Thomas Price 3 16 ½ Michael Read 3 16 ½ Thomas Roberts 3 16 ½ Anthony Read 3 16 ½ William Robinson	The roll of privates in the First Company concluded as follows. Brought forward, £867 10s 5½d Privates brought forward, £117 7s 3½d Edward Haddock, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d William Holmes, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, £3 16s 0½d George Kibbet, deserted 5 March, £2 13s 4d William Lukey, £3 16s 0½d Duncan MacClaren, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, £3 16s 0½d John May, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mears, £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 Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, £3 16s 0½d George Roe, £3 16s 0½d William Rowlands, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Rolf, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rogers, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d William Sweasy, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorp, £3 16s 0½d John Steward, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Stacey, private until promoted corporal on 28 March, £3 12s 6d Joseph Stacey, corporal from 29 March, £0 3s 6d Privates carried forward, £202 17s 10½d Carried forward, £867 10s 5½d **Interpretations** George Kibbet's desertion on 5 March 1765 fell on the same day that His Majesty's ships *Panther*, *Weymouth* and *Seaford* left the island, according to the gunner's return for March. On an island with no

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 ½ Thomas Ransom 3 16 ½ George Roe 3 16 ½ William Rowlands 3 16 ½ Silvanus Rolf 3 16 ½ Thomas Rogers Entd. 22d. March 2 4 William Stwafy 3 16 ½ John Springthorp 3 16 ½ John Steward 3 16 ½ Joseph Stacey made Corpl. 28th March 3 12 6 Do. Corporal from March 29 3 6 Centinels Carried Over L 208 17 10½ Carrd. Over L 867 10 5½	other way off, desertion almost always meant slipping aboard a departing vessel, and naval ships short of hands were not always careful to turn away a willing volunteer. Kibbet was paid only to the day he vanished, and his case shows why the council watched ships' departures closely and why the garrison's strength could fall suddenly whenever a squadron sailed. William Pawton and Anthony Read appeared here as serving privates for the full quarter, and both petitioned on 5 April 1765 for discharge at the end of their contracted service. Their petitions came only after the new recruits had enlisted in the third week of March, which suggests the council timed releases so that no one left the garrison until his replacement had arrived. Joseph Stacey's promotion to corporal on 28 March 1765 completed the chain of changes that began with the discharge of two sergeants. Thomas Payne moved up from corporal to sergeant on 29 March, and Stacey filled the corporal's post Payne left. Each vacancy at the top of the non-commissioned ranks thus opened a step for a man below.
249	242	15th April Broughtover L 867 10 5½ Centinels brought over L 208 17 10½ Edward Terry 3 16 ½ John Taylor 3 16 ½ Richard Tollington 3 16 ½ William Tipper 3 16 ½ Luke Vernon 3 16 ½ John Whittingdale 3 16 ½ Richard Wheeler Discharged 20th March 3 12 6 Benjamin Wise 3 16 ½ Thomas Wixdall 3 16 ½ Thomas Warne 3 16 ½ John Weston 3 16 ½ George Watt 3 16 ½ Richard Youcas 3 16 ½ William Yates 3 16 ½ 261 18 11 Second Company Henry Bazett Captain Saly. 45 12 6 Michael Frost Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ John Ware Welch Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ 25 1 10½ Serjeants	The roll of privates in the First Company finished, and the list moved on to the officers and sergeants of the Second Company. Brought forward, £867 10s 5½d Privates brought forward, £208 17s 10½d Edward Terry, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tollington, £3 16s 0½d William Tipper, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, £3 16s 0½d John Whittingdale, £3 16s 0½d Richard Wheeler, discharged 20 March, £3 12s 6d Benjamin Wise, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Windall, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Warne, £3 16s 0½d John Weston, £3 16s 0½d George Watt, £3 16s 0½d Richard Youcas, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, £3 16s 0½d Privates in total, £261 12s 11d Second Company: Henry Bazett, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Michael Frost, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Michael Frost, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Michael Frost, house rent, £2 10s 0d Michael Frost in total, £27 11s 10½d John Ware Welch, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Ware Welch, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d John Ware Welch in total, £25 1s 10½d Sergeants: John Bazett, £7 12s 1d Thomas Woffington, £7 12s 1d William Greenough, £7 12s 1d John Fish, £7 12s 1d Sergeants in total, £30 8s 4d Carried forward, £1,258 3s 11½d **Interpretations** The Bazett family held an unusual share of the island's posts. Henry Bazett commanded the Second Company as captain and had been nominated as a churchwarden on 8 April 1765. John Bazett served as one of his sergeants. Matthew Bazett drew pay both as the council's secretary and as an overseer on the Company's land, and he stood among the three nominees for sheriff. On an island with a few hundred free settlers, a handful of established families supplied most of the officers, officials and parish leaders, and the Company relied on their loyalty and

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Bazett 7 12 1 Thomas Woffington 7 12 1 William Greenough 7 12 1 John Fish 7 12 1 30 8 4 Carrd. Over L 1258 3 11½	local knowledge to run both the garrison and the civil administration. Michael Frost, a lieutenant in the Second Company, was also the man paid a small retainer to clean the island's clocks and instruments. The combination suggests some mechanical skill, and it fits the Company's habit of giving extra paid tasks to men already on its books rather than employing specialists. John Ware Welch, the other lieutenant, received no house rent, which suggests he lodged in quarters provided by the Company, perhaps at the Castle or in the barracks.
250	243	1765 Broughtover L 1258 3 11½ Corporals William Stapleford 5 6 5½ Samuel Curd 5 6 5½ Barnard Millard Jany. 7th Transfd. 2 2 Thomas Newton 5 6 5½ 16 7 6½ Drummers Robert Davis 5 6 5½ Francis Soane 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Centinels Samuel Alstone 3 16 ½ Thomas Adams Entd. 8th Jany. 3 9 2 Joseph Banks 3 16 ½ William Birch 3 16 ½ William Brooks 3 16 ½ Jacob Brown 3 16 ½ Robert Brown 3 16 ½ Thomas Bott 3 16 ½ Nicholas Bushell 3 16 ½ Daniel Bye 3 16 ½ William Bell 15 - John Brown Entd. 14th March 3 9 2 John Carr Disd. 24th Do. 3 16 ½ Edward Cozens 3 16 ½ Thomas Chesterly 3 16 ½ William Conquest 3 16 ½ William Clay 3 16 ½ John Crawley Entd. 20th March 10 - Centinels Carrd. Over L 61 7 11 Carrd. Over L 1285 4 5½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	The list continued with the corporals, drummers and privates of the Second Company. Brought forward, £1,258 3s 11½d Corporals: William Stapleford, £5 6s 5½d Samuel Curd, £5 6s 5½d Bernard Millard, transferred 7 January, £0 8s 2d Thomas Newton, £5 6s 5½d Corporals in total, £16 7s 6½d Drummers: Robert Davis, £5 6s 5½d Francis Soane, £5 6s 5½d Drummers in total, £10 12s 11d Privates: Samuel Alstone, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, enlisted 8 January, £3 9s 2d Joseph Banks, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bott, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Bushell, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bye, £3 16s 0½d William Bell, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, enlisted 14 March, £0 15s 0d John Carr, discharged 24 March, £3 9s 2d Edward Cousens, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Chesterly, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, £3 16s 0½d William Clay, £3 16s 0½d John Crawley, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Privates carried forward, £61 7s 11d Carried forward, £1,285 4s 5d **Interpretations** Not every recruit came with the March draft. Thomas Adams enlisted on 8 January 1765 and John Brown on 14 March, both at times when no recruiting ships from England had arrived. Men of this kind perhaps came from the crews of ships calling at the island, sailors who preferred a soldier's pay and a settled life ashore to the next leg of a long voyage. Their captains had to agree to release them, and the Company welcomed such volunteers because they cost nothing in passage money. The *Devonshire*, which anchored on 10 March 1765, was in the road when Brown joined. Bernard Millard's pay as corporal stopped when he was transferred on 7 January, after less than a week of the quarter. The entry does not say where he went, but moves of this kind between the two companies, or into another branch such as the artillery, let the Company balance the strength of each unit as men were discharged and recruited.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
251	244	15th April Broughtover L 1285 4 5 Centinels brought Over L 61 7 11 William Carfree Entd. March 20th 10 - Robert Dickens 3 16 ½ John Dobson 3 16 ½ William Dunham 3 16 ½ George Exton 3 16 ½ Richard Esse 3 16 ½ William Finch 3 16 ½ William Frackford 3 16 ½ William Fullwood 3 16 ½ William Fry 3 16 ½ George Free 3 16 ½ John Forbes 3 16 ½ John Fox Entered 20th March 10 - Thomas Greenslade Died March 26 3 10 10 John Goodwelp 3 16 ½ John Gray 3 16 ½ Robert Green 3 16 ½ Charles Goulding Entered 20th March 10 - Thomas Green Do. 22d. Do. 2 4 James Gates Do. 22d. Do. 2 4 William Harris Senr. 3 16 ½ William Harris Junr. 3 16 ½ Thomas Harding Died 26th February 2 7 6 Abraham Harding 3 16 ½ John Hawkswood 3 16 ½ Samuel Hyles 3 16 ½ William Hockley 3 16 ½ Centinels Carrd. Over L 145 13 9 Carrd. Over L 1285 4 5	The roll of privates in the Second Company continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,285 4s 5d Privates brought forward, £61 7s 11d William Carfree, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Robert Dickens, £3 16s 0½d John Dobson, £3 16s 0½d William Dunham, £3 16s 0½d George Exton, £3 16s 0½d Richard Esse, £3 16s 0½d William Finch, £3 16s 0½d William Frackford, £3 16s 0½d William Fullwood, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, £3 16s 0½d George Free, £3 16s 0½d John Forbes, £3 16s 0½d John Fox, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Thomas Greenslade, died 26 March, £3 10s 10d John Goodship, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, £3 16s 0½d Charles Goulding, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Thomas Green, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d James Gates, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d William Harris senior, £3 16s 0½d William Harris junior, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Harding, died 26 February, £2 7s 6d Abraham Harding, £3 16s 0½d John Hawksford, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hyles, £3 16s 0½d William Hockley, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £145 13s 9d Carried forward, £1,285 4s 5d **Interpretations** Two privates of the Second Company died during the quarter, and their pay ran to the day of death. Thomas Greenslade's death on 26 March 1765 probably explains two entries elsewhere in the quarter's accounts: the gunner's March return charged powder for a soldier's funeral, and the garrison account charged six deals and nails for a coffin. Thomas Harding's death on 26 February would have produced a February funeral instead. The Company buried its soldiers at its own expense with military honours, a small but visible acknowledgement that the men served for years far from home and often died on the island. William Harris senior and William Harris junior served side by side, apparently father and son. Their presence in the same company shows that the garrison was not only a body of transient recruits but included soldiers who had settled on St Helena, raised families there and seen their sons enlist in turn. The Hardings, Thomas and Abraham, may have been another such family.
252	245	1765 Brought Over L 1285 4 5 Centinels brought over L 145 13 9 John Holbrook 3 16 ½ James Hodson 3 16 ½ Clement Hylands 3 16 ½ Thomas Hyles	The roll of privates in the Second Company continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,285 4s 5d Privates brought forward, £145 13s 9d John Holbrook, £3 16s 0½d James Hodson, £3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hyles, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hobkinson, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d William Hunt, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Samuel Instone, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 ½ William Hayes 3 16 ½ Robert Hobkenson Entd. 20th March 10 - William Hunt Do. 22d. Do. 2 4 Samuel Instone 3 16 ½ Richard Jones 3 16 ½ William Johnson 3 16 ½ Jeremiah Jordon 3 16 ½ Samuel Kittson 3 16 ½ Evan Knowles 3 16 ½ Henry Knockham Enterd. 22d. March 2 4 Edmond Leach 3 16 ½ John Lewis 3 16 ½ Thomas Mudge 3 16 ½ Henry Miller Enterd. 6th March 1 1 8 John Mannington Do. 20th Do. 10 - John Morris Do. 22d. Do. 2 4 Samuel Perry 3 16 ½ William Pinchen 3 16 ½ Roger Phillips 3 16 ½ Stephen Prior 3 16 ½ Abraham Renno 3 16 ½ Thomas Richards Jany. 7th made Corporal 5 10 Do. Corporal from Jany. 8th 4 16 10 John Christian Rose 3 16 ½ Centinels Carried Over L 230 3 11 Carried Over L 1285 4 5	Richard Jones, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordan, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kitson, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, £3 16s 0½d Henry Knockham, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Edmond Leach, £3 16s 0½d John Lewis, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, £3 16s 0½d Henry Miller, enlisted 6 March, £1 1s 8d John Mannington, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d John Morris, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Samuel Perry, £3 16s 0½d William Pitcher, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Prior, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Renno, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Richards, private until promoted corporal on 7 January, £0 5s 10d Thomas Richards, corporal from 8 January, £4 16s 10d John Christian Rose, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £230 3s 11d Carried forward, £1,285 4s 5d **Interpretations** Thomas Richards was promoted corporal on 7 January 1765, the same day Bernard Millard was transferred out of that rank in the Second Company. As in the First Company, each vacancy among the corporals was filled at once from the privates, so the company never went short of junior non-commissioned officers. A William Hayes served as a private in the Second Company throughout the quarter, and a man of the same name was elected constable by the inhabitants on 8 April 1765. If they were the same person, the island's parish constable was a serving soldier. That would match the pattern seen elsewhere in the Company's lists, where men in the garrison also held civil posts such as marshal at arms and clerk of the peace, and where the settler community and the garrison overlapped heavily. Henry Miller's enlistment on 6 March 1765 came the day after the three naval ships and the *Anson* and *Boscawen* left the island. He was perhaps a seaman who had chosen to stay behind rather than sail on, taking the place in the ranks that George Kibbet had vacated by deserting the day before.
253	246	15th April Brought Over L 1285 4 5 Centinels brought over L 230 3 11 Thomas Stevens 3 16 ½ Benjamin Stringer 3 16 ½ William Stone Enterd. 22d. March 2 4 John Shudeshall Do. 22d. Do. 2 4 John Savoin Do. 22d. Do. 2 4 William Taylor Disd. 24th Do. 3 9 2 Avery Truman 3 16 ½ Thomas Wansell 3 16 ½ Thomas Wyatt	The roll of privates in the Second Company finished, and the list moved on to the officers and sergeants of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,285 4s 5d Privates brought forward, £230 3s 11d Thomas Stevens, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, £3 16s 0½d William Stone, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d John Shudshall, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d John Savoin, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d William Taylor, discharged 24 March, £3 9s 2d Avery Truman, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wansell, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wyatt, £3 16s 0½d James Byrne, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, £3 16s 0½d Privates in total, £261 10s 4½d Third Company: Richard Beale, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Thomas Bazett, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Bazett, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Bazett, house rent, £2 10s 0d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 ½ James Byrne 3 16 ½ John Tucker 3 16 ½ 261 10 4½ Third Company Richard Beale Captain Salary 45 12 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ John Bridgwater Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Serjeants Roger Wittwan 7 12 1 John Lemmon Jany. 7th Reduced 11 8 Do. Centinel from Jany. 8th 3 9 2 John Robinson 7 12 1 John Maraice Died 11th February 3 10 - Barnard Millard Entd. from 2d Compy. & made Serjt. 8th Jany. 6 18 4 29 13 4 Carried over L 1677 4 4½	Thomas Bazett in total, £27 11s 10½d John Bridgwater, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Bridgwater, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d John Bridgwater, house rent, £2 10s 0d John Bridgwater in total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: Roger Watson, £7 12s 1d John Simmons, sergeant until reduced to the ranks on 7 January, £0 11s 8d John Simmons, private from 8 January, £3 9s 2d John Robinson, £7 12s 1d John Maurice, died 11 February, £3 10s 0d Bernard Millard, transferred from the Second Company and promoted sergeant on 8 January, £6 18s 4d Sergeants in total, £29 13s 4d Carried forward, £1,677 4s 4½d **Interpretations** The entries for the Third Company's sergeants explain the transfer of Bernard Millard recorded under the Second Company. John Simmons was reduced from sergeant to private on 7 January 1765, and the next day Millard, until then a corporal in the Second Company, moved across and took the vacant sergeant's post. Reduction to the ranks was a standard punishment for a non-commissioned officer guilty of drunkenness, neglect of duty or insubordination, and it cost Simmons more than half his pay. Filling the gap with an experienced corporal from another company, rather than promoting a private of the Third, suggests the council wanted a proven man in the post at once. Millard's departure in turn opened the corporal's place in the Second Company that Thomas Richards filled on the same day. Richard Beale, who commanded the Third Company as captain, was the same man paid as judge advocate and as schoolmaster. He thus drew three separate incomes from the Company, one military, one legal and one educational. His case was the most extreme example in the list of the Company's reliance on a few capable men to fill posts that a larger settlement would have divided among several people. A third Bazett, Thomas, served under him as lieutenant, adding to the family's hold on the garrison's commissions.
254	247	1765 Brought over L 1677 4 4½ Corporals David Patten Feby. 11th made Serjeant 2 9 - Do. Serjeant from February the 12th 4 - - William Roberts 5 6 5½ Thomas Pearce 5 6 5½ Richard Johnson March 25th Reduced 4 18 - Do. Centinel from March 26th 5 - 22 7 3 Drummers John Twaits 5 6 5½ John Walker 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Centinels Richard Ashford 3 16 ½ James Anderson 3 16 ½ Thomas Abby Discharged 24th March 3 9 2	The list continued with the corporals, drummers and privates of the Third Company. Brought forward, £1,677 4s 4½d Corporals: David Patten, corporal until promoted sergeant on 11 February, £2 9s 0d David Patten, sergeant from 12 February, £4 0s 0d William Roberts, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Prance, £5 6s 5½d Richard Johnson, corporal until reduced to the ranks on 25 March, £4 18s 0d Richard Johnson, private from 26 March, £0 5s 0d Corporals in total, £22 7s 3d Drummers: John Twaits, £5 6s 5½d John Walker, £5 6s 5½d Drummers in total, £10 12s 11d Privates: Richard Ashford, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Abby, discharged 24 March, £3 9s 2d Thomas Adams, transferred 7 January, £0 5s 10d Charles Abraham, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Henry Brown, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Bull, £3 16s 0½d Mark Balls, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, £3 16s 0½d John Blinkhorn, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Thomas Adams Jany. 7th Transfd. 5 10 Charles Abraham Entd. 20th March 10 - Henry Brown 3 16 ½ Jacob Bull 3 16 ½ Mark Balls 3 16 ½ Benjamin Bennett 3 16 ½ John Blinkorn 3 16 ½ Frederick William Beard 3 16 ½ William Caleb Baldwin 3 16 ½ John Cork 3 16 ½ Joseph Chamberlain 3 16 ½ William Clifton 3 16 ½ Centinels Carried over L 49 7 6 Carried Over L 1710 4 6½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	Frederick William Beard, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, £3 16s 0½d John Cork, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, £3 16s 0½d William Clifton, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £49 7s 6d Carried forward, £1,710 4s 6½d **Interpretations** David Patten's promotion to sergeant on 11 February 1765 came on the day Sergeant John Maurice of the Third Company died. The vacancy was filled the same day, which shows the garrison kept its establishment of non-commissioned officers complete without waiting for the council to meet or for recruits to arrive. Richard Johnson's reduction from corporal to private on 25 March was a disciplinary measure of the kind that had removed Sergeant Simmons in January, and within four days Joseph Stacey of the First Company was promoted to a corporal's post. Promotion and punishment together kept a steady turnover in the junior ranks. Thomas Adams, recorded here as transferred on 7 January, was the same man entered in the Second Company's roll as having enlisted on 8 January. The two companies' clerks treated a transfer as a discharge from one roll and an enlistment on the other, so that each company's pay ran cleanly from and to the day of the move. Joseph Chamberlain, a private in this company, was also paid separately as the Company's carpenter's mate, another soldier doing skilled civil work on the side.
255	248	15th April Broughtover L 1710 4 6½ Centinels brought over L 49 17 6 William Carr 3 16 ½ Francey Clancey Enterd. 20th March 10 - John Chapman Enterd. 22d. Do. 2 4 Michael Downey 3 16 ½ Robert Davis 3 16 ½ Baron Delofe 3 16 ½ Edward Dudley Enterd March 20th 10 - Charles Edgel 3 16 ½ William Fester 3 16 ½ John Foxson Enterd. 22d. March 2 4 Alexander Gray 3 16 ½ Fisher Galeb 3 16 ½ William Gordon Feby. 11th made Corporal 1 15 - Do. Corporal from 12th 2 16 - Archibald Grayham Enterd. 20th March 10 - John Gamell Enterd. 22d. Do. 2 4 Richard Gregory Do. 22d. Do. 2 4 Felix Hyder 3 16 ½ John Hilliard 3 16 ½ John Herring	The roll of privates in the Third Company continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,710 4s 6½d Privates brought forward, £49 17s 6d William Carr, £3 16s 0½d Francey Clancey, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d John Chapman, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Michael Downey, £3 16s 0½d Robert Davis, £3 16s 0½d Baron Delose, £3 16s 0½d Edward Dudley, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Charles Edgell, £3 16s 0½d William Foster, £3 16s 0½d John Foxson, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Alexander Gray, £3 16s 0½d Fisher Galeb, £3 16s 0½d William Gordon, private until promoted corporal on 11 February, £1 15s 0d William Gordon, corporal from 12 February, £2 16s 0d Archibald Graham, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d John Garnett, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Richard Gregory, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Felix Hyder, £3 16s 0½d John Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, £3 16s 0½d William Hill, £3 16s 0½d William Hobkins, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Thomas Jones, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Johnson, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d William Jenkins, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Privates carried forward, £116 2s 5½d Carried forward, £1,710 4s 6½d **Interpretations** William Gordon's promotion to corporal on 11 February 1765 completed the chain set off by Sergeant John Maurice's death that day. David Patten moved up from corporal to sergeant, and Gordon stepped from the ranks into Patten's place, so that a single death produced two promotions within hours. The two enlistment dates of 20 and 22 March recurred throughout all three companies, and on this

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 16 ½ William Hill 3 16 ½ William Hobkins Entd. March 20 10 - Thomas Jones 3 16 ½ Josiah Johnson 3 16 ½ Robert Johnson 3 16 ½ Samuel Johnson Enterd. 20th March 10 - William Jenkins Do. 20th Do. 10 - Centinels Carrd. Over L 116 2 5½ Carrd. Over L 1710 4 6½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	page alone ten men joined on one or the other. The recruits were evidently divided between the companies as soon as they landed rather than kept together as a separate body. Spreading new men among experienced soldiers helped them learn their duties quickly and prevented any single company from being weighed down with untrained hands.
256	249	1765 Brought Over L 1710 4 6½ Centinels brought over L 116 2 5½ James Kemp 3 16 ½ Richard Linney 3 16 ½ James Lee 3 16 ½ John Long 3 16 ½ John Landgridge 3 16 ½ Edward Lambum 3 16 ½ Bryan Lynch 3 16 ½ Charles Mountague 3 16 ½ Richard Moyce 3 16 ½ Thomas Morse 3 16 ½ Thomas Matthews 3 16 ½ John Miller 3 16 ½ James Moyce 3 16 ½ Abraham Major 3 16 ½ Peter Nelson Dischd. 24th March 3 9 2 John Passwater 3 16 ½ Thomas Perry 3 16 ½ James Proctor 3 16 ½ Henry Pircten 3 16 ½ William Perkins Enterd. 20th March 1765 10 - John Robinson 3 16 ½ Robert Stack 3 16 ½ Adam Scott 3 16 ½ David Scott 3 16 ½ John Smith	The roll of privates in the Third Company continued as follows. Brought forward, £1,710 4s 6½d Privates brought forward, £116 2s 5½d James Kemp, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, £3 16s 0½d John Long, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lambourn, £3 16s 0½d Bryan Lynch, £3 16s 0½d Charles Montague, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Morse, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, £3 16s 0½d John Miller, £3 16s 0½d James Moyce, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, £3 16s 0½d Peter Nelson, discharged 24 March, £3 9s 2d John Pasewater, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, £3 16s 0½d James Proctor, £3 16s 0½d Henry Pritchen, £3 16s 0½d William Perkins, enlisted 20 March 1765, £0 10s 0d John Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, £3 16s 0½d Gregory Southwood, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Samuel Spencer, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Privates carried forward, £208 10s 7d Carried forward, £1,710 4s 6½d **Interpretations** Peter Nelson's discharge on 24 March 1765 was one of a cluster released on that date across the companies, together with Thomas Abby and William Taylor, and John Carr of the Second Company. All four left within two to four days of the recruits' enlistment on 20 and 22 March. The pattern confirms that the council released time-expired soldiers only once their replacements had been placed on the rolls, keeping the garrison's numbers steady at the moment of handover. A few others, such as Anthony Read and William Pawton of the First Company, had to wait into April before their own petitions for discharge were granted.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 10 - Gregory Southwood Enterd. 20th March 10 - Saml. Spencer Do. 20th Do. 10 - Centinels Carried Over L 208 10 7 Carried Over L 1710 4 6½	
257	250	15th April Brought over L 1710 4 6½ Centinels brought over L 208 10 7 John Sheerland Enterd. 22d. March 3 4 John Scotcher Enterd. 22d. Do. 3 4 Henry Standford Do. 22d. Do. 3 4 John Thomason Disd. 24th Do. 3 9 2 John Thompson 3 16 ½ Thomas Taylor 3 16 ½ Joseph Uffen 3 16 ½ Richard Vincent 3 16 ½ John Vaughan March 25th made Corporal 3 10 - Do. Corporal from March 26th 7 - George Verney Enterd. 22d. March 3 4 John Wybord 3 16 ½ Thomas Ward 3 16 ½ Edward Welch 3 16 ½ John Ward 3 16 ½ James York 3 16 ½ William Yates Discharged March 24th 3 9 2 255 3 7½ Fourth Company John Howard Capt. Saly. 45 12 6 Henry Delcourt Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Thomas Lambert Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10 Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Carried Over L 2066 4 5	The roll of privates in the Third Company ended, and the list moved on to the officers of the Fourth Company. Brought forward, £1,710 4s 6½d Privates brought forward, £208 10s 7d John Shearland, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d John Scotcher, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Henry Standford, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d John Thomason, discharged 24 March, £3 9s 2d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Uffin, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, £3 16s 0½d John Vaughan, private until promoted corporal on 25 March, £3 10s 0d John Vaughan, corporal from 26 March, £0 7s 0d George Verney, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d John Wyberd, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Welch, £3 16s 0½d John Ward, £3 16s 0½d James York, £3 16s 0½d William Yates, discharged 24 March, £3 9s 2d Privates in total, £255 3s 7½d Fourth Company: John Howard, captain, salary, £45 12s 6d Henry Delcoune, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Henry Delcoune, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Henry Delcoune, house rent, £2 10s 0d Henry Delcoune in total, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, food allowance, £6 16s 10d Thomas Lambert, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Lambert in total, £27 11s 10½d Carried forward, £2,066 4s 5d **Interpretations** John Vaughan was promoted corporal on 25 March 1765, the same day Richard Johnson of the Third Company was reduced from that rank to private. Johnson's demotion and Vaughan's elevation happened together, so the punishment of one man became the advancement of another without any gap in the company's complement. The swift exchange shows that reduction to the ranks was used as a live disciplinary tool, since a replacement stood ready among the privates the moment an offending corporal was removed.
258	251	1765 Brought over L 2066 4 5 Serjeants John Flemming 7 12 1	The list continued with the sergeants, corporals, drummers and first privates of the Fourth Company. Brought forward, £2,066 4s 5d Sergeants: John Flemming, £7 12s 1d Richard Wright, £7 12s 1d

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		Richard Wright 7 12 1 Thomas Bailey 7 12 1 John Simcox 7 12 1 30 8 4 Corporals Daniel Arman 5 6 5½ Francis Powell 5 6 5½ John Shears 5 6 5½ William Steadman 5 6 5½ 21 5 10 Drummers George Wills 5 6 5½ John Slade 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Centinels John Allen 3 16 ½ William Allen Enterd. 22d. May 3 4 Robert Allom Enterd. 1st March 1 5 10 George Bennet 3 16 ½ John Blackwell 3 16 ½ Joseph Blackwell 3 16 ½ John Brooke 3 16 ½ Richard Bickerstaff 3 16 ½ Robert Bewley 3 16 ½ William Blackman John Brillett Enterd. 20th March 10 - Centinels brought over L 32 12 6 Carrd. Over L 2128 11 6 **Margin Notes:** [...]	Thomas Bailey, £7 12s 1d John Simcox, £7 12s 1d Sergeants in total, £30 8s 4d Corporals: Daniel Aiman, £5 6s 5½d Francis Powell, £5 6s 5½d John Shears, £5 6s 5½d William Steadman, £5 6s 5½d Corporals in total, £21 5s 10d Drummers: George Wills, £5 6s 5½d John Slade, £5 6s 5½d Drummers in total, £10 12s 11d Privates: John Allen, £3 16s 0½d William Allen, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Robert Allom, enlisted 1 March, £1 5s 10d George Bennet, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d John Brooke, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brisley, £3 16s 0½d William Blackman, £3 16s 0½d John Brillott, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Privates carried forward, £32 12s 6d Carried forward, £2,128 11s 6d **Interpretations** Sergeant Richard Wright served the full quarter in the Fourth Company and drew his pay in full to 31 March. He was the sergeant who petitioned for his discharge on 8 April 1765, having completed his contracted time, and the council granted it. His release came after the quarter's pay had been closed, so the Company settled his account in full before he left and needed no broken-period calculation. With four other sergeants discharged or promoted in the preceding weeks, his departure would have required yet another promotion from among the corporals in the following quarter.
259	252	15th April Broughtover L 2128 11 6 Centinels brought over L 32 12 6 John Bowles Entertained 22d. March 2 4 John Beechum Do. 22d. Do. 2 4 James Cartwright 3 16 ½ George Capeling 3 16 ½ William Cockney 3 16 ½ Duncan Cameron 3 16 ½ John Cunningham 3 16 ½ James Cutsher 3 16 ½ John Carry 3 16 ½ Richard Close	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,128 11s 6d Privates brought forward, £32 12s 6d John Bowles, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d John Beechum, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d William Coskery, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d James Cutcher, £3 16s 0½d John Cary, £3 16s 0½d Richard Close, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Cummings, £3 16s 0½d John Carfoot, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d John Campion, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Henry Davis, £3 16s 0½d Edward Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Dale, £3 16s 0½d John Eusten, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d Richard Goulding, £3 16s 0½d John Gilmore, £3 16s 0½d

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		3 16 ½ Josiah Cummings 3 16 ½ John Carfoot Enterd. 20th March 10 - John Campen Enterd. 22d. March 2 4 Henry Davies 3 16 ½ Edward Davis 3 16 ½ John Dale 3 16 ½ John Easton 3 16 ½ George Green 3 16 ½ Richard Goulding 3 16 ½ John Gilmore 3 16 ½ Joseph Gilder 3 16 ½ Edward Germain 3 16 ½ Joseph Good 3 16 ½ James Goudy Enterd. 22d. February 1 6 8 Henry Harenburg 3 16 ½ James Hendrie 3 16 ½ Thomas Hilliard 3 16 ½ Centinels Carried Over L 119 7 1 Carried Over L 2128 11 6	Joseph Gilder, £3 16s 0½d Edward Germain, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, £3 16s 0½d James Gooley, enlisted 22 February, £1 6s 8d Henry Harenberg, £3 16s 0½d James Hendrie, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £119 7s 1d Carried forward, £2,128 11s 6d **Interpretations** Joseph Gilder, listed here as a serving private in the Fourth Company, petitioned for his discharge on 8 April 1765 alongside Sergeant Richard Wright of the same company. The two men had evidently enlisted together and served out identical contracts, so their terms expired at the same moment. Their joint petition shows that recruits often arrived and left in groups tied to the ship that brought them, which in turn explains why discharges bunched on particular dates rather than falling evenly through the year.
260	253	1765 Broughtover L 2128 11 6 Centinels brought over L 119 7 1 Stephen John 3 16 ½ Christian Johnson 3 16 ½ Thomas James 3 16 ½ Thomas Kilock Enterd. 22d. March 8 4 William La Roche Discharged 4th Do. 2 12 6 William Lambon 3 16 ½ Thomas Lee 3 16 ½ Thomas Lyne 3 16 ½ John Lawrence Enterd. 6th March 1 1 8 Richard Moreton 3 16 ½ Simon Mason 3 16 ½ Mordoch McCloed 3 16 ½ John McAllester 3 16 ½ William Mitchel 3 16 ½ Jonathan Mallet 3 16 ½ George Marshall	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company continued as follows. Brought forward, £2,128 11s 6d Privates brought forward, £119 7s 1d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas James, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Kilock, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d William La Roche, discharged 4 March, £2 12s 6d William Lambon, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyne, £3 16s 0½d John Lawrence, enlisted 6 March, £1 1s 8d Richard Moreton, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d Murdoch McCloud, £3 16s 0½d John McAllester, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchel, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Mallet, £3 16s 0½d George Marshall, £3 16s 0½d John Martin, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d John Moore, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d Martin Newman, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d John Pluck, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perrin, discharged 18 February, £2 0s 10d Stephen Papps, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d William Parker, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Riley, £3 16s 0½d Privates carried forward, £203 7s 11d Carried forward, £2,128 11s 6d

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		3 16 ½ John Martin Enterd. 22d. March 8 4 John Moore Do. 22 Do. 8 4 John Newton 3 16 ½ Martin Newman 3 16 ½ John Oswald 3 16 ½ John Pluck 3 16 ½ Daniel Patrick 3 16 ½ Thomas Perrin Discharged 18th February 2 - 10 Stephen Papps Enterd. 20th March 10 - William Parker Do. 20 Do. 10 - James Richardson 3 16 ½ Patrick Riley 3 16 ½ Centinels Carrd. over L 203 7 11 Carried Over L 2128 11 6	**Interpretations** William La Roche was discharged on 4 March 1765, the day before three of His Majesty's ships sailed and two days before the *Anson* and *Boscawen* left the island. A soldier released at the end of his contract needed a passage home, and timing his discharge to fall just before a group of homeward ships put to sea gave him the best chance of a berth. John Lawrence's enlistment on 6 March, the very day the *Anson* and *Boscawen* departed, matches Henry Miller's in the Second Company and suggests the traffic ran both ways: some men left the garrison for the ships while others left the ships for the garrison.
261	254	15th April Broughtover L 2128 11 6 Centinels brought over L 203 7 11 Thomas Rutherford 3 16 ½ John Scotcher 3 16 ½ John Shaw 3 16 ½ William Salman 3 16 ½ John Swendal 3 16 ½ Zedekiah Saunderson 3 16 ½ Roderick Shaffer 3 16 ½ Thomas Suffrell 3 16 ½ John Thomason 3 16 ½ Ismerock Whorrell 3 16 ½ William Waite 3 16 ½ William Wells Dischd. 22d. March 3 12 6 John Woods Enterd. 20th March 10 - Thomas William Entd. 20th Do. 10 - Thomas Wells Do. 22d. Do. 3 4 250 5 2½ Artillery Company Thomas Hall Capt. Saly. 51 Days 25 10 - Archibald Mitchel Do. 6 Days 3 - - 28 10 - Nathan Sample Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½	The roll of privates in the Fourth Company ended, and the list moved on to the officers and sergeant of the Artillery Company. Brought forward, £2,128 11s 6d Privates brought forward, £203 7s 11d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d William Salman, £3 16s 0½d John Swindal, £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson, £3 16s 0½d Roderick Shaffer, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Suffnell, £3 16s 0½d John Thomason, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Whorrell, £3 16s 0½d William Waite, £3 16s 0½d William Wells, discharged 22 March, £3 12s 6d John Woods, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Thomas Williams, enlisted 20 March, £0 10s 0d Thomas Watts, enlisted 22 March, £0 3s 4d Privates in total, £250 5s 2½d Artillery Company: Thomas Hall, captain, salary for 51 days, £25 10s 0d Archibald Mitchell, captain, salary for 6 days, £3 0s 0d Captains in total, £28 10s 0d Nathan Sample, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan Sample, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Sample in total, £25 1s 10½d Thomas Sich, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Sich, food allowance, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Sich, house rent, £2 10s 0d Thomas Sich in total, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Sergeants carried forward, £9 2s 6d Carried forward, £2,460 0s 5½d **Interpretations** Archibald Mitchell drew six days' pay as captain of the Artillery Company, in addition to the salary he received as engineer. His letter of 8 April 1765 had asked the council's leave to postpone drilling the Artillery Company until his survey was done, and this entry confirms that the company was already his command. Thomas Hall had led it for 51 days of the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		25 1 10½ Thomas Stich Lieut. Saly. 18 5 - Do. Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do. House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Serjeants John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Serjeants Carrd. over L 9 2 6 Carrd. Over L 2460 - 5½	quarter, after which the post lay empty until Mitchell arrived, so the gunners went without a captain for several weeks and would wait months more for proper training. The directors had evidently sent Mitchell to serve as both the island's engineer and its senior artillery officer, a combination that suited a small garrison but divided one man's attention between two demanding roles. The artillery sergeant earned £9 2s 6d a quarter, well above the £7 12s 1d paid to sergeants of the infantry companies. Gunnery demanded skill in laying guns, judging charges and handling powder safely, and the Company paid a premium to keep trained men in the artillery. Zedekiah Saunderson, listed here as a private in the Fourth Company, was also paid separately as the Governor's groom, another soldier whose civil employment ran alongside his place in the ranks.
262	255	1765 Brought over L 2460 - 5½ Serjeants brought over L 9 2 6 Adam Walls 9 2 6 John Shirley 9 2 6 Richard Watherhouse 9 2 6 36 10 - Corporals James Long 6 16 10½ Robert Cunningham 6 16 10½ John Jacks March 18th Reduced 5 15 6 Do. Matross from 19th March 13 - Joseph Cox 6 16 10½ 26 19 1½ Bombardiers Andrew Barton 6 16 10½ Thomas Collier March 18th Made Corporal 5 15 6 Do. Corporal from 19th March 19 6 John Grainger 6 16 10½ Nicholas Houghton 6 16 10½ 27 5 7½ Gunners William Fletcher 6 1 8 Robert Gilson March 18th made Bombardier 5 2 8 Do. Bombardier from 19th March 19 6 John Jack 6 1 8 Eustace White 6 1 8 John Turner 6 1 8 James Parfitt 6 1 8 John Martin 6 1 8 Thomas Jones 6 1 8 48 13 10 Carried Over	The list of the Artillery Company continued with its remaining sergeants, corporals, bombardiers and gunners. Brought forward, £2,460 0s 5½d Sergeants brought forward, £9 2s 6d Adam Walls, £9 2s 6d John Shirley, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, £9 2s 6d Sergeants in total, £36 10s 0d Corporals: James Long, £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham, £6 16s 10½d John Jacks, corporal until reduced on 18 March, £5 15s 6d John Jacks, matross from 19 March, £0 13s 0d Joseph Cox, £6 16s 10½d Corporals in total, £26 19s 1½d Bombardiers: Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Collier, bombardier until promoted corporal on 18 March, £5 15s 6d Thomas Collier, corporal from 19 March, £0 19s 6d John Grainger, £6 16s 10½d Nicholas Houghton, £6 16s 10½d Bombardiers in total, £27 5s 7½d Gunners: William Fletcher, £6 1s 8d Robert Gibson, gunner until promoted bombardier on 18 March, £5 2s 8d Robert Gibson, bombardier from 19 March, £0 19s 6d John Jack, £6 1s 8d Eustace White, £6 1s 8d John Turner, £6 1s 8d James Parfitt, £6 1s 8d John Martin, £6 1s 8d Thomas Jones, £6 1s 8d Gunners in total, £48 13s 10d Carried forward, £2,599 9s 7½d **Interpretations** The artillery kept a finer ladder of ranks than the infantry, and its entries show every step. Below the sergeants and corporals stood the bombardiers, originally the men who handled mortars and explosive shells, then the gunners, who laid and fired the guns, and at the bottom the matrosses, who assisted with loading and hauling. Each rung carried its own rate of pay, and even an artillery corporal earned more than an infantry sergeant's counterpart among the corporals. The higher rates reflected skills that took time to learn and could not be quickly replaced from among raw recruits. A single disciplinary decision on 18 March 1765 moved three men. Corporal John Jacks was reduced not just one step but all the way to matross, the lowest rank in the company. Thomas Collier rose

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		L 2599 9 ½	from bombardier to fill his place, and Robert Gibson moved up from gunner to take Collier's. Dropping Jacks past bombardier and gunner to the bottom rung suggests a serious offence, since a lesser fault would normally have cost only one step. The reshuffle took place while the company had no captain, after Thomas Hall's service ended and before Mitchell took command, so the decision perhaps fell to the lieutenants or to the council itself.
263	256	15th April Broughtover L 2599 9 ½ Drummers George Garrard 5 6 5½ Robert Saunders 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Matrosses Benjamin Burton 4 11 3 William Benson 4 11 3 William Brown March the 18th made Gunner 3 17 - Do. Gunner from March 19th 1 17 4 Isaac Buck 4 11 3 Richard Broom 4 11 3 John Bower 4 11 3 James Bottomly 4 11 3 John Coop 4 11 3 John Crisswell 4 11 3 Thomas Clark 4 11 3 Edmond Conner 4 11 3 William McCullough Deserted 5th March 3 4 - Adam Creichton 4 11 3 John Dodde 4 11 3 Davies Evans 4 11 3 Daniel Finn 4 11 3 Thomas McFarling 4 11 3 Joseph Fellows 4 11 3 Christian Greenawalt 4 11 3 Laurence Hall 4 11 3 William Hodges 4 11 3 William Johnson 4 11 3 Richard Kempton 4 11 3 Matrosses Carried Over L 104 14 7 Carrd. Over L 2610 1 11½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	The list of the Artillery Company continued with its drummers and matrosses. Brought forward, £2,599 9s 7½d Drummers: George Garrard, £5 6s 5½d Robert Saunders, £5 6s 5½d Drummers in total, £10 12s 11d Matrosses: Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 3d William Benson, £4 11s 3d William Brown, matross until promoted gunner on 18 March, £3 17s 0d William Brown, gunner from 19 March, £0 17s 4d Isaac Buck, £4 11s 3d Richard Broom, £4 11s 3d John Bower, £4 11s 3d James Bottomly, £4 11s 3d John Cook, £4 11s 3d John Criswell, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, £4 11s 3d Edmond Conner, £4 11s 3d William McCullough, deserted 5 March, £3 4s 0d Adam Creighton, £4 11s 3d John Dodd, £4 11s 3d Davies Cormo, £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn, £4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 3d Christian Greenawalt, £4 11s 3d Laurence Hall, £4 11s 3d William Hodges, £4 11s 3d William Johnson, £4 11s 3d Richard Kempton, £4 11s 3d Matrosses carried forward, £104 14s 7d Carried forward, £2,610 1s 11½d **Interpretations** William McCullough deserted from the artillery on 5 March 1765, the same day as George Kibbet of the First Company and the day His Majesty's ships *Panther*, *Weymouth* and *Seaford* left the island. Two desertions from different companies on a single date point strongly to the naval squadron as the means of escape. Royal Navy ships on distant stations were chronically short of seamen and would have had little reason to question two able-bodied men offering themselves as volunteers. For the Company the loss of a trained matross cost more than that of an infantry private, since his gunnery skills could not be replaced from the next draft of raw recruits. William Brown's promotion from matross to gunner on 18 March completed the reshuffle set off that day by Corporal John Jacks's reduction. Collier moved up from bombardier to corporal, Gibson from gunner to bombardier and Brown from matross to gunner, so the removal of one man opened a step on every rung below him. Even a matross's pay of £4 11s 3d a quarter exceeded an infantry private's £3 16s 0½d, which made the artillery the better-paid branch at every level.

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264	257	1765 Brought over L 2610 1 11½ Matrosses brought over L 104 14 7 Daniel Maloney 4 11 3 Esau Nowland 4 11 3 Thomas Nimble 4 11 3 George Nelson 4 11 3 John Osburn 4 11 3 William Phillips 4 11 3 William Poulton 4 11 3 Christopher Reynolds 4 11 3 John Slater Discharged March 26th 4 5 - Samuel Smith 4 11 3 Godfrey Smith 4 11 3 John Smith 4 11 3 William Snelson 4 11 3 Thomas Taylor 4 11 3 Daniel Tong 4 11 3 Thomas Watts 4 11 3 John Welman 4 11 3 Nathaniel Young Robert Harkish Enterd. 20th March 12 - John Webley 4 11 3 190 14 1 L 2800 16 ½	The list of the Artillery Company concluded with the remaining matrosses and the total pay bill for the quarter. Brought forward, £2,610 1s 11½d Matrosses brought forward, £104 14s 7d Daniel Maloney, £4 11s 3d Esau Nowland, £4 11s 3d Thomas Nimble, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d John Osburn, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, £4 11s 3d Christopher Reynolds, £4 11s 3d John Slate, discharged 26 March, £4 5s 0d Samuel Smith, £4 11s 3d Godfrey Smith, £4 11s 3d John Smith, £4 11s 3d William Snelson, £4 11s 3d Thomas Taylor, £4 11s 3d Daniel Tong, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d John Welman, £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young, £4 11s 3d Robert Starkish, enlisted 20 March, £0 12s 0d John Webley, £4 11s 3d Matrosses in total, £190 14s 1d Total pay for the quarter, £2,800 16s 0½d **Interpretations** The quarter's pay bill of £2,800 16s 0½d set out the true cost of holding St Helena. More than two and a half times the Company's warehouse sales for the same three months, it fell almost entirely on the directors in London, since the island produced little that could be sold for profit. Most of the money went to the four infantry companies and the artillery rather than to the civil administration, which confirms that the Company kept the island above all as a fortified station guarding its homeward route from India and China. The size of the bill also explains the council's care over every discharge, enlistment and promotion, since each change in the rolls altered what London would have to pay.
265	258	15th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr. 1765 March 31st To Cash received L 4177 4 4 Carried Over L 4177 4 4	The paymaster's account opened with a single entry charged to Thomas Kirkpatrick. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debtor: 31 March 1765, cash received, £4,177 4s 4d Carried forward, £4,177 4s 4d **Interpretations** Entering Kirkpatrick as debtor for the cash he received made him personally answerable for every penny until he could show how it had been paid out. The £4,177 4s 4d placed in his hands far exceeded the £2,800 16s 0½d due in salaries and soldiers' pay for the quarter, so the paymaster evidently handled other disbursements as well. Kirkpatrick already sat on the council and commanded the First Company, and holding the paymaster's post as well concentrated a large share of the island's money in the hands of one councillor. The Company guarded against the risk by requiring him to account in this form each quarter, with the council examining and approving the books before they went to London.
266	259	1765 Per Contra Cr. 1765 Jany. 6th By Cash paid Robt. Stack for enlisting to serve the Honble. Company five Years longer as a Soldier 10 - - 15th By Cash paid Joseph Good for to serve as above 10 - -	The facing side of the paymaster's account recorded the payments Thomas Kirkpatrick made from the cash entrusted to him. 6 January 1765, Robert Stack, bounty for re-enlisting to serve the Company as a soldier for 5 more years, £10 0s 0d 15 January, Joseph Good, the same bounty, £10 0s 0d

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		21 By Cash paid Thomas Hailes for Do. 10 - - 22 By Cash paid William Hodges for Do. 10 - - 29th By Cash paid Silvanus Rolf for Do. 10 - - Feby. 13th By Cash paid Duncan McClaron for Do. 10 - - 25th By Cash paid John Turner for Do. 10 - - March 1st By Cash paid Robert Allum for enlisting to serve as above 10 - - 6 By Cash paid John Lawrence & Henry Miller for Do. & Do. 10 - - 12th By Cash paid Thos. Hatton for Do. 5 - - 14th By Cash paid John Brown for Do. 1 - - 23d By Cash paid Capt. Quicke of the Devonshire for the Passage of Willm. Taylor, John Carr, Wm. Yates, Thos. Abby, John Thomason and Peter Nelson 6 Invalid Soldiers To England L 5 each 30 - - 28th By Cash paid Bryan Lynch, Thoms. Windall, John Shaw Jeremiah Whorrell, William Brown, Thos. Jones, John Tucker, Thomas Payne, Robert Dickens, John Pluck, and John Allen for Enlisting to serve the Honble. Compy. five Years longer as Soldiers 110 - - By Cash paid Capt. James Haldane for 6 Puncns. of Salt Beef 8 Hhds. of Salt Pork and 10 Bags of Rice 123 6 4 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for coming Express with Alarms of Ships to Windward 3 5 - By Cash paid Capt. Sea for the Fly's Exps. at the Cape 21 7 - By Cash paid Wm. Isaac Todd for 37 days Work Caulking the Snow Mercury at 2/6 per Day 4 12 6 Carried Over L 388 10 10	21 January, Thomas Hailes, the same bounty, £10 0s 0d 22 January, William Hodges, the same bounty, £10 0s 0d 29 January, Silvanus Rolf, the same bounty, £10 0s 0d 13 February, Duncan McClaren, the same bounty, £10 0s 0d 25 February, John Turner, the same bounty, £10 0s 0d 1 March, Robert Allom, bounty for enlisting on the same terms, £10 0s 0d 6 March, John Lawrence and Henry Miller, the same bounty at £5 each, £10 0s 0d 12 March, Thomas Hatton, the same bounty, £5 0s 0d 14 March, John Brown, the same bounty, £1 0s 0d 23 March, Captain Quicke of the *Devonshire*, passage to England for 6 invalid soldiers, William Taylor, John Carr, William Yates, Thomas Abby, John Thomason and Peter Nelson, at £5 each, £30 0s 0d. 28 March, Bryan Lynch, Thomas Windall, John Shears, Jeremiah Whorrell, William Brown, Thomas Jones, John Tucker, Thomas Payne, Robert Dickens, John Pluck and John Allen, bounty for re-enlisting to serve the Company as soldiers for 5 more years, £110 0s 0d Captain James Haldane, for 6 puncheons of salt beef, 8 hogsheads of salt pork and 10 bags of rice, £123 6s 4d Various men of the garrison, for riding express with warnings of ships sighted to windward, £3 5s 0d Captain Lea, for the *Fly*'s expenses at the Cape, £21 7s 0d. William Isaac Hall, for 37 days' work caulking the snow *Mercury* at 2s 6d a day, £4 12s 6d. Carried forward, £383 10s 10d **Interpretations** The largest recurring payment was the £10 bounty given to soldiers who signed on for another five years. The sum equalled more than two and a half quarters of a private's pay, a powerful inducement for a man whose contract was ending to stay rather than seek a passage home. Re-enlisting a trained soldier on the spot cost the Company far less than recruiting, clothing and shipping a replacement from England, and it kept experienced men in the ranks. The eleven men paid together on 28 March 1765 re-engaged in the same week the recruits arrived, which suggests the council pressed time-expired soldiers to decide before the ships left. New recruits enlisted on the island, such as Lawrence and Miller on 6 March, received only half the bounty, and the smaller sums paid to Hatton and Brown were perhaps partial or advance payments. The six soldiers sent home on the *Devonshire* were invalids, men discharged because illness or injury made them unfit for service rather than because their time had expired. The Company paid Captain Quicke £5 a head for their passage, discharging them on 24 March 1765 so they could embark before the ship sailed two days later. Returning disabled soldiers to England at the Company's expense avoided leaving them as a burden on the island, where they could neither work nor easily support themselves. Captain Haldane's sale of salt provisions shows how commanders of passing ships supplied the island's stores directly. His cargo of beef, pork and rice replenished the stocks from which the warehouse fed the slaves, the garrison and the ships. The payment to garrison men for riding express with news of ships to windward rewarded the lookouts who carried early warning from the high ground, where vessels approaching from the south-east could

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			be seen long before they reached the anchorage. The *Fly*'s expenses at the Cape of Good Hope record a call there during her voyage to Madagascar, where her captain bought supplies on the Company's account.
267	260	15th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr. 1765 March 31st To Cash brought over L 4177 4 4 Carried Over L 4177 4 4	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster carried the cash he had received on to the next page. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debtor: 31 March 1765, cash brought forward, £4,177 4s 4d Carried forward, £4,177 4s 4d
268	261	1765 Per Contra Cr. Broughtover L 388 10 10 1765 March 31st By Cash paid Christr. Reynolds, for officiating as Carpenter on board the Snow Mercury, from the 4th April 1764 to the 31st March 1765 Incl. 10 Mo. & 16 Days at L1.10. per Mo. 15 16 - By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Working in the Long Boat this Quarter 6 12 - By Cash paid John Dobson for 6 Weeks Working in the Armrs. Shop this Quarter 2 14 - By Cash paid John Slater 5 Weeks & 2 days Working in Do. 2 8 - By Cash paid Robt. Cager, Richd. Wheeler, and John Finnis 3 dischd. Men 3 days Subst. at 1/6 per Day 4 6 By Cash paid Robert Brown for Painting in and about the Castle, Long Boat and Cranes, and Grinding Colours 3 1 6 By Cash paid Wm. Finch for Glazg. Work done in and about the Castle 6 days at 1/6 per Day 9 - By Cash paid Mark Balls & Michael Read for Backing 117 Batches of Bread for the use of the Garrison at 1/8 per Bh. 9 15 - By Cash paid James Goudy a Recruit to supply him with some Necessarys (by the Govr. Order) 1 - - By Cash paid Sundry Garrison Men for 162 days work on Ladder Hill Path 8 2 - By Cash paid Do. for 1022 days Work in repg. the Castle 51 2 - By Cash paid Do. for 5 Days work on board the Fly Cutter 5 - By Cash paid Do. for 11 Days work in Erecting a Gibbet 11 - By Cash paid Do. for 105 Days Carpenters Work 5 5 - By Cash paid Do. for 249½ Days Work in the Stores 12 9 3 By Cash paid the Officers & Seamen of the Snow Mercury to 31st January 1765 as per their Accounts 434 18 4 Carried Over L 948 3 5	The payments side of the paymaster's account continued from the previous page. Brought forward, £383 10s 10d 31 March 1765, Christopher Reynolds, for serving as carpenter aboard the snow *Mercury* from 4 April 1764 to 31 March 1765 inclusive, 10 months and 16 days at £1 10s 0d a month, £15 16s 0d. Various men of the garrison, for working in the longboat during the quarter, £6 12s 0d John Dobson, for 6 weeks' work in the armourer's shop during the quarter, £2 14s 0d John Slater, for 5 weeks and 2 days' work in the armourer's shop, £2 8s 0d Robert Cager, Richard Wheeler and John Finis, 3 discharged men, for 3 days' subsistence at 6d a day each, £0 4s 6d Robert Brown, for painting in and around the Castle, the longboat and the cranes, and for grinding colours, £3 1s 6d William Finch, for glazing work in and around the Castle, 6 days at 1s 6d a day, £0 9s 0d Mark Balls and Michael Read, for baking 117 batches of bread for the garrison at 1s 8d a batch, £9 15s 0d James Gooley, a recruit, to buy necessities, by the Governor's order, £1 0s 0d Various men of the garrison, for 162 days' work on the Ladder Hill path, £8 2s 0d Various men of the garrison, for 1,022 days' work repairing the Castle, £51 2s 0d Various men of the garrison, for 5 days' work aboard the *Fly* cutter, £0 5s 0d. Various men of the garrison, for 11 days' work putting up a gibbet, £0 11s 0d Various men of the garrison, for 105 days' carpentry, £5 5s 0d Various men of the garrison, for 249½ days' work in the warehouse, £12 9s 3d The officers and seamen of the snow *Mercury*, for their pay to 31 January 1765 according to their accounts, £434 18s 4d. Carried forward, £943 3s 5d **Interpretations** The garrison was the island's main labour force for public works. Soldiers were paid a shilling a day on top of their ordinary pay for work outside military duty, and the quarter's entries show them repairing the Castle, improving the Ladder Hill path, carpentering, crewing the longboat and handling stores in the warehouse. More than 1,000 man-days went on the Castle alone, which matches the large issues of whiting, stone colour, paint brushes, plasterers' tools and window glass charged to the general expenses in the same quarter. Employing soldiers in this way cost the Company far less than hiring free labourers, who were scarce, and it kept idle men occupied between alarms. The 11 days spent putting up a gibbet record that capital punishment was carried out or prepared on the island during the quarter. A gibbet was an upright post with a projecting arm from which the body of an executed criminal could be hung in chains and left on display as a warning. Its construction by the garrison,

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			paid for from the Company's funds, shows the council exercising its power over life and death and using public display as an instrument of control over soldiers, settlers and slaves alike. Christopher Reynolds, listed as a matross in the Artillery Company, was paid separately for almost a year's service as carpenter aboard the *Mercury*, covering her voyage to Madagascar. The artillery supplied the Company's vessels with skilled men as well as the forts with gunners. The *Mercury*'s officers and seamen drew £434 18s 4d in wages to the end of January, by far the largest single payment in the account, and it underlines how costly the Company's small fleet of island vessels was to maintain. Payments to the bakers Mark Balls and Michael Read, both serving soldiers, turned the flour issued from the warehouse into bread for the garrison at a fixed rate per batch. The small subsistence allowances paid to discharged men covered their food for the few days between leaving the ranks and boarding a ship, so that men who had just lost their rations did not go hungry while waiting to sail.
269	262	15th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr. 1765 March 31st To Cash brought over L 4177 4 4 Carrd. Over L 4177 4 4	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster again carried his cash receipts forward unchanged. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debtor: 31 March 1765, cash brought forward, £4,177 4s 4d Carried forward, £4,177 4s 4d
270	263	1765 Per Contra Cr. Broughtover L 948 3 5 1765 March 31st By Cash paid 3 Seamen belongg. to the Snow Mercury in full for 2 Mo. Wages vizt. - to Peter Mattison L 3. to Charles Sheebar L 2.5 - and Edwd. Martin L 2.5 7 10 - By Cash paid the Officers and Seamen belongg. to the Fly Cutter to Jany. 31st - 1765 as per their General Receipts 210 10 3 By Cash paid two Seamen belg. to Do. two Mo. Wages 4 12 - By Cash paid 2 Seamen belg. to Do. 8 Mo. & 25 Days Wages 38 19 2 By Cash paid Danl. Maloney Do. of the Snow Mercury the Balance of his Acct. he being Disch. Feby. 9th 1765 3 2 17 - By Cash paid James Hill Seamn. belg. to Do. the Balance of his Account he being disch. March 8th 1765 10 4 5 By Cash paid Dennis McLiney belg. to Do. the Balance of his Account he being Disch. 25th February 1765 9 7 7½ By Cash paid John Williams belongg. to Do. the Balance of his Account he being discharged the 22d. December 1764 20 9 8½ By Cash paid George Tin belongg. to Do. the Balance of his Account he being Discharged the 22d. December 1764 23 15 5 By Cash paid Sable belongg. to the Fly Cutter the Balance of his Account he being Disch. 9th April 1765 5 17 11 By Cash paid Kochquedah Cochalum his Allowance this Quarter	The payments side of the paymaster's account continued from the previous page. Brought forward, £943 3s 5d 31 March 1765, 3 seamen of the snow *Mercury*, 2 months' wages in full: Peter Mattison, £3 0s 0d; Charles Sharbrook, £2 5s 0d; Edward Martin, £2 5s 0d; together £7 10s 0d. The officers and seamen of the *Fly* cutter, for their pay to 31 January 1765 according to their general receipts, £210 10s 3d. Two seamen of the *Fly*, 2 months' wages, £4 12s 0d. Two seamen of the *Fly*, 8 months and 25 days' wages, £38 19s 2d. Daniel Maloney, seaman of the snow *Mercury*, balance of his account on his discharge on 9 February 1765, £32 17s 0d. James Hill, seaman of the *Mercury*, balance of his account on his discharge on 8 March 1765, £10 4s 5d. Dennis McLinsey of the *Mercury*, balance of his account on his discharge on 25 February 1765, £9 7s 7½d. John Williams of the *Mercury*, balance of his account on his discharge on 23 December 1764, £20 9s 2¾d. George Tin of the *Mercury*, balance of his account on his discharge on 23 December 1764, £23 15s 5d. Sabbo of the *Fly* cutter, balance of his account on his discharge on 9 April 1765, £5 17s 11d. Nockquedah Cockalum, his allowance for the quarter, £1 12s 6d Nockquedah Cockalum, house rent, £1 0s 0d John Rice, sergeant aboard the *Dutton*, for taking care of 32 recruits on the passage from England, £8 0s 0d. Robert Baldwin, sergeant aboard the *Salisbury*, for taking care of 30 recruits on the passage from England, £7 10s 0d. Carried forward, £1,331 17s 5d **Interpretations** The payments to the two sergeants identify the ships that brought the quarter's recruits. The *Dutton* carried 32 and the *Salisbury* 30, and the sergeants in

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		1 12 6 By Cash paid for House Rent for Do. 1 - - By Cash paid John Rice Surgn. of Dutton for his care of 32 Recruits on their Passage from England 8 - - By Cash paid Robt. Baldwin Do. of the Salisbury for Do. of 30 in the Passage from England 7 10 - Carried over L 1331 17 5	charge of them on the voyage received 5s for each man delivered. The ships reached the island on 21 and 22 March 1765, which matches the enlistment dates of 20 and 22 March entered against the new privates in every company. Paying the escorting sergeant by the head gave him a direct interest in landing his men alive and fit, since each recruit lost to disease or desertion on the passage cost him money. Nockquedah Cockalum received a quarterly allowance and house rent from the Company, the terms normally given to officials. His first name was perhaps the title nakhoda, the word used across the Indian Ocean for the master of a local trading vessel, which suggests a mariner from Madagascar, Arabia or the Indian coast. The Company may have kept him on the island as a pilot or interpreter for its voyages to Madagascar, where local knowledge of harbours, languages and trading customs was essential to buying slaves. Sabbo, paid off from the *Fly* on 9 April, perhaps came from the same region and served as a free seaman on wages rather than as a slave. Seamen discharged from the *Mercury* and the *Fly* were paid the balance of their wages when they left the vessels, some from as far back as December 1764. The Company deducted advances and goods drawn from the warehouse during the voyage before settling each man's account, and the differing balances reflect how much each had already taken. A sailor who left with a large balance had money to spend on the island or to carry home, while one with little owing had spent most of his pay on the passage.
271	264	15th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymaster Dr. 1765 March 31st To Cash brought over L 4177 4 4 Carrd. over L 4177 4 4	Thomas Kirkpatrick's cash receipts as paymaster were once more carried forward without change. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debtor: 31 March 1765, cash brought forward, £4,177 4s 4d Carried forward, £4,177 4s 4d
272	265	1765 Per Contra Cr. Broughtover L 1331 17 5 1765 March 31st By Cash paid George Barnard Steward of the Dutton on Account of the Honorable Company the following Articles vizt. Currants 100 lb @ 1/- per lb 5 - - Raisons 50 lb @ 1/ per lb 2 10 - Hams Wt. 135½ lb 8 @ 3/6 per lb 3 9 4½ Double Glocester Cheeses Wt. 59 lb 4 @ 1/ per lb 2 19 - Bottles Mustard 6 at 3/6 per B. 1 1 - Do. Gooseberries 12 @ 2/ 1 4 - Do. Currants 12 @ 2/6 1 10 - Pots of Currant Jelly 12 @ 2/ 1 4 - Firkin Butter 1 3 15 - Cases of Pickles	The payments side of the paymaster's account continued from the previous page. Brought forward, £1,331 19s 5d 31 March 1765, George Barnard, steward of the *Dutton*, for the following goods bought on the Company's account. 100 lb of currants at 1s a lb, £5 0s 0d 50 lb of raisins at 1s a lb, £2 10s 0d 8 hams weighing 135½ lb at [...] a lb, £3 9s 4½d 4 double Gloucester cheeses weighing 59 lb at 1s a lb, £2 19s 0d 6 bottles of mustard at 3s 6d a bottle, £1 1s 0d 12 bottles of gooseberries at 2s a bottle, £1 4s 0d 12 bottles of currants at 2s 6d a bottle, £1 10s 0d 12 pots of currant jelly at 2s a pot, £1 4s 0d 1 firkin of butter, £3 15s 0d 2 cases of pickles, £4 10s 0d 3 double saddle girths, £0 5s 0d 1 surcingle, £0 3s 6d 1 crupper, £0 2s 0d 6 lb of soap, £0 6s 0d Payment for assisting the clerk of the peace and the pleader of the court, £0 12s 6d William Bosher, for supervising work in the Long Wood this quarter, £2 10s 0d William Bosher, for the same work in the previous quarter, left out of that account, £2 10s 0d William French, for 47 days' work repairing the sails of the *Fly* cutter at 2s 6d a day, £5 17s 6d. Carried forward, £1,376 3s 7½d **Interpretations** The goods bought from the *Dutton*'s steward were English delicacies for the Governor's table rather than ordinary stores. Currants, raisins, hams, Gloucester cheese, bottled fruit, currant jelly, pickles and a firkin of butter could not be produced on the island, and the Company's regular supply ships

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		2 4 10 - Double Girths 3 5 - Surcingle 1 3 6 Crupper 1 2 - Sope 6 lb 6 By Cash paid for Assisting the Clerk of the Peace and Crier of the Court 12 6 By Cash paid Wm. Barker for Overseeing in the Long Wood this Quart. 2 10 - By Cash paid Do. being Omitted last Quarter 2 10 - By Cash paid Wm. Finch 47 day Work in repairg. the Fly Cutters sails at 2/6 per Day 5 17 6 Carrd. Over L 1376 3 9½	carried bulk provisions rather than table luxuries. Ships' stewards commonly carried small private stocks of such goods to sell at ports of call, and buying from them was the only way to furnish the Castle's table for the entertainment of visiting commanders. Charging the purchase to the Company's cash rather than to the Governor personally reflected the view that hospitality at the Castle served the Company's interests. The saddle girths, surcingle and crupper were harness for the Governor's horses: a surcingle was a strap passed round a horse's body to hold a saddle cloth or pack in place, and a crupper was a loop running under the tail to stop the saddle sliding forward on steep ground, a real risk on the island's precipitous roads. A double Gloucester was a hard, full-fat cheese from Gloucestershire made from the whole milk of two milkings, larger and longer-keeping than the single Gloucester, and it travelled well on long voyages. A firkin was a small cask holding about 56 pounds of butter. The Long Wood was a stretch of woodland and open grazing on the high plateau in the east of the island, next to the Great Wood. William Bosher's payment for supervising work there, including a sum overlooked in the previous quarter, shows the Company employing an overseer to manage its timber reserves and keep out livestock. The pleader of the court argued cases before the island's court, and the small payment for assisting him and the clerk of the peace suggests the court sat during the quarter and needed extra clerical help.
273	266	15th April Thomas Kirkpatrick Paymr. Dr. 1765 To Cash brought over L 4177 4 4 L 4177 4 4	The debit side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's account as paymaster closed with the cash brought forward, which formed the total of his receipts for the quarter. Thomas Kirkpatrick, paymaster, debtor: 1765, cash brought forward, £4,177 4s 4d Total, £4,177 4s 4d
274	267	1765 Per Contra Cr. Broughtover L 1376 8 3½ 1765 March 31st By Cash paid the Honorable Companys Officers and Servants their several Salarys Diet Money &c. for the Quarter commencing January 1st and ending the 31st March 1765 2800 16 ½ L 4177 4 4 Errors Excepted St. Helena 31st March 1765 (signed) Thos. Kirkpatrick Counted and examined the Honorable Companys Cash for the Month of March last, which is as follows vizt.	The payments side of the paymaster's account closed with the quarter's salaries and wages. Brought forward, £1,376 3s 7½d 31 March 1765, salaries, food allowances and other payments to the Company's officers and employees for the quarter from 1 January to 31 March 1765, £2,800 16s 0½d Total, £4,177 4s 4d Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account at St Helena on 31 March 1765, reserving the right to correct any errors. The council then counted and examined the Company's cash in hand for March. **Interpretations** The paymaster's payments matched his receipts exactly, so Kirkpatrick closed the quarter holding none of the Company's money. The account was built to reach this balance: every sum drawn from the treasury had to be shown as paid out to a named person or purpose, and any surplus would have had to be returned or explained. The monthly counting of the cash by the council itself added a second check. Rather than relying on the treasurer's written figures, the councillors physically counted the coin in the chest, a routine that made it hard for any single officer to divert funds unnoticed between the quarterly audits.
275	268	15th April Cash Dr. 1765 March 1st To Balance remaining L 5935 16 4½ 2d To Exchange for one Set of Bills drawn upon the Honble. the Court of Directors payable to Richard Collins Esqr. for 1150 - -	The council's cash account for March 1765 recorded the following receipts. 1 March 1765, balance in hand, £5,935 16s 4½d 2 March, cash received for 1 set of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to Richard Collins, £1,150 0s 0d 4 March, cash received for 1 set of bills, payable to John Aisener and John Burling, £75 13s 6d

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		4th To Do. for One Set payable to John Aisener and John Purling Esqrs. for 75 12 6 To Ship Anson received the Balance of her Account 91 16 6 To Ship Boscawen received Do. 105 10 9 21 To Exchange for 6 Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable as follow vizt. One Set to John Purling Esqr. for L 200 - One Do. to Mr. James Lattery 235 - One Do. to Mr. James Thune 230 - One Do. to Mr. John Home 50 - One Do. to Mr. Elias Thackery 100 - One Do. to Captain Andrew Quicke 150 - 965 - - 24th To Ship Devonshire recd. the Balance of account 22 2 8 27 To Account Current London for one Chest of Treasure recd. from Ship Salisbury amounting by Sales to 1002 13 5 31st To Plantation for Provisions Sold 13 7 7 To Licences 17 10 - To James Powell recd. of him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this day 1206 6 6 To Garrison received of Capt. Howard for so much paid him for two Soldiers of his Company which were put on board the Snow Mercury and Fly Cutter in their Voyage to Madagascar vizt. Michael Brown of the Snow Mercury L s d deserted the 26th Septr. 1764 3.13.9 John Burnett of the Fly Cutter Died the 24th October 1764 2.16.4 6 14 9½ 10591 10 9	Received from the ship *Anson*, the balance of her account, £91 16s 6d. Received from the ship *Boscawen*, the balance of her account, £105 10s 9d. 21 March, cash received for 6 sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors: 1 set payable to John Burling, £200 0s 0d 1 set payable to James Rattray, £235 0s 0d 1 set payable to James Skene, £230 0s 0d 1 set payable to John Home, £50 0s 0d 1 set payable to Elias Thackery, £100 0s 0d 1 set payable to Captain Andrew Quicke, £150 0s 0d Bills of 21 March in total, £965 0s 0d 24 March, received from the ship *Devonshire*, the balance of her account, £22 2s 8d. 27 March, credited to the London current account, the proceeds of sale of 1 chest of treasure received from the ship *Salisbury*, £1,002 13s 5d. 31 March, received from the plantation for provisions sold, £13 7s 7d Received for licences, £17 10s 0d Received from James Powell for stores sold in the quarter ending that day, £1,206 6s 6d Received from Captain Howard, repaying pay drawn for 2 soldiers of his company placed aboard the island's vessels for the voyage to Madagascar: Michael Brown of the snow *Mercury*, who deserted on 26 September 1764, £3 13s 9d. John Burnett of the *Fly* cutter, who died on 24 October 1764, £2 16s 0½d. Captain Howard's repayment in total, £6 14s 9½d Total, £10,511 10s 9d **Interpretations** The bills of exchange show wealthy passengers and officers turning their cash into safe remittances before sailing. Richard Collins paid in £1,150 on 2 March 1765 and left the island the next day, when the gunner fired a salute for Captain Collins going aboard. Captain Andrew Quicke of the *Devonshire* bought a bill for £150 on 21 March, days before sailing. Each buyer handed over coin on St Helena and received a bill payable by the directors in London, avoiding the risk of carrying money at sea. The Company gained a steady supply of cash on the island to pay its garrison and officials, which it would otherwise have had to ship out from England at its own risk. The chest of treasure landed from the *Salisbury* was the Company's own shipment of coin, most probably Spanish silver dollars, the standard currency of trade in the East. Selling it on the island converted it into the mixed local coinage used to pay wages and buy supplies, and the proceeds were credited against the island's account with London. The licence fees were perhaps charged to those allowed to sell spirits or keep public houses, a way for the council both to raise revenue and to control drinking among soldiers and sailors. Captain Howard's repayment reveals how the Company handled soldiers lent to its vessels. Two men of his company served aboard the *Mercury* and the *Fly* on the Madagascar voyage, presumably as guards or marines. Their company pay continued to be drawn after one deserted and the other died, so Howard returned the sums once the losses were known. The desertion of Michael Brown on 26 September 1764 took place far from St Helena, perhaps on the Madagascar coast, where a runaway could not easily be recovered.
276	269	Per Contra Cr. 1765 March 2d By Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn by Captain Collins and the Purser of his Majestys Ship Weymouth	The payments side of the council's cash account for March 1765 set out how the money was used and what remained.

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		as follow vizt. One Set upon the Honble. the Principal Officers and Commissioners of his Majestys Navy for 79 18 4 One Do. upon the Commissioners for Victualling his Majestys Navy for 385 8 5 465 6 9 By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salarys &ca. in the Quarter ending this day 4177 4 4 By Balance remaining vizt. In Specie 5329 4 8 In Cash Notes of no use 39 15 - 5368 19 8 L 10511 10 9	2 March 1765, cash paid for 2 sets of bills of exchange drawn by Captain Collins and the purser of His Majesty's ship *Weymouth*, as follows. 1 set drawn on the Principal Officers and Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy, £79 18s 4d 1 set drawn on the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy, £385 8s 5d Naval bills in total, £465 6s 9d Various sums advanced to the paymaster for salaries and other payments in the quarter ending 31 March 1765, £4,177 4s 4d Balance remaining: In coin, £5,329 4s 8d In cash notes of no value, £39 15s 0d Balance in total, £5,368 19s 8d Total, £10,511 10s 9d **Interpretations** The naval bills show the Company acting as banker to a Royal Navy squadron far from any naval base. Captain Collins of the *Weymouth* and his purser needed cash on the island to buy fresh provisions and pay for services, and the council supplied it from the Company's chest. In return they drew bills on the Navy Board, which handled the navy's general expenses, and on the Victualling Board, which paid for its food and drink. The much larger victualling bill reflects the cost of feeding the ships' companies after a long passage. The Company would recover the money in London when the bills were presented, so the arrangement cost it nothing and earned goodwill with the Crown's ships whose presence helped protect the island. The cash notes of no value, set apart from the coin, were probably paper notes or promissory tokens that had circulated on the island but could no longer be redeemed, perhaps because their issuer had died, left or defaulted. The council kept them in the reckoning so that the balance matched the chest exactly, while making plain that they could not be spent. The remaining balance of more than £5,300 in coin was a large reserve for so small a settlement, held against the pay bills and emergencies of the coming months.
277	270	15th April We this day granted the two following sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors vizt. One Set to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick for three Hundred and sixty pounds, payable to Mr. Allen Auld (or Order) And One set to Mr. David Alcock for one Hundred pounds, payable to himself (or Order) both drawn at Ninety Days sight - John Skottowe Dan Comeille Burling Thos. Kirkpatrick	At the meeting of 15 April 1765 the council also approved two sets of bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, each payable 90 days after being presented. Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick received one set for £360 0s 0d, payable to Allen Auld or his nominee. David Alcock received the other for £100 0s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee. Governor Skottowe and three members of the council signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Kirkpatrick signed the minutes that approved his own bill for £360 0s 0d, and he did so on the same day the council approved his quarterly accounts as paymaster. With only four members, the council had no independent body to scrutinise transactions in which one of its own had an interest, and every councillor in turn would need the others' consent to remit money home. The directors in London relied on the paper record, and on the bills themselves, to detect any abuse. David Alcock's bill for £100 0s 0d stood out against his position as a writer, the most junior rank of the Company's civil servants, whose salary and allowances came to £17 10s 0d a quarter. A sum equal to well over a year's income suggests he drew earnings from private trade on the side, most probably by buying goods from passing ships and selling them on the island. Company servants at every

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			level were permitted a measure of private trade, and remitting its profits through the Company's own bills was the accepted way to send them home.
278	271	22d April At a Consultation held on Monday the 22d Day of April 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Cornelle Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 15th - April 1765 Wednesday the 17th Sailed the French Ship Penthievre for France Saturday the 20th Arrived the Latham's Boat at Banks's a Quarter of an Hour before Eleven o'Clock in the Morning Do. Do. the Honble. Compys. Ship Latham from China Do. Do. a Swede Ship from China called the Stockholm Slot Capt. Olbers burthen 900 Tons carrys 30 Guns and 160 Men Loaden with Tea and China Ware bound to Gottenburg Yesterday sailed the Honble. Company's Ship Cocock for England The Latham brought us the following Supplys vizt. Invoice of Ship Latham No. 1 a 2 Congo Tea 2 Chests contg. Nett Cwt 1. 2. 10 @ Tls. 20 per Cwt 30 3 16 21 a 30 Sugar 10 Pls. Nett 2610 lb or Peculs 19. 57½ at 4.5 per Pcl. 88 0 88 118 9 04 (signed) Alexr. Hume Steph. De Visme Thomas Smith William Rous William Harrison Thos. Fitzhugh Saml. Blount Nanl. Garland William Mackenzie	The council met at the Castle on Monday 22 April 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. Members read the minutes of the meeting of 15 April 1765, then approved and signed them. The French ship *Penthièvre* left for France on Wednesday 17 April. On Saturday 20 April the *Latham*'s boat landed at Banks's at a quarter to eleven in the morning, ahead of the Company's ship *Latham* herself, which arrived from China the same day. A Swedish ship from China, the *Stockholm Slott*, also came in on 20 April under Captain Olbers. She measured 900 tons, mounted 30 guns and carried a crew of 160, with a cargo of tea and porcelain bound for Gothenburg. The Company's ship *Pocock* sailed for England on 21 April. The *Latham* delivered supplies for the island, listed in her invoice as follows. Nos 1 and 2, Congou tea, 2 chests, net 1.284 piculs at 24 taels a picul, 30 taels 8 mace 1.6 candareens Nos 21 to 30, sugar, 10 bags, net 2,610 lb or 19.575 piculs at 4.5 taels a picul, 88 taels 0 mace 8.8 candareens Total, 118 taels 9 mace 0.4 candareens The invoice was signed at Canton by the following. Alexander Hume Stephen Devisme Thomas Smith William Rous William Harrison Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Nathaniel Garland William Mackenzie **Interpretations** The invoice was priced in Chinese silver currency because the goods had been bought at Canton, and its nine signatories were the Company's supercargoes there. These were the senior merchants who managed the Company's trade in China each season, buying tea, silk and porcelain from the licensed Chinese merchants and loading the homeward ships. The tael was a unit of weight of silver, about 1⅓ ounces, divided into 10 mace and each mace into 10 candareens; the picul was the load a man could carry, about 133⅓ pounds, divided into 100 catties. Signing jointly made every supercargo answerable for the prices charged, so the island's council could check what it received against what the Company had paid. The sugar came in at 4.5 taels a picul, roughly a penny a pound at the usual exchange rate, a fraction of what refined West Indian sugar cost in England. Congou at 24 taels a picul was dearer but still far cheaper than the same tea after freight, duty and the London sales. Ordering direct from Canton through a homeward ship let the island obtain both at source prices, which explains why the warehouse could sell tea to soldiers, planters and slaves alike and why sugar and sugar candy figured so heavily in its accounts. Sending the ship's boat ahead to land at Banks's gave the council early word of the *Latham*'s approach and of any news she carried, before the ship herself worked into the anchorage. The *Stockholm Slott* belonged to the Swedish East India Company, which traded to Canton from Gothenburg and competed with the British in the tea trade. Like the French *Penthièvre*, she called for water and provisions under the peace, and her guns and crew were recorded with the same care.

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279	272	22d April We this day received the following Letter from Capt. Sea vizt. St. Helena 22d April 1765 To the Governor &ca. Council Gentlemen the Officers and Seamen that came from England in the Fly Cutter has been charged with three Months Absence pay more then they have received, this three Months, was supposed to be Received by our agents in England, And David More Seamd. Mate and Gulio Falconia Carpenter, not leaving any Letter of Attorney, - behind them in Consequence is charged with four Months - I Beg Gentlemen this may be explained by you to prevent any further trouble when We comes home I am Gentlemen your very Humble and Obedient Servant (signed) Peter Sea It plainly appears to Us that the Fly Cutters - Company that came from England have been charged three Months Absence pay more than they have received, We therefore Agreed to Explain this to the Honorable the Court of Directors in our - General Letter by the Snow Mercury, We likewise acquainted Capt. Sea that his Diet Money and the Wages of the Fly Cutters Company should be made up to the last Day of this Month	Captain Peter Lea wrote to the Governor and council from St Helena on 22 April 1765. He reported that the officers and seamen who had sailed from England in the *Fly* cutter had been debited with three months more of absence pay than they had actually received. That three months' pay was supposed to have been collected on their behalf by their agents in England. David More, the second mate, and Gulio Falconia, the carpenter, had left no power of attorney behind them, and as a result four months had been charged against each of them. Lea asked the council to clear up the matter so that he would face no further difficulty on his return home. The council agreed that the *Fly*'s crew from England had plainly been charged with three months' absence pay beyond what they had received. It resolved to explain the error to the Court of Directors in the general letter to be sent home on the snow *Mercury*. It also informed Captain Lea that his food allowance and the wages of the *Fly*'s crew would be paid up to 30 April 1765. **Interpretations** Absence pay was the part of a seaman's wages paid to his family or agent in England while he was away, so that dependants did not go without during a voyage lasting years. A sailor signed a power of attorney before sailing, naming the person entitled to draw it, and the sum was then deducted from what he received at the end of the voyage. The *Fly*'s men had been debited three months too many, and the two who had named no attorney were charged even though no one could have collected the money for them. The mistake had been made in London, where the absence pay was issued and recorded. The council recognised the error but chose not to correct it by paying the men the difference on the island. It referred the matter to the directors instead, because only the office in London could see what had actually been paid to the agents and adjust the accounts at source. Settling it locally would have risked the men being paid twice once London made its own correction. Lea's concern about trouble at home reflected the same point, since a commander whose crew's accounts did not balance could be held answerable for the discrepancy when the ship's books were examined. Making up the *Fly*'s wages to the end of April suggests her voyage was being closed and her crew paid off, perhaps to be discharged or re-engaged on new terms now that the Madagascar voyage and her refit were complete.
280	273	1765 The Executrix and Executors this day Produced an - Inventory of the Effects of William Moore Deceased, appraised by - Messrs. Solomon Jacob, and John Bland, who being duly sworn that they Valued the same to the best of their Judgement, and the Widow that she produced every Article, it was Ordered to be Registered - John Skottowe Dan Comeille Burling Thos. Kirkpatrick	The widow of William Moore, as his executrix, came before the council on 22 April 1765 with her fellow executors and presented an inventory of his estate. Solomon Jacob and John Bland had valued the goods, and both swore that their figures reflected their honest judgement. The widow swore in her turn that she had produced every item belonging to the estate. The council ordered the inventory to be entered in the register. Governor Skottowe and three members of the council signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The council acted as the island's probate court, supervising the settlement of every estate. The two oaths guarded against different frauds. The appraisers swore to the value so that goods could not be priced low to benefit an heir or buyer, while the widow swore to the completeness of the inventory so that nothing could be held back from creditors. Many settlers owed money to the Company for goods from

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			the warehouse, for rent on leased land or for advances, and a sworn and registered inventory ensured those debts could be recovered from the estate before anything passed to the family. Registering it in the council's own records gave it lasting legal force in any later dispute. The two appraisers were both men already in the Company's paid service: Solomon Jacob was the garrison's adjutant and John Bland its master mason, who had also transferred his lease of land called Seatons to John Desfountain on 8 April 1765. Drawing appraisers from the same small circle of officials and leading settlers was unavoidable on so small an island, but it meant that the valuation of a neighbour's goods rested with men who knew the family and might later bid for the property themselves.
281	274	29th April At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th Day of April 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Comeille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 22d April 1765 Wednesday the 24th Arrived the Lord Mansfield Boat at Banks's a Quarter past six o'Clock in the Morning Do. Do. Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Lord Mansfield from Bombay - Friday the 26th Died Roger Phillips Soldier - Do. Do. Sailed the Swede Ship Stockholm Slot for Gottenbourg - Yesterday passed by two Ships at a great Distance Do. Arrived the British King's Boat at Banks's half an Hour past twelve o'Clock at Noon - Do. Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship British King from China - This day Arrived the Norfolks Boat at Banks's Half an Hour past seven o'Clock in the Morning Do. Do. The Honorable Company's Ship Norfolk from China The Ships Lord Mansfield, British King and Norfolk brought us the following Supply's vizt.	The council met at the Castle on Monday 29 April 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. Members read the minutes of the meeting of 22 April 1765, then approved and signed them. Several arrivals and departures were entered in the record. On Wednesday 24 April the *Lord Mansfield*'s boat landed at Banks's at a quarter past six in the morning, and the Company's ship *Lord Mansfield* herself arrived from Bombay later that day. Roger Phillips, a soldier, died on Friday 26 April, and the Swedish ship *Stockholm Slott* sailed for Gothenburg the same day. Two ships passed the island at a great distance on 28 April. That day the *British King*'s boat landed at Banks's at half past twelve, and the Company's ship *British King* arrived from China. On 29 April the *Norfolk*'s boat reached Banks's at half past seven in the morning, followed by the Company's ship *Norfolk*, also from China. The *Lord Mansfield*, *British King* and *Norfolk* between them brought supplies for the island. **Interpretations** The boats that landed at Banks's before each ship arrived formed part of the island's defence as well as its communications. Banks's battery lay on the approach from the windward side, where ships first came within reach of the island, and a boat sent in from an incoming vessel identified her as friendly before she came under the guns covering James Bay. The council recorded the landing times to the quarter hour, which let it check how much warning each arrival gave and whether the lookouts and signals had worked. A ship that sent no boat, like the two that passed at a distance on 28 April 1765, remained unidentified and could only be watched until she was out of sight.
282	275	1765 Invoice of Ship Lord Mansfield Rice beaten fine 22 Bags qy. 150 Sr. Mds. vizt. 20 Bags @ 6¾ Sr. Mds. is 135 2 Do. @ 7½ is 15 150 Sr. Mds. @ 350 per Sr. Md. 131 1 - Batty Wt. 3 Mds. 21 Srs. @ 18 Rs. per Md. 69 40 Charges on Merchandize Gunney Pieces 35 @ 5 Rs. per Corge 8 3 - Dutty Bags 22 @ 3 qs. each 16 2 - Gunney 32 @ 1 qr. each 8 - -	The *Lord Mansfield*'s invoice from Bombay listed the rice and paddy she brought for the island and the costs of shipping it. Rice, cleaned fine, 22 bags, 150 Surat maunds: 20 bags at 6¾ Surat maunds each, 135 Surat maunds 2 bags at 7½ Surat maunds each, 15 Surat maunds Rice in total, 150 Surat maunds at 350 per Surat maund, 131 rupees 1 quarter 0 reas Paddy, 3 candies 21 maunds at 18 rupees a candy, 69 rupees 0 quarters 40 reas Charges on the goods: Gunny cloth, 35 pieces at 5 rupees a score, 8 rupees 3 quarters 0 reas Bags for the paddy, 22 at 3 quarters each, 16 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Gunny bags, 32 at 1 quarter each, 8 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas

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		Twine and Sewing the Bags 2 - Lascars 24 @ 20 per each 4 1 - Hamallage on the Rice and Batty 2 - 60 Boat Hire on Do. 2 2 - 42 2 60 Rupees 243 - 8 Errors Excepted (signed) Wm. Hornby Acct.	Twine and sewing the bags, 0 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Lascars, 24 at 20 each, 4 rupees 1 quarter 0 reas Porterage on the rice and paddy, 2 rupees 0 quarters 60 reas Boat hire on the rice and paddy, 2 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Charges in total, 42 rupees 2 quarters 60 reas Total, 243 rupees 0 quarters 8 reas W Hornby signed the invoice as accountant at Bombay, reserving the right to correct any errors. **Interpretations** The invoice was reckoned in the currency and weights of Bombay. The rupee there was divided into 4 quarters and each quarter into 100 reas, a system inherited from the Portuguese. The Surat maund, used throughout the western Indian ports, weighed roughly 37 pounds, so the 150 maunds of cleaned rice came to about 2½ tons. The candy was a larger measure of 20 maunds. Paddy, called batty on the Malabar and Konkan coasts, was rice still in the husk, and it was the cheaper grain that the island fed to its poultry, horses and, once pounded, to slaves. Gunny was coarse sacking woven from jute or hemp in Bengal and on the Indian coast, bought by the score of 20 pieces and made up into bags for grain. Its cost, together with the bags, twine and sewing, shows that the packing alone added about a fifth to the price of the rice and paddy. Lascars were Indian labourers and seamen, hired here to load the cargo, while the charge for porterage, known in Bombay as hamallage from the word for a porter, paid the men who carried the sacks from the warehouse to the waterside. Boat hire covered the lighters that took the bags out to the ship in the harbour. Buying rice at Bombay and shipping it by a homeward vessel gave St Helena its cheapest staple food. The storekeeper issued nearly 5½ tons of rice to the Company's slaves in the first quarter of 1765 alone, and this delivery, together with those from other Indian ports, kept that ration supplied at source prices rather than through merchants.
283	276	29th April Invoice of Ship British King Tea Single No. 5 @ 7 3 Chests contg. Nett Pecl. 1. 80 @ 25 Tls. per Pecl. 45 - Bohea Tea 3 & 4 2 Chests pr. Gross 340 Tare 66 Nett 274 is Pecl. 2 74 at 13 per Pecl. 36 990 Sugar No. 11 @ 20 10 Chests pr. Gross 2925 Tare 235 Nett 2690 is Pecl. 20.17½ at 4.5 per Pecl. 90 787 Tales 172 777 No. 14 14 China Ware 2 Half Chests and one Boxes containing as per Bills and Landsprat Tales m c c Setts of Meat Dishes and Plates, each Set of 33 Pieces Blue & White 15 Do. with Tureens each Set of 40 Pieces Do. 15 30 Setts at 4.000 per Set 120 - - Soop Dishes Do. at 400 12 4 8 Setts of Bowls of 3 in each Sett Do. at 350 each 34	The *British King*'s invoice from Canton listed tea, sugar and porcelain for the island, priced in Chinese silver currency. Single tea, Nos 5 to 7, 3 chests, net 1 picul 80 catties at 25 taels a picul, 45 taels 0 mace 0 candareens Bohea tea, Nos 3 and 4, 2 chests, gross 340 catties, tare 66 catties, net 274 catties or 2.74 piculs at 13.5 taels a picul, 36 taels 9 mace 9 candareens Sugar, Nos 11 to 20, 10 chests, gross 2,925 lb, tare 235 lb, net 2,690 lb or 20.175 piculs at 4.5 taels a picul, 90 taels 7 mace 8.7 candareens Tea and sugar in total, 172 taels 7 mace 7.7 candareens Blue and white porcelain, No 14, 3 half-chests and 1 box, as listed separately: Sets of meat dishes and plates of 33 pieces each, 15 sets Sets of meat dishes and plates with tureens, 40 pieces each, 15 sets Dinner sets in total, 30 sets at 4 taels a set, 120 taels 0 mace 0 candareens Soup dishes, 12 at 0.4 taels each, 4 taels 8 mace 0 candareens Sets of bowls, 3 to a set, 34 sets at 0.35 taels a set, 11 taels 9 mace 0 candareens Sneakers, 300 at 0.025 taels each, 7 taels 5 mace 0 candareens Guglets and basins, 30 pairs at 0.4 taels a pair, 12 taels 0 mace 0 candareens Chamber pots, 30 at 0.2 taels each, 6 taels 0 mace 0 candareens

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		11 9 - Sneekers Do. at 025 each 300 7 5 Pr. Guglets and Basons Do. at 400 per Pair 30 12 - Chamber Potts Do. at 200 each 30 6 - Pairs of Half pint Cups and Saucers Do. at 65 per P. 100 6 5 - Carrd. Over Tales 168 7 -	Half-pint cups and saucers, 100 pairs at 6.5 taels the hundred, 6 taels 5 mace 0 candareens Porcelain carried forward, 168 taels 7 mace 0 candareens **Interpretations** The prices at Canton show how cheaply the island obtained its porcelain and how much of the final cost lay in freight and handling. A sneaker cost 0.025 taels, roughly 2d at the usual exchange, and a half-pint cup with its saucer barely more than a halfpenny. The Company's warehouse sold the same wares to its employees at 10 per cent above the landed cost and to planters at 40 per cent, so the island's shelves were stocked at a fraction of what equivalent pieces fetched in London. The forms ordered, from dinner sets to guglets and chamber pots, matched those landed from the *Lord Clive* on 5 April 1765, which suggests a standing annual order from the island filled each season at Canton. The three teas came at sharply different prices. Bohea at 13.5 taels a picul was barely half the price of single tea at 25 taels or Congou at 24 taels, as invoiced from the *Latham* on 22 April 1765. The spread reflected the grades the island's warehouse sold on to different customers, with bohea going to the garrison guardhouses, the slaves and the hospital, and the better teas to officials and planters. The tare, the weight of the chest deducted to find the net weight of the contents, was recorded so that the island could check the weight on arrival and claim for any shortfall.
284	277	1765 Broughtover Tales 168 7 - Deduct for Breakage 2 per Ct. 3 3 7 4 Tales 165 3 2 6 Errors Excepted Canton 19th Decr. 1764 (signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Nathl. Garland Wm. Mackenzie Alex. Hume Stepn. De Visme Thoms. Smith Mann Horner William Rouse Wm. Harrison Invoice of Ship Norfolk 3 & 4 Tea Congo 2 Chests contg. nett Pecls. 1. 23 ¾ @ Tls. 24 per Pecul 30 316 5 & 6 Bohea Tea 2 Do. Do. 3. 30 @ 13 Do. 41 400 Sugar 11 Do. Do. 21. 74½ Do. 97 341 Tales 170 057 Stepn. De Visme Thos. Smith Mann Horner William Rous Wm. Harrison (signed) Thos. Fitzhugh Saml. Blount Nathl. Garland Wm. Mackenzie Alex. Hume	The *British King*'s porcelain account closed with an allowance for breakage. Porcelain brought forward, 168 taels 7 mace 0 candareens Allowance for breakage at 2 per cent, 3 taels 3 mace 7.4 candareens Porcelain in total, 165 taels 3 mace 2.6 candareens The supercargoes signed the invoice at Canton on 19 December 1764, reserving the right to correct any errors. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Nathaniel Garland William Mackenzie Alexander Hume Stephen Devisme Thomas Smith Mann Horner William Rous William Harrison The *Norfolk*'s invoice from Canton followed. Congou tea, Nos 3 and 4, 2 chests, net 1.284 piculs at 24 taels a picul, 30 taels 8 mace 1.6 candareens Bohea tea, Nos 5 and 6, 2 chests, net 2.3 piculs at 18 taels a picul, 41 taels 4 mace 0 candareens Sugar, 11 chests, net 21.7425 piculs at 4.5 taels a picul, 97 taels 8 mace 4.1 candareens Total, 170 taels 0 mace 5.7 candareens The same ten supercargoes signed the *Norfolk*'s invoice. Stephen Devisme Thomas Smith Mann Horner William Rous William Harrison Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Nathaniel Garland William Mackenzie Alexander Hume **Interpretations**

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			The allowance of 2 per cent for breakage was deducted before the porcelain left Canton, so the island was charged only for the pieces expected to survive the voyage. Loss in transit was treated as a certainty to be priced in rather than a mishap to be claimed afterwards. This spared the storekeeper from lodging a claim for every cracked plate, as he had to do for English goods such as the glass and tiles broken aboard the *Dutton*, and it placed the risk of ordinary breakage on the Company's own account from the outset. The two ships carried bohea bought at different prices, 13.5 taels a picul on the *British King* and 18 taels on the *Norfolk*, though both invoices were signed by the same supercargoes in the same season. The Company's agents at Canton bought from several licensed Chinese merchants, each supplying teas of slightly different grade and price, and the difference suggests the *Norfolk*'s bohea was a better quality. The *British King*'s invoice was dated 19 December 1764, and she reached St Helena on 28 April 1765, a passage of just over four months from Canton to the island.
285	278	29th April In Consequence of the Letter we received from Capt. Mitchell Entered in our Consultation of the 8th Instant, we have bought a large six Oar Yawl for twelve pounds, which will do very well for his purpose William Hebert Corporal this day applyed to Us for his Discharge from the Garrison, which we granted, as the - Honorable Company's last General Letter directed, when he should apply for the same - We likewise this day discharged Christopher Reynolds Matross, to go Carpenter on board the Snow Mercury, he having but two or three Months of his Contracted time to serve, and Captain Merryweather applying to Us for him, being destitute of a Carpenter John Skottowe Dan Comeille Burling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Acting on Captain Mitchell's letter entered in the minutes of 8 April 1765, the council bought a large six-oared yawl for £12 0s 0d, which it judged well suited to his needs. Corporal William Hebert asked the council that day for his discharge from the garrison. The council granted it, since the Company's most recent general letter had instructed that he be released whenever he applied. The council also discharged Christopher Reynolds, a matross, so that he could serve as carpenter aboard the snow *Mercury*. Only two or three months of his contracted service remained, and Captain Merryweather had asked for him because the *Mercury* had no carpenter. Governor Skottowe and three members of the council signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Reynolds's release set aside the ordinary rule that a soldier served out his full contract. The council could have kept him in the artillery for the few months that remained and let the *Mercury* find a carpenter elsewhere, but the snow was due to carry the council's general letter to England and could not sail safely without a man to repair her hull and spars. Reynolds had already served as her carpenter throughout the previous year, as the paymaster's accounts recorded on 31 March 1765, so he knew the vessel. Weighing a matross's last few weeks against the safety of a Company ship bound for England, the council chose the ship. The short time left on his contract made the concession cheap, since the artillery would have lost him within months in any case. Hebert's discharge rested on a specific instruction from the directors rather than on the expiry of his contract. Soldiers who had grievances, family claims at home or special terms of enlistment could petition the Company in London directly, and the directors' order overrode the council's usual discretion. The council recorded the source of its authority so that the discharge could not later be questioned. Buying a yawl rather than lending one of the existing boats met the council's promise of 8 April 1765 to give Mitchell a boat reserved for his survey. The launch and longboat were constantly needed for landing stores from the ships, and diverting either would have hampered that work, so a boat of his

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			own was the only way to keep the engineer moving without disrupting the anchorage.
286	279	6th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 6th Day of May 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Cornelle Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 29th April 1765 Wednesday the 1st Arrived the Northumberland's Boat at Banks's - half an Hour past Eleven o'Clock in the Morning Do. Do. the Honble. Compys. Ship Northumberland from China Friday the 3d Sailed the new Mercury for England The Northumberland brought Us the following Supplies vizt. Invoice of Ship Northumberland No. 5 & 6 Congo Tea 2 Chests contg. nett Pcl. 1. 27 ¾ @ Tls. 24 per Pcl. 30 316 7 & 8 Bohea Tea 2 Do. Do. 3. 25½ @ 13 Do. 40 635 40 & 48 47 & 48 Sugar 11 Do. Do. 22. 40½ @ 4.5 Do. 100 911 Tales 172 262 Errors Excepted (signed) Stephen De Visme Thos. Smith Mann Horner Wm. Rouse Wm. Harrison Thomas Fitzhugh Saml. Blount Nathl. Garland Wm. Mackenzie Alexr. Hume	The council met at the Castle on Monday 6 May 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. Members read the minutes of the meeting of 29 April 1765, then approved and signed them. The *Northumberland*'s boat landed at Banks's at half past eleven on the morning of Wednesday 1 May, and the Company's ship *Northumberland* arrived from China the same day. The snow *Mercury* left for England on Friday 3 May. The *Northumberland* brought supplies for the island, listed in her invoice as follows. Congou tea, Nos 5 and 6, 2 chests, net 1.284 piculs at 24 taels a picul, 30 taels 8 mace 1.6 candareens Bohea tea, Nos 7 and 8, 2 chests, net 2.2575 piculs at 18 taels a picul, 40 taels 6 mace 3.5 candareens Sugar, Nos 40 to 42 and 47 and 48, 11 chests, net 22.4025 piculs at 4.5 taels a picul, 100 taels 8 mace 1.1 candareens Total, 172 taels 2 mace 6.2 candareens The supercargoes signed the invoice, reserving the right to correct any errors. Stephen Devisme Thomas Smith Mann Horner William Rous William Harrison Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount Nathaniel Garland William Mackenzie Alexander Hume
287	280	6th May Mr. Matthew Purling Reports that he has been on board the Ships Latham Norfolk, Lord Mansfield, British King and Northumberland to Muster their Companys and enquire for deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow vizt. Muster Roll of Ship Latham James Moffatt Commander John Prince Chief Mate John Sutton 2d. Do. John Rynner 3d. Do. Saml. Hough 4th. Do. George Maxwell Do. Do. George Sheriff 5th. Do. John Murry Surgeon John Harvey Purser James Tindale Gunner John Pickering Boatsn. Michael Dallahide Carpr. Wm. McInlay Caulker Lawrence Miller Cooper Andrew Moore Midshipman Patrick Gallaky Midshipm. George Shaw Do. Robert Nichols Do. Isaac Wood Do. Coxswain Thoms. Dudley Quartermas. Christopher Edgerton Do. Willm. Brown Do. Thomas Duffin Do.	Matthew Burling reported that he had boarded the *Latham*, *Norfolk*, *Lord Mansfield*, *British King* and *Northumberland* to muster their crews and search for deserters, and had found none. The muster rolls of the five ships were entered in the minutes, beginning with that of the *Latham*. James Moffatt, commander John Prince, chief mate John Sutton, second mate John Kynner, third mate Samuel Hough, fourth mate George Maxwell, fourth mate George Sheriff, fifth mate John Murray, surgeon John Harvey, purser James Tindale, gunner John Pickering, boatswain Michael Dallahide, carpenter William McInlay, caulker Lawrence Miller, cooper Andrew Mace, midshipman Patrick Gallahy, midshipman George Shaw, midshipman Robert Nichol, midshipman Isaac Wood, midshipman and coxswain Thomas Cudley, quartermaster Christopher Colegrove, quartermaster William Brown, quartermaster Thomas Duffin, quartermaster James O'Brien, quartermaster Joseph Blood, sailmaker John White, captain's steward

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		James Obrien Quartermas. Joseph Blood Sailmak. John White Capt. Stew. David Mathers Capt. Cook Wm. Gubb Carpenters Mate Alex. Thompson Surg. Mte. John Worrington Ship Cook John Lee Boatsw. Mte. Hugh Montgomery Gunr. Do. Willm. Stanley Coopers Do. George Knight Armorer William Ayres Butcher Francis Gray Seaman Thoms. Atkynson George Cleghorn William Warner John Strong Thoms. Simpson Willm. Brown Simon Kelly John Coffin John Scott Wm. Callie Joseph Osborne Seamn. William Beaumont John Thompson Francis Palmer William Hare Thomas Rea John Gray John Robinson Mich. Flannagan Christopher Nabe George Ferguson John Mitchell James Angus William Robinson Thoms. Collard Richard Williams Thomas Audley George Mill David Pattito William Garrett John Gibson James Batchelor Lockhart McDonald	David Mathers, captain's cook William Cutts, carpenter's mate Alexander Thompson, surgeon's mate John Wormleyton, ship's cook John Lee, boatswain's mate Hugh Montgomery, gunner's mate William Stanley, cooper's mate George Knight, armourer William Ayres, butcher Francis Gray, seaman Thomas Atkinson, seaman George Cleghorn, seaman William Warren, seaman John Strong, seaman Thomas Simpson, seaman William Brown, seaman Amon Kelly, seaman John Coffin, seaman John Scott, seaman William Collie, seaman Joseph Osborne, seaman William Beaunds, seaman John Thompson, seaman Francis Colrose, seaman William Hare, seaman Thomas Rea, seaman John Gray, seaman John Robinson, seaman Michael Flannagan, seaman Christopher Nabe, seaman George Ferguson, seaman John Mitchell, seaman James Angus, seaman William Robinson, seaman Thomas Collard, seaman Richard Williams, seaman Thomas Audley, seaman George Mill, seaman David Pollitt, seaman William Garrett, seaman John Gibson, seaman James Batchelor, seaman Lockhart McDonald, seaman **Interpretations** The muster served to keep soldiers from escaping the island on homeward ships. A councillor went aboard each vessel, called every man on the ship's roll by name and checked that no one was present who should not be. Any soldier hidden among the crew or passing himself off under another man's name would be exposed, since he could not answer to a listed name that was not his. The two desertions of 5 March 1765, when George Kibbet and William McCullough slipped away as the naval squadron sailed, showed how real the danger was. Entering the complete rolls in the council's minutes also gave a record against which any later claim, by a captain or by the Company, could be checked. The *Latham*'s roll shows how an East Indiaman carried a complete community of trades on a voyage lasting well over a year. Besides the mates, midshipmen and seamen, she had a surgeon and his mate, a purser to keep the accounts and stores, a sailmaker, carpenter, caulker, cooper, armourer and butcher. Each specialist kept the ship self-sufficient far from any port, able to repair her hull, rigging, casks and weapons and to slaughter livestock carried aboard for fresh meat.
288	281	1765 Danl. McGillary Seamen Willm. Harcus John Parker Chas. Bartleman Thomas Johnson Peter McIntosh	The *Latham*'s muster roll continued with the rest of her seamen, the officers' servants and her passengers. Daniel McGillary, seaman William Harcus, seaman John Parker, seaman Charles Bartleman, seaman

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		James Houston Robert Angus John McLean Cuthbert Perkins Seaman George Matthews James Simpson Joseph Allen Nicholas Rabin John Petrikin Thoms. Magson John Coggan William Carr Charles Johnson Timy. Dickenson Seam. Robert Hammilton George Wilwood Lewis Balfour Captains Servant Jo. Wheelwright Chief Mte. Do. John Green 2d. Do. Do. Wm. Lorrain Surgeons Do. James Alms Gunners Do. John Hill Carpenters Do. Passengers Mr. Hume Supracargoe Mr. Dalrymple Mr. Brugenton (signed) Jas. Moffatt Muster Roll of Ship Norfolk John Sandys Commandr. Augt. Savage Chief Mate Arch. Scassor 2d. Do. Matt. Wood 3d. Do. Robt. Rous 4th. Do. Joseph Harris Surgeon James Batchard Purser Henry Thompson Surg. Mte. George Rysoldt Midshipm. Thomas Wall Midshipman & Coxswain John Riddall Do. Wm. Hellier Midshipman David Goodlet Gunner James Crosseworth Boatsw. John Whitford Carpenter John Young Cooper John Perkins Caulker Andw. Grip Ships Steward Chas. Clarke Capt. Do. Wm. Whitstone Do. Taylor Robt. Sprake Do. & Barber Wm. Simonds Do. Servant Thos. Anderson Armourer Henry Harvey Smith John Wilson Gunr. & Mate Wm. Bryant Do. 2d. Do. Thoms. Bulley Carpt. Mte. Hans Lawson Boats. Mte. John Smith Do. 2d. Do. John Lake Coopers Mate John Miller Caulk. Do. Jas. Fagan Ship Cook John Flannagan Baker	Thomas Johnson, seaman Peter McIntosh, seaman James Houston, seaman Robert Angus, seaman John McLean, seaman Cuthbert Perkins, seaman George Matthews, seaman James Simpson, seaman Joseph Allen, seaman Nicholas Robin, seaman John Peterkin, seaman Thomas Magson, seaman John Coggan, seaman William Carr, seaman Charles Johnson, seaman Timothy Dickenson, seaman Robert Hammilton, seaman George Wildgoose, captain's servant Lewis Balfour, captain's servant John Wheelwright, chief mate's servant John Green, second mate's servant William Lorrain, surgeon's servant James Alves, gunner's servant John Hill, carpenter's servant Passengers: Mr Hume, supercargo Mr Dalrymple Mr Brigenton Captain James Moffatt signed the roll. The *Norfolk*'s muster roll followed. John Sandys, commander Augustus Savage, chief mate Archibald Fraser, second mate Matthew Wood, third mate Robert Rous, fourth mate Joseph Harris, surgeon James Pritchard, purser Henry Thompson, surgeon's mate George Ryvelder, midshipman and coxswain Thomas Wall, midshipman John Riddall, midshipman William Hillier, midshipman David Goodlet, gunner James Crosthwaite, boatswain John Whitford, carpenter John Young, cooper John Perkins, caulker Andrew Gripp, ship's steward Charles Black, captain's steward William Whitstone, captain's tailor Robert Spike, barber William Simonds, captain's servant Thomas Anderson, armourer Henry Harvey, smith John Wilson, gunner's first mate William Bryant, gunner's second mate Thomas Bailey, carpenter's mate Hans Lawson, boatswain's mate John Smith, boatswain's second mate John Lake, cooper's mate John Miller, caulker's mate James Fagan, ship's cook John Flannagan, baker **Interpretations** Mr Hume, travelling as a passenger in the *Latham*, was the supercargo Alexander Hume who had signed the Canton invoices for this season's ships. Supercargoes went out to China for one or more trading seasons and returned home with the fleet once their business was done, so the men whose signatures authorised the island's tea, sugar and porcelain were also passing through it on their way to England. Their presence gave the council a direct link to the Company's senior management of the China trade.

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			The servants listed against named officers were usually boys or young men learning the sea, attached to the captain, mates, surgeon, gunner or carpenter. They waited on their masters and in return were trained in the officer's skills, so that a carpenter's servant might in time become a carpenter's mate. The officers drew the servants' wages themselves, which made the posts a valuable perquisite and a recognised route into the Company's maritime service.
289	282	6th May John Mills Poulterer William Warner Butcher Wm. Battleman Quartermaster James Martin Do. Christopher Anderson Do. Richard Lygitt Do. John Loudon Do. John Downman Seaman Saml. Swanson Thos. Bannister Jos. Midcalf Geo. Thompson George Taylor William Smith John Howard James Coby Thoms. Crook Thoms. Johnson Lawr. Anderson Seaman Wm. Wilkie Lawr. Branton John Bratt Danl. Sutton Andw. Wilson John Hurry Willm. Boulton Wm. Mason Hans Anderson Joseph Lockard Thomas Collins Thoms. Richardson John Standing James Quin Thomas Wade Thoms. Allen Thoms. Barnes 1st Mte. Servt. John Causin Surgs. Do. Isaac Dyke Seam. Thoms. Billing Thoms. Oliver Atkinson Maxwell Thomas Charlotte Joseph Dowling John Inskip Charles Robinson Phillip Smart James Welch David Kidd Andrew Ferguson James Lassells John Thompson Benjn. Buckley Gunr. Servt. John Ramsay Carpt. Do. Henry Cocks Boatsn. Do. Passengers William Harrison Esqr. Supracargoe Charles Howard Do. Servant (signed) John Sandys	The *Norfolk*'s muster roll continued with her remaining crew and passengers. John Mill, poulterer William Warner, butcher William Pattleman, quartermaster James Martin, quartermaster Christopher Anderson, quartermaster Richard Lygitt, quartermaster John Loudon, quartermaster John Downman, seaman Samuel Swanson, seaman Thomas Bannister, seaman Joseph Medcalf, seaman George Thompson, seaman George Taylor, seaman William Smith, seaman John Howard, seaman James Coby, seaman Thomas Crook, seaman Thomas Johnson, seaman Lawrence Anderson, seaman William Wilkie, seaman Lawrence Branton, seaman John Pratt, seaman Daniel Sutton, seaman Andrew Wilson, seaman John Hurry, seaman William Boulton, seaman William Mason, seaman Hans Anderson, seaman Joseph Lockard, seaman Thomas Collins, seaman Thomas Richardson, seaman John Standring, seaman James Quin, seaman Thomas Wade, seaman Thomas Allen, seaman Thomas Cornet, first mate's servant John Causon, surgeon's servant Isaac Pyke, seaman Thomas Billing, seaman Thomas Oliver, seaman Atkinson Maxwell, seaman Thomas Charlton, seaman Joseph Cowling, seaman John Inship, seaman Charles Robinson, seaman Phillip Smart, seaman James Welch, seaman David Kidd, seaman Andrew Ferguson, seaman James Lassells, seaman John Thompson, seaman Benjamin Buckley, gunner's servant John Ramsay, carpenter's servant Henry Cocks, boatswain's servant Passengers: William Harrison, supercargo Charles Howard, the supercargo's servant Captain John Sandys signed the roll. **Interpretations** The *Norfolk* carried both a poulterer and a butcher, which shows how East Indiamen supplied fresh food on long passages. Live poultry was kept in coops on deck and sheep, pigs and sometimes cattle in pens, and the poulterer fed and cleaned them until

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			they were killed for the officers' and passengers' tables. Fresh meat was largely reserved for the captain's table and the passengers, while the ordinary seamen lived on salt provisions. The island's own role as a supplier of livestock to passing ships depended on exactly this demand, which is why its herds and flocks were managed so closely by the Company's overseer.
290	283	1765 Muster Roll of Ship Lord Mansfield Alexr. Macleod Commander David Welsh 1st Mate Wm. Lindsay 2d. Mate John Gordon 3d. Do. Henry Lock 4th. Do. James Turner 5th. Do. Alex. Macdonald Surgeon Joseph Bell Gunner Danl. Macpean Carpenter Jacob Burns Boatswain Saml. Young Caulker Joseph Cooper John Peter Sailmaker Robert Morrison Armourer Peter Maclaren Capt. Mate Hones Aldolp Ships Cook James Taylor Capt. Do. Joseph Herby Midshipm. Thomas Marshall Thoms. Gilbitas Joseph Bartlett John Loyd George Collingwood Capt. 1 M Collin Chapple Do. 2d. Do. Joseph Haynes Caulker Wm. Baxter Gunners Do. George Wright Boats. Do. John Ramsey Quartermast. Henry Husshart Do. George Taylor Do. William Ross Do. Wm. Harwood Do. James Tullich Capt. Taylor John Ebsley Butcher Thomas Blandford Poulterer Alexander Harvey Seaman James Hutchins James Naughty Thomas Moss Willm. Lewis John Stafford John Yell James Taylor Ralph Appleby Thoms. Maccabe Willm. Richardson Norml. Macleod John Macleod Henry Trumble Andw. Thompson Andrew Craft Nichs. Shaffer James Low Robt. Mackay James Backers Seaman James Ree John Gambel Nichs. Miller Thoms. Smith Quartermt. David Arnold Seaman Willm. Avery Saml. Thackster John Allen Angus Steward James Hughes Cooper	The muster roll of the *Lord Mansfield* followed. Alexander Macleod, commander David Welsh, first mate William Lindsay, second mate John Gordon, third mate Henry Lock, fourth mate James Turner, fifth mate Alexander Macdonald, surgeon Joseph Bell, gunner Daniel Macpherson, carpenter Jacob Burns, boatswain Samuel Young, caulker Joseph Cooper John Pether, sailmaker Robert Morrison, armourer Peter Maclaren, captain's steward Hans Adolph, ship's cook James Taylor, captain's cook Joseph Harby, midshipman Thomas Marshall, midshipman Thomas Gilbitas, midshipman Joseph Bartlett, midshipman John Loyd, midshipman George Collingwood, carpenter's first mate Colin Chapple, carpenter's second mate Joseph Haynes, caulker William Baxter, gunner's mate George Wright, boatswain's mate John Ramsay, quartermaster Henry Mashart, quartermaster George Taylor, quartermaster William Ross, quartermaster William Hartwood, quartermaster James Tulloch, captain's tailor John Epsley, butcher Thomas Blandford, poulterer Alexander Harvey, seaman James Hutchins, seaman James Naughty, seaman Thomas Moss, seaman William Lewis, seaman John Stafford, seaman John Yell, seaman James Taylor, seaman Ralph Appleby, seaman Thomas McCabe, seaman William Richardson, seaman Norman Macleod, seaman John Macleod, seaman Henry Trumble, seaman Andrew Thompson, seaman Andrew Craft, seaman Nicholas Shaftoe, seaman James Low, seaman Robert Mackay, seaman James Dackers, seaman James Ree, seaman John Gamble, seaman Nicholas Miller, seaman Thomas Smith, quartermaster David Arnold, seaman William Avery, seaman Samuel Thackster, seaman John Allen, seaman Angus Steward, seaman James Hughes, cooper Joseph King, seaman

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		Joseph King Seaman Thos. English Henry Hill Thoms. Jenkins Collin Campbell Wm. Robertson Wm. Clough Archd. Dimster Saml. Gibbins John Merriot Wm. Robertson David Farmer James Mord Robert Ellis Archd. Duncan James Hall	Thomas English, seaman Henry Hill, seaman Thomas Jenkins, seaman Colin Campbell, seaman William Robertson, seaman William Clough, seaman Archibald Dempster, seaman Samuel Gibbins, seaman John Morriet, seaman William Robertson, seaman David Farmer, seaman James Mead, seaman Robert Ellis, seaman Michael Duncan, seaman James Hall, seaman
291	284	6th May Thoms. Beesley Seaman John Turbin Andrew Delleruze Wm. Dench Wm. Maclagan Captains Servt. Wm. Greathill Capt. Servt. Wm. Claw 1st Mates Do. Thoms. Brewin 2d. Do. Do. John Willoughby Surg. Do. Thoms. Fox Gunr. Servt. Thos. Hilston Boats. Do. Joseph Dunlop Do. Joseph Davis Seamn. Amos Perkins Do. Passengers Mr. Whitkill Mr. Den Mr. Elinchart Mr. Dean Mr. Ringrose (signed) Alex. Macleod Muster Roll of Ship British King Peter Pigou Captain Danl. Griffith Hoare 1st Mate John Macaulay 2d. Do. John Best 3d. Do. Henry Morgue 4th. Do. John James 5th. Do. Richard Nichols William Young Robert Atcheson Midsp. James Bonwicke Purser Willm. Innich Surgeon Thoms. Mills Gunner Thomas Grange Carpent. Walter Kidd Boatswain Thoms. Clopton Ships Stewd. John Pattison Captains Stewd. Andw. Riggs Surgeons Mte. William Simpson Cooper Stephen Crump Carpt. Mte. Stepn. Bagley Sailmaker Thos. Graham Mr. Cook James Sheppard Capt. Do. George Waddington Capt. Mte. James Donnel Caulker Do. Peter Lee Quartermast. James Conroy Do. William Holt Do. Rees Price Armourer Thomas William Butcher Thomas Lewis Seam.	The *Lord Mansfield*'s muster roll concluded with her last seamen, the officers' servants and her passengers. Thomas Buckley, seaman John Turpin, seaman Andrew Delliouze, seaman William Dench, seaman William Maclagan, captain's servant William Greathill, captain's servant William Clow, first mate's servant Thomas Brewin, second mate's servant John Willoughby, surgeon's servant Thomas Fox, gunner's servant Thomas Hilston, boatswain's servant Joseph Dunlop, boatswain's servant Joseph Davis, seaman Amos Perkins, seaman Passengers: Mr Whitehill Mr Orr Mr Clinchart Mr Dean Mr Ringrose Captain Alexander Macleod signed the roll. The muster roll of the *British King* followed. Peter Pigou, captain Daniel Griffith Hoare, first mate John Macauley, second mate John Best, third mate Henry Morgue, fourth mate John James, fifth mate Richard Nichols, midshipman William Young, midshipman Robert Atcheson, midshipman James Bonwicke, purser William Smith, surgeon Thomas Mills, gunner Thomas Grange, carpenter Walter Webb, boatswain Thomas Clippen, ship's steward John Pattison, captain's steward Andrew Pugg, surgeon's mate William Simpson, carpenter's mate Stephen Crump, carpenter's mate Stephen Bayley, sailmaker Thomas Graham, ship's cook James Shepperd, captain's cook George Waddington, carpenter's mate James Blond, caulker Peter Lee, quartermaster James Conway, quartermaster William Holt, quartermaster Rees Price, armourer Thomas Williams, butcher Thomas Lewis, seaman
292	285	1765 John Wright Seaman David Lindsay	The *British King*'s muster roll continued with her remaining crew and passengers. John Wright, seaman

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		James Dowling Peter Bryson Edward Coxwell Richard Lepster William Marall John Wortham John Harris Hans Sutar Cuthbert Bowran William Selford James Clechlen William Williamson Swen Laurence Edward Deluze Isaac Price John Creighton John Howe Edward Thorn James Richardson Thomas Henderson Daniel Bridges Seaman Andrew Hammond William Mason George McFerson James Rowen John Marton James Sterling Jacob Robert Alias Higgins William Davidson Michael Brown William Slater James Evans James Cook Anthony Rozera Edward Rupe Thomas Walker Capt. Servt. David Smith Seaman John Hebb John Fie Andrew Poulston Christian Nelson John Dick Peter Massie John Southern Seaman Willm. Nicholson John Dickar Peter Ossen Matherin Lievien Vinct. Lagaye Charles Cimey Joseph Joyaux John Abraham Hans Christian John Ross Adrian Salmon Simon Rozera Jorgan Rolf Charles Gilbert James Christian Joseph Miller Edwd. Loader 1st Mts. Servt. John Pennyfold Surgns. Do. Edwd. Dean Gunners Do. Willm. Alderman Carp. Do. John Forsett Boatsn. Do. Passengers Mr. Pigou Mr. Davis Mr. Ridley John Davis (signed) Peter Pigou	David Lindsay, seaman James Dowling, seaman Peter Bryson, seaman Edward Coxwell, seaman Richard Lepster, seaman William Marall, seaman John Wortham, seaman John Harris, seaman Hans Sutar, seaman Cuthbert Bowran, seaman William Telford, seaman James Clechlen, seaman William Williamson, seaman Swen Lawrence, seaman Edward Celeuze, seaman Isaac Price, seaman John Creighton, seaman John Howe, seaman Edward Thorn, seaman James Richardson, seaman Thomas Henderson, seaman Daniel Bridge, seaman Andrew Hammond, seaman William Mason, seaman George McTeeson, seaman James Rowen, seaman John Marton, seaman James Sterling, seaman Jacob Robert, also known as Huggins, seaman William Davidson, seaman Michael Brown, seaman William Slater, seaman James Evans, seaman James Cook, seaman Anthony Rozera, seaman Edward Rupe, seaman Thomas Walker, captain's servant David Smith, seaman John Hebb, seaman John Tie, seaman Andrew Poulston, seaman Christian Nelson, seaman John White, seaman Peter Massie, seaman John Sutherland, seaman William Nicholson, seaman John Pickar, seaman Peter Custer, seaman Mathurin Levieu, seaman Vincent Lagaye, seaman Charles Cumey, seaman Joseph Loyaux, seaman John Abraham, seaman Hans Christian, seaman John Perosse, seaman Cebrian Salmon, seaman Simon Rozera, seaman Jorgen Rolf, seaman Charles Gilbert, seaman James Christian, seaman Joseph Miller, seaman Edward Sands, first mate's servant John Pennyfold, surgeon's servant Edward Dean, gunner's servant William Alderman, carpenter's servant John Forsett, [...] servant Passengers: Mr Pigou Mr Davis Mr Ridley John Davis Captain Peter Pigou signed the roll. **Interpretations** The *British King*'s crew included a noticeable number of foreign seamen, with French, Portuguese and Scandinavian names such as Mathurin Levieu,

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			Vincent Lagaye, Joseph Loyaux, Anthony and Simon Rozera, Hans Christian and Jorgen Rolf. East Indiamen regularly lost men to disease, desertion and death in Asian waters and had to make up their numbers in ports such as Canton, Madras or Batavia from whatever sailors were available, including men discharged from French, Portuguese, Danish and Swedish ships. The alias recorded against Jacob Robert, also known as Huggins, served the purpose of the muster itself: a man who had joined under a different name from the one on the ship's articles had to be identifiable under both, or he could be mistaken for a deserter or used to cover one.
293	286	6th May Muster Roll of Ship Northumberland John Mitford Commander John Cook Chief Mate John Bradley 2d. Mate William Jones 3d. Do. Rupert Todd 4th. Do. Edward D'Oyly 5th. Do. Robert Alexander 6th. Do. Andrew Cranston Surgeon James Welch Purser John Johnson Gunner John Mouton Boatswain Henry Read Carpenter John Colling Midsp. & Coxswain Thomas Brown Midshipm. John Haugh Do. Robert Johnson Do. James Dean Do. John Younghusband Qr. Mast. William Selway Do. James Nicols Do. Henry Johnson Do. Robt. Blattis Capt. Clerk John Quell Caulker John Oddicker Cooper Parker Wright Armourer Edward Martin Sailmaker George Nelson Ships Steward John James Captains Do. John Green Capt. Cook Abraham Clerk Ships Do. Joseph Baley Butcher Abraham Lurden Gunrs. Mte. James Eldred Boatsw. Mte. Jeremiah Spencer Do. 2 Do. Richard Pipkins Carpt. Do. Geo. Thos. Moor Do. 2 Do. William Hart Caulker Do. Thomas Thompson Seaman John King Poulterer William Ross Seaman George Washington Thomas Collins John Silly James Brown Robt. Willson John Lightfort James Stokes Richard Hutchinson Abraham Martin Benjamin Anderson Alex. Gordon Gregory Frost John Kennedy John Craig Duncan Carr John White Richd. Withers Seaman Walter Buchanan Thomas Rice Thomas Brown	The muster roll of the *Northumberland* followed. John Milford, commander John Cook, chief mate John Bradley, second mate William Gree, third mate Rupert Todd, fourth mate Edward D'Oyly, fifth mate Robert Alexander, sixth mate Andrew Cranston, surgeon James Welch, purser John Johnson, gunner John Moulton, boatswain Henry Read, carpenter John Colling, midshipman and coxswain Thomas Brown, midshipman John Haugh, midshipman Robert Johnson, midshipman James Dean, midshipman John Younghusband, quartermaster William Selway, quartermaster James Nicols, quartermaster Henry Johnson, quartermaster Robert Clatter, captain's clerk John Quell, caulker John Colberker, cooper Parker Wright, armourer Edward Martin, sailmaker George Nelson, ship's steward John James, captain's steward John Green, captain's cook Abraham Clerk, ship's cook Joseph Bailey, butcher Absalom Lurden, gunner's mate James Eldrid, boatswain's first mate Jeremiah Spencer, boatswain's second mate Richard Pipkins, carpenter's first mate George Frederick Mier, carpenter's second mate William Hart, caulker's mate Thomas Thompson, seaman John King, poulterer William Ross, seaman George Washington, seaman Thomas Collins, seaman John Silly, seaman James Brown, seaman Robert Wilson, seaman John Lightfoot, seaman James Stokes, seaman Richard Hutchinson, seaman Abraham Martin, seaman Benjamin Anderson, seaman Alexander Gordon, seaman Gregory Frent, seaman John Kennedy, seaman John Craig, seaman Duncan Carr, seaman John White, seaman Richard Withers, seaman Walter Buchanan, seaman Thomas Rice, seaman Thomas Brown, seaman Peter Kinloch, seaman

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		Peter Kinloch Alexr. Watson Nicholas Jolly Henry Nichols Henry Green Charles Claughton Phillip Howell John Walker Adam Sinclair Charles Dicken Charles Smith John Spivey David Anderson William Watkins James Flood Joseph Marie Le Sance Peter Le Frovy William Magson Matthew Marriott Francis Corcoran Valentine Valentine Francis Bradband Lawr. Jacobs Reynolds McLester Cap. Servt.	Alexander Watson, seaman Nicholas Gully, seaman Henry Nichols, seaman Henry Green, seaman Charles Claughton, seaman Phillip Howell, seaman John Walker, seaman Adam Sinclair, seaman Charles Creeden, seaman Charles Smith, seaman John Spiring, seaman David Anderson, seaman William Watkins, seaman James Flood, seaman Joseph Marie de Sauce, seaman Peter Le Preory, seaman William Magson, seaman Matthew Marrott, seaman Francis Corcoran, seaman Valentine Valentine, seaman Francis Broadband, seaman Samuel Jacobs, seaman Reynolds McLester, captain's servant
294	287	1765 Thoms. Beedle Captain Servant Geo. Brown Chief Mates Servant Charles Lard 2d. Mates Servt. William Ringer Doctors Do. Edwd. Owen Boatswain Do. George Walker Gunr. Do. William Monton Carpt. Do. Passengers Henry Egleton Corner Esqr. Abraham Brown Gentleman (signed) John Mitford The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ships Latham, Lord Mansfield, Northumberland & British King vizt. Account of Stores Short received from the following Ships vizt. - Ship Latham vizt. Sugar Short Weight 2 Cwt 0 qr 7 lb Ship Lord Mansfield vizt. Rice Short Weight 1 Cwt 2 qr Paddy received 50 Cwt 3 qr 17 lb Ship Northumberland Sugar Short Weight 24 lb	The *Northumberland*'s muster roll ended with the officers' servants and her passengers. Thomas Beedle, captain's servant George Brown, chief mate's servant Charles Laird, second mate's servant William Ringer, surgeon's servant Edward Brien, boatswain's servant George Weston, gunner's servant William Monton, carpenter's servant Passengers: Henry Egleton Corner Abraham Brown, gentleman Captain John Milford signed the roll. The storekeeper presented an account that day of stores found deficient on delivery from the *Latham*, *Lord Mansfield*, *Northumberland* and *British King*. From the *Latham*: sugar under weight by 0 cwt 2 qr 7 lb. From the *Lord Mansfield*: rice under weight by 1 cwt 2 qr 0 lb, and paddy received, 50 cwt 3 qr 17 lb. From the *Northumberland*: sugar under weight by 0 cwt 0 qr 24 lb. **Interpretations** The paddy from the *Lord Mansfield* was entered as the weight actually received rather than as a shortfall. Its invoice from Bombay gave the quantity in candies and maunds, measures that did not convert neatly into English hundredweights, so the storekeeper weighed the grain on landing and recorded the true English weight instead. That figure then became the basis for the warehouse stock and for any later claim, since the Company could compare it against the Bombay invoice once both were in London.
295	288	6th May Ship British King vizt. 1 Meat Plate 1 Tureen Dish found Short upon opening the Packages 1 Chambr. Pot 1 Sneaker 6 Meat Plates 6 Soop Do. 5 Soop Dishes 2 Meat Do. found broke upon opening the Packages St. Helena 6th May 1765 (signed) Jo. Powell Storekeeper Captn. Peter Sea this day applied to Us to	The stores found deficient from the *British King* were listed as follows. Meat plate, 1, missing when unpacked Tureen dish, 1, missing when unpacked Chamber pot, 1, broken when unpacked Sneaker, 1, broken when unpacked Meat plates, 6, broken when unpacked Soup plates, 6, broken when unpacked Soup dishes, 5, broken when unpacked Meat dishes, 2, broken when unpacked James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 6 May 1765. Captain Peter Lea asked the council that day to pay £298 0s 0d into the Company's treasury. The council accepted the money and gave him bills of exchange for the same sum, drawn on the Court of

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		pay two hundred and Ninety eight pounds, into the Honorable Company's Cash, which sum we have received and given him Bill of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors - payable to himself (or Order) drawn at Ninety days sight - John Skottowe Dan Comeille Burling Thos. Kirkpatrick	Directors and payable to himself or his nominee 90 days after being presented. Governor Skottowe and three members of the council signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The storekeeper recorded every broken and missing piece of porcelain even though the Canton invoice had already deducted 2 per cent for breakage. The deduction covered expected losses in the price, but only an exact count on arrival showed whether the allowance was large enough. Setting the actual breakage against the allowance each season let the directors judge whether the packing at Canton needed improving, and it distinguished pieces smashed in transit from pieces that had never been packed at all, which pointed to short dealing by the Chinese suppliers. Captain Lea's remittance of £298 0s 0d was a large sum for the master of a small island cutter. It far exceeded what his wages for the Madagascar voyage could have produced, which suggests the profits of private trade carried on during the voyage, perhaps at the Cape of Good Hope, where the *Fly* had called and run up expenses on the Company's account. Converting those profits into Company bills before he sailed home spared him the risk of carrying coin and gave the island's treasury ready money for its pay bills.
296	289	11th May At a Consultation held on Saturday the 11th Day of May 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Comeille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thoms. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 6th May 1765 Tuesday the 7th Sailed the Honorable Companys Ships Lord Mansfield and Latham for England Yesterday Died Clement Hylands Soldier - We this day received the following Letter from Mrs. Hall Esqr. The Case of Mary Hall Widow of the Late Capt. Thomas Hall humbly addressd to John Skottowe Esqr. Governor of the Island St. Helena and Council Gentlemen Widows are always looked upon as the most powerfull Objects in attracting the commiserating Attention of the Generous, My Expectations, alone, are not only founded on that, but yet on more prevailing Circumstances. Old age and infirmity It would be unjust in me Gentlemen, to conceal the - Situation my Husband left me in; 'Tis true, I had such Effects as would if properly Managed, be a guard, against future Misery, but how - precarious are they in the Hands of a helpless, Sickly Woman like me - remote from my Native Country, Subject to several Vicissitudes and unable	The council met at the Castle on Saturday 11 May 1765, with Governor Skottowe, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. Members read the minutes of the meeting of 6 May 1765, then approved and signed them. The Company's ships *Lord Mansfield* and *Latham* sailed for England on Tuesday 7 May. Clement Hylands, a soldier, died on 10 May. The council received a letter that day from Mary Hall, widow of the late Captain Thomas Hall, setting out her situation for the Governor and council. She began by observing that widows had always been regarded as the strongest claimants on the sympathy of generous people. Her own hopes, however, rested on further grounds as well, namely her age and failing health. She acknowledged frankly the position in which her husband's death had left her. It was true that she owned property which, if properly managed, would protect her from future hardship. Yet she pointed out how insecure such property was in the hands of a helpless and sickly woman living far from her own country and exposed to the many changes of fortune that could befall her. **Interpretations** Thomas Hall was the captain of the Artillery Company whose pay for the first quarter of 1765 covered only 51 days, which places his death in late February. The Company had no pension scheme for the families of its officers, so a widow in Mary Hall's position had no entitlement to anything and could only petition for a discretionary grant. Her letter was carefully built to meet the obvious objection before it was raised. Rather than let the council discover that her husband had left her property, she admitted it herself and then argued that its value depended on management she was too old and ill to provide. Presenting herself as both candid and vulnerable made a refusal harder to justify. Her emphasis on being far from her native country pointed to a practical difficulty as well as an emotional one. Property on St Helena, whether leased land, livestock, slaves or goods, could not easily be turned into money or carried home, and a widow

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			without male relatives on the island depended on others to sell or manage it on fair terms. Whatever she sought from the council, the argument laid the ground for assistance in realising her husband's estate or in securing her passage and support.
297	290	11th May unable of myself to resist the designs of ill minded People, whom thro' Ignorance, it might be my misfortune to Confide in, when in Europe whither, with your leave, I soon intend to go, What Remedy could I seek, What Else could I expect, friendless as I am, and incapable of Managing for myself. In your Breasts Gentlemen, I seek it. 'Tis you alone can secure me against Want for the Remainder of my Life, by Recommending me to the Honble. the Court of Directors, as an Object worthy of their favourable Attention, and as the Widow of one of their Captains, who died in their service and lived a long while in it with a fair and unblemished Character, Take then the case of a helpless Widow into your kind Considerations, whose prayers, being the only Reward in her power, shall be incessantly offered for the Prosperity of your Private as well as the Glory of your public Characters, and who has the Honor to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient and most humble Servant. (signed) Mary Hall We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors - One Set to Captain Peter Pigou for Six hundred and five pounds one Shilling and six Pence, payable to himself (or Order) -	Mary Hall's letter went on to explain that she could not, by herself, guard against the schemes of dishonest people. Through lack of experience she feared she might trust the wrong people once she reached Europe, where she intended to go shortly with the council's permission. She asked what remedy or relief she could hope for, being without friends and unable to manage her own affairs. She placed her hopes in the council alone, which could secure her against want for the rest of her life. It could do so by recommending her to the Court of Directors as deserving their generous consideration, as the widow of one of their captains who had died in their service after a long career of good and unblemished character. She asked the council to consider kindly the case of a helpless widow, promising that her prayers, the only return she could make, would be offered constantly for the members' private happiness and public reputation. Mary Hall signed the letter. The council also approved several sets of bills of exchange that day, drawn on the Court of Directors. Captain Peter Pigou received one set for £605 1s 6d, payable to himself or his nominee. **Interpretations** Mary Hall asked the council for exactly what it had the power to give. The council could not grant a pension from the island's funds without the directors' authority, but a formal recommendation from the Governor and council carried real weight in London, where decisions on allowances to officers' widows were taken. By asking for an endorsement rather than money, she made her request easy to grant and placed the council's reputation behind her claim before she arrived in England to press it in person. Her stress on her husband's long and unblemished service supplied the grounds on which the directors customarily based such awards. Captain Pigou's bill for £605 1s 6d was the largest private remittance recorded in these weeks. As commander of the *British King*, returning from China, he had the right to carry goods of his own for private trade, and captains of East Indiamen often made fortunes this way. Paying part of the proceeds into the island's treasury in return for bills on London gave him a secure remittance, and it supplied the island with coin it would otherwise have had to wait for from England.
298	291	1765 And One set to Mr. John James for seventy pounds payable to himself (or Order) both drawn at Ninety days sight John Skottowe Dan Comeille Burling Thos. Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 13th Day of May 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr. Governor Daniel Comeille Esqr. Lieut. Governor Mr. Matthew Purling Capt. Thos. Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 11th - May 1765 This day sailed the Honorable Company's Ships British King Norfolk, and Northumberland for England -	The second set of bills approved on 11 May 1765 went to John James for £70 0s 0d, payable to himself or his nominee. Both sets were payable 90 days after being presented. Governor Skottowe and three members of the council signed the minutes. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick The council met again at the Castle on Monday 13 May 1765, with the Governor, Lieutenant Governor Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick present. Members read the minutes of the meeting of 11 May 1765, then approved and signed them. The Company's ships *British King*, *Norfolk* and *Northumberland* sailed for England that day. The plantation, gunner's and steward's accounts for April were also presented, and the council examined and approved them. **Interpretations**

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		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 follows vizt. -	John James was the fifth mate of the *British King*, one of her most junior officers, yet he remitted £70 0s 0d through the island's treasury. Every officer of an East Indiaman was allowed a set amount of cargo space for goods of his own, graded by rank, and even a junior mate could turn a substantial profit on a single voyage to China. That privilege was a large part of the reason men sought posts on the Company's ships despite modest wages, and the island's willingness to convert their earnings into bills on London made St Helena a convenient point to secure them before the final and most dangerous stretch of the voyage home.
299	292	Account of the Honorable Company's Stock of Neat Cattle &ca. for the Month of April 1765 vizt. Neat Cattle, Sheeps, Goats, Hogs, Horses, Asses, Poultry Bulls, Cows, Calves, Yearlings, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Ewes, Weathers, Kids, Rams, Total, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Boars, Total, Horses, Mares, Total, Asses, [...], Total, Fowls, Ducks, Turkeys, Geese Remg. 1st: Bulls 3, Cows 90, Calves 50, Yearlings 47, Heifers 29, Steers 43, Oxen 19, Total 286, Ewes 300, Weathers 105, Lambs 122, Rams 7, Total 534, Ewes 160, Weathers 50, Kids 77, Rams 8, Total 295, Sows 2, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 3, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, [...] 1, Total 2, Fowls 96, Ducks 32, Turkeys 32, Geese 12 Encreased: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 2, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 116, Rams 0, Total 116, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 6, Rams 0, Total 6, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, [...] 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 4, Geese 0 Total: Bulls 3, Cows 90, Calves 52, Yearlings 47, Heifers 29, Steers 43, Oxen 19, Total 288, Ewes 300, Weathers 105, Lambs 238, Rams 7, Total 650, Ewes 160, Weathers 50, Kids 83, Rams 8, Total 301, Sows 2, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 3, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, [...] 1, Total 2, Fowls 96, Ducks 32, Turkeys 36, Geese 12 Killd: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 2, Steers 8, Oxen 0, Total 12, Ewes 0, Weathers 8, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 8, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 1, Rams 0, Total 1, Sows 1, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, [...] 0, Total 0, Fowls 8, Ducks 4, Turkeys 3, Geese 2 Dead: Bulls 0, Cows 4, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Oxen 0, Total 4, Ewes 1, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 1, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 2, Rams 0, Total 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, [...] 0, Total 0, Fowls 13, Ducks 0, Turkeys 26, Geese 0 Send on board the Snow Mercy: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Calves 0, Yearlings 0, Heifers 1, Steers 1, Oxen 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Weathers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0, Asses 0, [...] 0, Total 0, Fowls 0, Ducks 0, Turkeys 0, Geese 0 Remg. 31st: Bulls 3, Cows 84, Calves 52, Yearlings 47, Heifers 26, Steers 39, Oxen 19, Total 270, Ewes 299, Weathers 97, Lambs 238, Rams 6, Total 640, Ewes 160, Weathers 50, Kids 80, Rams 8, Total 298, Sows 1, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Boars 1, Total 2, Horses 8, Mares 6, Total 14, Asses 1, [...] 1, Total 2, Fowls 75, Ducks 28, Turkeys 7, Geese 10 1 Boy Born Named Joe 1 Man Hanged named Winchester 1 Man Dead named Sam. Moore Yam Expended for the Slaves 9000 Do. for the Stock 4800	The overseer's return of the Company's livestock and poultry for April 1765 was entered as follows. Stock remaining on 1 April 1765: Cattle: 3 bulls, 90 cows, 50 calves, 47 yearlings, 29 heifers, 48 steers, 19 oxen, total 286 Sheep: 300 ewes, 105 wethers, 122 lambs, 7 rams, total 534 Goats: 160 nannies, 50 wethers, 77 kids, 8 billies, total 295 Pigs: 2 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 1 boar, total 3 Horses: 8 horses, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 Poultry: 96 fowls, 32 ducks, 32 turkeys, 12 geese Increase during April: Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 2 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 2 Sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 116 lambs, 0 rams, total 116 Goats: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 6 kids, 0 billies, total 6 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 Poultry: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 4 turkeys, 0 geese Combined total for April: Cattle: 3 bulls, 90 cows, 52 calves, 47 yearlings, 29 heifers, 48 steers, 19 oxen, total 288 Sheep: 300 ewes, 105 wethers, 238 lambs, 7 rams, total 650 Goats: 160 nannies, 50 wethers, 83 kids, 8 billies, total 301 Pigs: 2 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 1 boar, total 3 Horses: 8 horses, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 Poultry: 96 fowls, 32 ducks, 36 turkeys, 12 geese Slaughtered during April: Cattle: 0 bulls, 2 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 2 heifers, 8 steers, 0 oxen, total 12 Sheep: 0 ewes, 8 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 8 Goats: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 1 kid, 0 billies, total 1 Pigs: 1 sow, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 1 Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 Poultry: 8 fowls, 4 ducks, 3 turkeys, 2 geese Died during April: Cattle: 0 bulls, 4 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, total 4 Sheep: 1 ewe, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 1 ram, total 2 Goats: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 2 kids, 0 billies, total 2 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0 Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 Poultry: 13 fowls, 0 ducks, 26 turkeys, 0 geese Sent aboard the snow Mercury: Cattle: 0 bulls, 0 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 1 heifer, 1 steer, 0 oxen, total 2 Sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 Goats: 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 billies, total 0 Pigs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 0 boars, total 0

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		13,800 (signed) M. Bazett Overs. **Margin Notes:** 13th May	Horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 Donkeys: 0 jacks, 0 jennies, total 0 Poultry: 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Stock remaining on 30 April 1765: Cattle: 3 bulls, 84 cows, 52 calves, 47 yearlings, 26 heifers, 39 steers, 19 oxen, total 270 Sheep: 299 ewes, 97 wethers, 238 lambs, 6 rams, total 640 Goats: 160 nannies, 50 wethers, 80 kids, 8 billies, total 298 Pigs: 1 sow, 0 shoats, 0 piglets, 1 boar, total 2 Horses: 8 horses, 6 mares, total 14 Donkeys: 1 jack, 1 jenny, total 2 Poultry: 75 fowls, 28 ducks, 7 turkeys, 10 geese The overseer recorded that a slave boy named Joe was born during the month, that a slave named Winchester was hanged and that a slave named Samuel Moore died. He entered the yams issued in April as follows. Yams issued to the slaves, 9,000 Yams issued to the livestock, 4,800 Total yams issued, 13,800 Matthew Bazett signed the return as overseer. **Interpretations** The hanging of the slave Winchester was recorded in the same line of notes as a birth and a natural death, beneath the tally of cattle and sheep. The gibbet put up by garrison labour in the first quarter of the year, at a cost of 11 days' work, was perhaps built for this execution or for one like it. Hanging a Company slave destroyed property of real value, and the council would only have ordered it for an offence it judged a threat to its control of the slave population, such as violence against a white person, arson or a plot to escape. The body left hanging on a gibbet served as a public warning to the other slaves, which was the purpose of the whole proceeding. The yams issued to the slaves fell by more than half, from 19,000 in March to 9,000 in April, while the ration to the livestock stayed at 4,800. Nothing in the return suggests the number of slaves fell by that much, so the gap was almost certainly filled from other food. The *Lord Mansfield* had landed 150 Surat maunds of rice and over 50 hundredweight of paddy on 24 April 1765, and the council perhaps switched part of the slaves' ration to rice while the yam crop was short or being harvested. Holding the livestock allowance steady while cutting the slaves' shows which of the two the overseer protected when supplies ran low. The flock produced 116 lambs in April against only 30 in March, a surge that marked the island's main lambing season. In England ewes lambed in early spring, but on St Helena, with its southern-hemisphere seasons and mild climate, the Company's flock lambed in the southern autumn, when the fresh grazing after the summer supported ewes and young stock. The loss of 26 of the 36 turkeys in a single month, by contrast, points to an outbreak of disease that nearly wiped out the flock. The two cattle sent aboard the *Mercury* were provisions for her voyage to England, taken live so they could be slaughtered at sea for fresh meat. Supplying the Company's own vessels with livestock was one of the main reasons the herd was kept.
300	293	Artillery Stores Expended in the Month of April 1765 vizt. Guns Fired, 9 lb, 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended lb, Powder Expended Oz 2d An Alarm: Guns Fired 6 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 2 Guns, 3 lb 2 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Arrived the Admiral Pocock: Guns Fired 9 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 9 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz	The gunner's return of artillery stores used in April 1765 set out every occasion on which the guns were fired, with the number of pieces discharged under columns headed 9, 4, 3, 2 and 1 pounds, and the gunpowder consumed in pounds and ounces. 2 April, alarm: 6 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 2 April, arrival of the *Admiral Pocock*: 9 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder.

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		Departed a Dane Ship: Guns Fired 11 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 11 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 11 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 5th Do.: Guns Fired 9 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 9 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 7 Departed the Lord Clive: Guns Fired 9 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 9 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 9th Departed the Salisbury: Guns Fired 9 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 9 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Do. the Dutton: Guns Fired 9 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 9 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 15th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 2 Guns, 3 lb 2 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Arrived a French Ship: Guns Fired 11 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 11 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 11 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 17th Departed Do.: Guns Fired 11 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 11 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 11 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 19th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 2 Guns, 3 lb 2 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 20th Do. Doubled: Guns Fired 3 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 1 Guns, 3 lb 1 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 1 Guns, Powder Expended 6 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 21st Arrived the Latham & a Swede Ship: Guns Fired 17 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 17 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 17 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 24th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 2 Guns, 3 lb 2 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Do. An Alarm at Banks's for the same Ship: Guns Fired 2 Guns, 9 lb 2 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Arrived the Lord Mansfield: Guns Fired 9 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 9 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 26th Departed the Swede Ship: Guns Fired 0 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 2 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 28 A Double Alarm: Guns Fired 11 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 4 Guns, 3 lb 4 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 3 Guns, Powder Expended 23 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Arrived the British King: Guns Fired 9 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 9 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz 29th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 2 Guns, 3 lb 2 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 2 Guns, Powder Expended 12 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Arrived the Norfolk: Guns Fired 9 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 9 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 9 lb, Powder Expended 0 Oz Powder for priming at different Times: Guns Fired 0 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 19 lb, Powder Expended 8 Oz Do. for the Funeral of Thos. Rogers: Guns Fired 0 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 2 lb, Powder Expended 4 Oz Do. for Signals: Guns Fired 0 Guns, 9 lb 0 Guns, 4 lb 0 Guns, 3 lb 0 Guns, 2 lb 0 Guns, 1 lb 0 Guns, Powder Expended 4 lb, Powder Expended 12 Oz	2 April, departure of a Danish ship: 11 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 11 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 11 lb 0 oz of powder 5 April, departure of a Danish ship: 9 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder 7 April, departure of the *Lord Clive*: 9 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 9 April, departure of the *Salisbury*: 9 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 9 April, departure of the *Dutton*: 9 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 15 April, alarm: 6 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 15 April, arrival of a French ship: 11 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 11 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 11 lb 0 oz of powder 17 April, departure of the French ship: 11 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 11 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 11 lb 0 oz of powder 19 April, alarm: 6 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 20 April, alarm repeated: 3 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 1 at 4 lb, 1 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 1 at 1 lb), 6 lb 0 oz of powder 21 April, arrival of the *Latham* and a Swedish ship: 17 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 17 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 17 lb 0 oz of powder. 24 April, alarm: 6 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 24 April, alarm at Banks's for the same ship: 2 guns fired (2 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder 24 April, arrival of the *Lord Mansfield*: 9 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 26 April, departure of the Swedish ship: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder 28 April, double alarm: 11 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 4 at 4 lb, 4 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 3 at 1 lb), 23 lb 0 oz of powder 28 April, arrival of the *British King*: 9 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. 29 April, alarm: 6 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 2 at 4 lb, 2 at 3 lb, 0 at 2 lb, 2 at 1 lb), 12 lb 0 oz of powder 29 April, arrival of the *Norfolk*: 9 guns fired (0 at 9 lb, 0 at 4 lb, 0 at 3 lb, 9 at 2 lb, 0 at 1 lb), 9 lb 0 oz of powder. Powder for priming the guns on various occasions: 0 guns fired, 19 lb 2 oz of powder Powder for the funeral of Thomas Rogers: 0 guns fired, 2 lb 4 oz of powder Powder for signals: 0 guns fired, 4 lb 12 oz of powder Totals: 163 guns fired (2 at 9 lb, 15 at 4 lb, 15 at 3 lb, 122 at 2 lb, 14 at 1 lb), 242 lb 3 oz of powder **Interpretations** The funeral of Thomas Rogers marked the death of one of the recruits who had arrived only weeks earlier. He enlisted in the First Company on 22 March 1765, one of the draft landed from the *Dutton* and *Salisbury*, and he died within about a month. Newly arrived soldiers were especially vulnerable, weakened by months of salt rations and crowding at sea and exposed to the fevers and fluxes that spread quickly in barracks. The loss of a recruit so soon after the Company had paid for his passage, clothing and bedding was one of the hidden costs of maintaining the garrison. The alarm fired at Banks's on 24 April 1765 used two of the heaviest pieces, in a column headed 9 pounds that appeared only in this month's return. A

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		Total: Guns Fired 163 Guns, 9 lb 2 Guns, 4 lb 15 Guns, 3 lb 15 Guns, 2 lb 122 Guns, 1 lb 14 Guns, Powder Expended 242 lb, Powder Expended 3 Oz	heavy gun could be heard far further than the small pieces used for routine signals, and firing it from the outlying battery carried the warning of an approaching ship across the island to the Castle. The *Lord Mansfield*'s boat had landed there that morning, and the double discharge confirmed the sighting to the town before the ship came round into the anchorage. Priming powder fell to just over 19 pounds, well below the almost 30 pounds used in March. The heavy traffic of arriving and departing ships in April kept the guns in regular use, so the priming was fired off in salutes and alarms before it could spoil and did not need replacing as often.
301	294	13th May Tallow for the Carts 5 lb Paper for the use of the Tayler 2 qr do for making Cartridges 4 do Spunge Staves for repairing the Spunges 3 Sheep Skins for Do 3 Nails for Do 160 Slow Stuck rotten and not fit for Service 2 Match for the Alarm House 6 lb Match burnt at the Main Fort 6 lb Signed A. Mitchell Sundrys Expended at the Honorable Companys Table in the Month of April 1765 25 Bottles Port Wine £ 1 . 17 . 6 61 Do Lisbon 4 . 11 . 6 9 Do Mountain 13 . 6 44 Do Beer 9 . [...] 60 Do Arrack 3 . 7 . 6 213 lb Beef 4 . 11 . ½ 1 Piece Salt Beef 2 . 9¾ 5 lb Pork 2 . 6 8 Do Salt [...] 192 ¼ lb Mutton 4 . 4 38 lb Butter 1 . 18 . 3 61 Candy 1 . 4 296 lb Flour 1 . 17 2 Geese 10 4 Ducks 6 3 Turkeys 15 8 fowls 12 £ 27 . [...] . 4 **Margin Notes:** [...]	Under the date 13 May 1765, the account of military stores used up on the island continued with the following items. 5 lb of tallow for greasing the carts 2 quires of paper for the tailor's use 4 quires of paper for making cartridges 3 sponge staves for repairing the sponges 3 sheepskins for repairing the sponges 160 nails for repairing the sponges 2 old trucks, decayed beyond further use 6 lb of match for the alarm house 6 lb of match burnt at the Main Fort A. Mitchell signed this part of the account. A separate account set out the provisions and drink consumed at the Honourable Company's table during April 1765. 25 bottles of port wine, £1 17s 6d 61 bottles of Lisbon wine, £4 11s 6d 9 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 13s 6d 44 bottles of beer, £0 9s 2d 60 bottles of arrack, £3 7s 6d 213 lb of beef, £4 11s 0½d 1 piece of salt beef, £0 2s 9¾d 5 lb of pork, £0 2s 6d 20 lb of salt, £0 5s 7d 192¼ lb of mutton, £4 0s 4d 38 lb of butter, £1 18s 3d 61 candles, £1 0s 4d 296 lb of flour, £1 17s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 8 fowls, £0 12s 0d Total, £27 0s 0¼d **Interpretations** The Company's table was the public table kept at the Company's expense, where the Governor, councillors and senior servants dined and where visiting officers were entertained. Because the East India Company paid for it, every bottle and pound of meat had to be accounted for month by month and entered in the island's records for scrutiny in London. The monthly return was therefore a check on hospitality as much as a record of it, since the directors could compare one month against another and question any rise in consumption. Several of the drinks would be unfamiliar now. Lisbon wine was a white wine from the Portuguese coast, often sweetened, and it travelled well enough to be a staple on long voyages. Mountain was a sweet fortified wine from the hills around Málaga in Spain, popular in eighteenth-century Britain as a dessert wine. Arrack was a distilled spirit made in India and the East Indies from palm sap, rice or sugar cane, and homeward-bound ships landed it cheaply at the island. At a little over 1s a bottle, the arrack cost less than the port or Lisbon wine, which explains the quantity drunk. The stores in the first account belonged to the artillery. A sponge was a staff tipped with sheepskin, used to swab out a cannon between shots so that no

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			smouldering residue ignited the next charge; the staves, skins and nails were the materials for rebuilding them. Match was slow-burning cord that kept a flame ready for firing the guns, and the quantity burnt at the Main Fort reflected guns kept ready for signals and salutes. Trucks were the small solid wooden wheels of garrison gun carriages, and the two written off had rotted in service. The alarm house was a signal post from which warning of approaching ships was passed to the fort. The account was kept to a farthing, with the total of £27 0s 0¼d agreeing exactly with its items. Fractions of a penny in the beef and salt beef entries showed that meat was charged by weight at a fixed rate, not rounded to convenient sums. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploaded files, so these points could not be checked against its master reference or timeline.
302	295	1765 Captain Corneille representing to the Council that pounding the Cattle once a Month to take an Account of them in his Opinion is very detrimental to the Stock in General by the unavoidable hurry in getting them together. We therefore agreed to have a return made of them once a Quarter, instead of every Month We having taken into Consideration the State of the Honorable Company's Hospital, find it very deficient in point of proper Accommodations for the Sick; We came to a Resolution to Issue out of the Stores thirty Blankets, Cloth for Sheeting and sufficient Oznabrug Stuff for Compleating thirty Matrasses, Pillows, and Frocks to save their Clothing and mean to employ the Wool of the Company's Sheep for that purpose John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	Captain Corneille told the Council that driving the Company's cattle into a pen every month to count them was doing real harm to the herds. In his view, the haste that could not be avoided in rounding the animals up injured the stock as a whole. The Council agreed that the cattle would be counted and returned once a quarter rather than monthly. The Council then considered the condition of the Honourable Company's hospital and found it badly short of proper provision for the sick. It resolved to issue 30 blankets from the stores, along with cloth for sheets. Enough osnaburg was also to be released to finish 30 mattresses and pillows and to make smocks for the patients, so that their own clothes would be spared. The Council intended to use wool from the Company's sheep to fill the mattresses and pillows. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling And. Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The change to quarterly counts showed the Council giving up a measure of financial control to protect the animals themselves. The cattle were among the Company's most valuable assets on the island, since they supplied fresh beef to the garrison and to passing ships. A monthly muster was the obvious way to guard against theft and unrecorded slaughter. Captain Corneille's objection turned on the island's terrain, where steep ground made every round-up a stampede that bruised, lamed or aborted the stock. The Council judged that a loss of condition was more certain than the losses a monthly count might catch, and accepted a looser check. Osnaburg was a coarse, unbleached linen or hemp cloth, first woven around Osnabrück in north-west Germany and later imitated in Scotland and elsewhere. It was cheap and hard-wearing, and the Company shipped it widely for sacking, slave clothing, hammocks and bedding. Here it served as ticking for mattresses and pillows and as the material for hospital smocks. Filling the mattresses with wool from the Company's own flock made use of island produce instead of waiting for stuffing from England. The choice kept the cost within the Company's accounts, since the wool was already its property, and it avoided delay while the sick lay on bare boards. Issuing smocks to protect the patients' own clothes had a practical purpose in a garrison hospital. Soldiers bought or replaced much of their clothing from their pay, so spoiled clothing during illness became a debt. Hospital dress also reduced the carrying of infection and vermin back into the barracks. Governor Skottowe signed the minute at the head of the Council, with Captain Corneille, Burling and Kirkpatrick completing the board.

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303	296	20th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 20th Day of May 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Captain Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 13th May 1765 Saturday the 18th Arrived His Majestys Ships Medway and York Counted and Examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of April last which is as follows viz	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 20 May 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick attending as members of the Council. The councillors read the minutes of their previous meeting, held on 13 May 1765, then approved and signed them. They recorded that two of the King's warships, *Medway* and *York*, had come into the road on Saturday 18 May 1765. The Council then counted the Honourable Company's cash in hand for April and checked it against the books. **Interpretations** The monthly cash count was carried out by the Council in person rather than left to the officer who kept the treasury. Having the full board handle and tally the coin placed the Company's money under collective oversight, so no single servant could conceal a shortfall. The count also gave the directors in London a signed monthly statement, making the councillors jointly answerable for any discrepancy that later came to light. Reading, approving and signing the previous minutes turned a draft record into the authoritative account of what the Council had decided. Once signed, the minutes bound every member present to the decisions they contained, and the copies sent home became the basis on which the Company judged its island government. Royal Navy vessels differed from the Company's own East Indiamen, which called at the island far more often. A King's ship was not under the Company's authority, so its captain dealt with the Governor as an equal in matters of supply and salutes, and its needs for water, fresh provisions and refreshment for its crew fell on the island's resources without the commercial arrangements that governed Company shipping.
304	297	Cash Dr 1765 April 1st To Balance remaining £ 5363 . 19 . 8 6 To Ship Lord Clive received the Balance of her Account 27 . 13 . 1 To Ship Dutton received Do 23 . 12 . 7 To Ship Salisbury received Do 7 . 5 8 To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honble the Court of Directors payable as follows viz One Set to Peter Dore Esqr for£ 800 One Do to Thoms Clift Esqr for 310 1110 15th To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn as above payable as follows viz One Set to Mr Allen Auld for £ 360 One Do to Mr Edward Alcock 100 460 19th To Ship Pocock recd the Balance of her Account 239 . 11 . 1 £ 7737 . 1 . 5 Per Contra Cr 1765 April 30th By Balance remaining viz In Specie 7197 . 6 . 5 In Cash Notes of no use 539 . 15 7737 . 1 . 5 £ 7737 . 1 . 5 **Margin Notes:**	The cash account for April 1765 showed the following money received by the Honourable Company's treasury on the island. 1 April 1765, balance brought forward, £5,868 19s 8d 6 April 1765, the ship *Lord Clive* paid the balance owing on her account, £27 13s 1d The ship *Dutton* paid the balance owing on her account, £23 12s 7d The ship *Salisbury* paid the balance owing on her account, £7 5s 0d 8 April 1765, cash taken in exchange for two sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors: One set payable to Peter Dore, £800 0s 0d One set payable to Thomas Cliff, £310 0s 0d Total for the two sets, £1,110 0s 0d 15 April 1765, cash taken in exchange for two further sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors: One set payable to Allen Auld, £360 0s 0d One set payable to Edward Alcock, £100 0s 0d Total for the two sets, £460 0s 0d 19 April 1765, the ship *Pocock* paid the balance owing on her account, £239 11s 1d Total received, £7,737 1s 5d Against this, the balance held in the treasury on 30 April 1765 was made up as follows. Coin in hand, £7,197 6s 5d Cash notes that could not be put to use, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £7,737 1s 5d No payments were entered against the cash during the month, so the whole sum received stood as the closing balance. **Interpretations**

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		1765	The bills of exchange were the island's main channel for moving private money to England. An officer, merchant or ship's passenger handed coin to the treasury at St Helena and received in return a bill drawn on the Court of Directors, which the Company's office in London paid out to the named person or his agent. The traveller avoided carrying coin on a long voyage, while the island gained hard money it needed to pay the garrison and buy provisions. The Council's signatures on such bills pledged the Company's credit in London, which was why each set and each payee was named in the monthly account. Payments from the *Lord Clive*, *Dutton*, *Salisbury* and *Pocock* settled what each East Indiaman owed for water, fresh provisions, stores and services supplied while at anchor. Settling in cash before sailing kept the island's accounts clear of debts that would otherwise have to be pursued through the Company's books in London or India. The £539 15s 0d in cash notes described as useless was counted in the balance even though it could not be spent. These were perhaps paper notes that had lost their standing on the island or could only be redeemed elsewhere. Keeping them in the stated balance showed the Company its full nominal assets, but it also meant that the ready money available to the Council was some £540 less than the headline figure suggested. The absence of any outgoings for a whole month was unusual for a treasury that had to meet pay and supply costs. It suggested that payments were made through other accounts, such as the storekeeper's or paymaster's, with this ledger recording only the central reserve of coin.
305	298	20th May Mr John Desfountain was this day Sworn into the Office of Sheriff, and William Hayes in that of Constable We this day granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz One Set to Mr Edward Young for £ 445 payable to himself (or Order) And one Set to Capt. Francis Dupont for £ 32 payable to himself (or Order) both drawn at Ninety Days sight John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	On 20 May 1765, John Desfountain took the oath of office as sheriff of the island. William Hayes was sworn in at the same meeting as constable. The Council also issued two bills of exchange drawn on the Honourable Court of Directors in London. One set went to Edward Young for £445 0s 0d, and another went to Captain Francis Dupont for £32 0s 0d. Each bill was made payable to the named holder or to anyone to whom he transferred it. The Company would pay both bills 90 days after they were presented. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The sheriff was the Council's principal officer for enforcing its orders and the judgments of the island's court. He summoned juries, served writs, seized goods for debt and carried out sentences, so the office joined the Company's civil government to its power over property and persons. The constable worked beneath him in keeping order, making arrests and bringing offenders before the Governor and Council. Swearing both men in before the full board made their authority a formal grant from the Council, which any islander could see recorded. Making the bills payable to the holder or his order turned them into negotiable paper. Young or Dupont could endorse his bill to a creditor, a ship's officer or a London agent, and the new holder would collect from the Company in his place. Such bills circulated almost as currency among people travelling between St Helena and England. The 90-day term gave the Company three months after presentation before it had to find the money in London. That delay was a form of credit, since the Company held the coin paid in at St Helena for the full period of the voyage and the waiting time.

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			It also allowed the directors to check the bills against the Council's accounts before paying them.
306	299	27th May At a Consultation held on Monday the 27th Day of May 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Govr Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 20th May 1765 Wednesday the 22d Died Ann Daughter of Capt. Thomas Kirkpatrick Friday the 24th Do Mary Do of John Seale Publican Yesterday Sailed His Majestys Ship York for England Do Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Royal George from Angola by which opportunity We received a Packet from the Honorable the Court of Directors which we opened and read The Ship Royal George brought to the Island one hundred & twenty five Men, forty five Women, thirty eight Boys, twenty two Girls, and three Children Slaves, being in the whole two hundred and thirty six, We shall forward one hundred and fifty of them to the West Coast of Sumatra and keep the Remainder here agreeable to the Honorable Companys Orders We this day Executed the renewal of a Lease to Captain Henry Bazett for a piece of Land lying in Sandy Bay Containing Nineteen Acres, at Two Shillings P Acre	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 27 May 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attending. The councillors read, approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 20 May 1765. They noted two deaths in the week before the meeting. Ann, the daughter of Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick, died on Wednesday 22 May 1765. Mary, the daughter of the innkeeper John Seale, died two days later on Friday 24 May 1765. The King's ship *York* left for England on 26 May 1765. On the same day the Company's ship *Royal George* came in from Angola. She carried a packet of letters from the Court of Directors, which the Council opened and read. The *Royal George* landed 236 slaves at the island. They were made up of 125 men, 45 women, 38 boys, 25 girls and three young children. In line with the Company's instructions, the Council decided to send 150 of them on to the west coast of Sumatra and keep the rest on St Helena. The Council also renewed Captain Henry Bazett's lease on 19 acres of land at Sandy Bay. The rent stood at 5s 0d an acre. **Interpretations** The *Royal George* was carrying out a Company scheme to supply slave labour to its eastern settlements, using St Helena as a staging post. Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen, on the west coast of Sumatra, was a pepper settlement where European soldiers and servants died quickly and local labour was hard to secure. The Company therefore bought slaves on the Angolan coast and shipped them east, with St Helena taking a share for its own plantations and public works. Dividing the cargo by the directors' order, rather than by the island's needs, showed that the Council had no discretion over how many it kept. The breakdown of the cargo by men, women, boys, girls and small children reflected how the Company valued slaves as labour. Adult men were wanted for heavy work at Bencoolen, while women and children were more often kept for domestic and plantation work. Recording each category allowed the directors to check the numbers landed against those bought in Angola and to account for deaths on the passage. Land on St Helena belonged to the Company, and settlers held it on leases granted and renewed by the Council. The rent of 5s 0d an acre on Captain Bazett's 19 acres brought the Company £4 15s 0d a year. Renewal gave the tenant security to invest in his land while leaving the Company as owner, able to set terms and reclaim ground if conditions were broken. Sandy Bay lay on the island's southern side, away from Jamestown, where fertile valleys supported farming. Recording the deaths of councillors' and settlers' children in the Council's minutes gave the book a role as the island's register of vital events. In a small settlement without a separate civil registry, entries of this kind supported later claims on inheritance, leases and poor relief.
307	300	27th May Nathaniel Young and William Johnson Matrosses this day Petitioned for their Discharges from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company their Contracted Times Granted We this day Granted the following Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors viz	On 27 May 1765, two matrosses in the garrison, Nathaniel Young and William Johnson, asked the Council to release them from service. Both men had completed the term they had agreed to serve the Honourable Company. The Council granted their request. The Council also issued three bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors in London. Captain Henry Bazett received a set for £75 0s 0d, made

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		One Set to Captain Henry Bazett for seventy two pounds payable to Mr James Renwick (or Order) One Set to Mr Roger Tiler for one hundred and two pounds, four Shillings payable to himself (or Order) And one Set to John Bladen Tinker Esqr for three hundred and fifty one pounds payable to himself (or Order) all drawn at ninety days sight We this day bought of Mr Henry Popham the following Salt Provision as P his Bill viz	payable to James Renwick or to whomever Renwick transferred it. Roger Tiler received a set for £102 4s 0d, and John Bladen Tinker received one for £351 0s 0d. Each of these two bills was payable to its holder or to his nominee. The Company would pay all three bills 90 days after they were presented in London. The Council then bought a quantity of salted provisions from Henry Topham and entered his bill in the record. **Interpretations** A matross was a private soldier in the artillery who helped the gunners load, aim and move the guns. Men were recruited for the Company's garrison on fixed terms, but a completed term did not end service automatically. Each soldier had to petition the Council, which alone could grant a discharge. The requirement kept control of the garrison's numbers in the Council's hands, since it could time discharges to the arrival of recruits and to the availability of a passage home. Captain Bazett's bill was made payable to James Renwick rather than to himself. This showed the bill being used to settle a debt or transfer funds to a third party in England, with the Company's London office acting as paymaster. Bazett paid coin into the island treasury, and Renwick drew the equivalent from the Company at home without any money crossing the ocean.
308	301	The Honble Company To Henry Popham Cr To Salt Beef 556 Pieces a /10 P Piece 23 . 3 . 4 To Do Pork 628 pieces @ /8 P Piece 20 . 18 . 8 To Puncheons 5 at /20 P Puncheon 5 £ 49 . 2 St Helena the 30th May 1765 Received the Contents (Signed) Henry Popham John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	Henry Topham's bill to the Honourable Company for the salted provisions set out the following charges. 556 pieces of salt beef at 10d a piece, £23 3s 4d 623 pieces of salt pork at 8d a piece, £20 18s 8d 5 puncheons at 20s 0d a puncheon, £5 0s 0d Total, £49 2s 0d Topham acknowledged payment in full at St Helena on 30 May 1765 and signed his receipt. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Salt beef and pork were counted by the piece, a standard cut used in naval and Company victualling. A piece of beef usually weighed about 4 lb and a piece of pork about 2 lb, so each could be issued as a fixed ration without weighing. Buying by the piece allowed the storekeeper to check the delivery by simple count and to plan issues to the garrison in whole rations. A puncheon was a large cask, generally holding somewhere between 70 and 120 gallons depending on the trade. Here the casks held the meat in brine, and Topham charged for them separately at 20s 0d each. Casks were scarce and valuable on the island, where there was little timber for cooperage, so the Company paid for the containers as well as their contents and kept them for reuse. Topham was perhaps a ship's officer or private trader selling surplus stores from a vessel in the road. Buying preserved meat from passing ships allowed the Council to build up reserves for the garrison without drawing on the island's own cattle, which it was trying to protect.
309	302	3d June At a Consultation held on Monday the 3d Day of June 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick of Council	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 3 June 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attending. The councillors read, approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 27 May 1765. They recorded the death on Thursday 30 May 1765 of Charles, the son of the overseer Matthew Bazett. A boat from the *Worcester* reached Banks's at a quarter to ten on the morning of Friday 31 May 1765.

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		The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 27th May 1765 Thursday the 30th Died Charles Son of Matthew Bazett Overseer Friday the 31st Arrived the Worcesters Boat at Banks's a Quarter of an Hour before ten o'clock in the morning Do Do Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Worcester from China Saturday the 1st Sailed His Majesty's Ship Medway for England yesterday Arrived the Lord Hollands Boat at Banks's at ten o'clock in the morning Do Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Lord Holland from China Do Passed by a Ship at a great Distance The Ships Worcester and Lord Holland brought Us the following Supply viz	The Company's ship *Worcester* followed later that day, arriving from China. The King's ship *Medway* left for England on Saturday 1 June 1765. On 2 June 1765 a boat from the *Lord Holland* came in to Banks's at ten in the morning. The Company's ship *Lord Holland* arrived from China on the same day. Lookouts also saw another ship pass the island far out to sea. The *Worcester* and the *Lord Holland* brought fresh supplies for the island. **Interpretations** Ships approaching from the east sent a boat ahead to Banks's, a fortified post guarding the northern approach to James Bay, before entering the anchorage. The boat identified the vessel and its business, allowing the garrison to confirm that the ship was friendly before it came within range of the town's defences. The Council's careful record of the hour each boat arrived showed that this was a standing security procedure rather than a courtesy. Noting a ship that passed at a great distance reflected the island's constant watch on the sea around it. Unknown vessels could be enemies, smugglers or ships in distress, and every sighting was reported so the Council could judge whether to put the garrison on alert or send word to the directors. The *Worcester* and *Lord Holland* were homeward-bound China ships, which made St Helena their last major stop before England. The Company required them to carry stores for the island on their outward voyages and to leave part of their cargo or supplies on the way home, making these returning ships a regular source of goods the island could not produce.
310	303	1765 Invoice of Ship Worcester Tales Mace No 9 Tea Congo 1 Chest contg nett Peculs 6/4/10 @ 24 Ta P Pecul 15 . 403 10 Tea Bohea 1 Do Do 1 . 5 @ 13 Do 18 . 990 52 @ 66 65 + 66 Sugar 11 Do Do 20 . 96¾ @ 4 . 5 m Do 94 . 331 Tales 128 . 729 Canton Feby 6th 1765 Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos Fitzhugh Saml Blount Nath Garland Wm Mackenzie Stephen De Visme Thos Smith Mann Horner Willm Rous	The Company's supercargoes at Canton drew up an invoice for the goods the *Worcester* carried for St Helena. Chest no. 9, 1 chest of congou tea, net weight 64 4/10 catties, at 24 taels a picul, 15 taels 4 mace 0 candareens 3 cash Chest no. 10, 1 chest of bohea tea, net weight 1 picul 5 catties, at 18 taels a picul, 18 taels 9 mace 9 candareens 0 cash Chests nos. 5[...] to 66, 65 and 66, 11 chests of sugar, net weight 20 piculs 96¼ catties, at 4 taels 5 mace a picul, 94 taels 3 mace 3 candareens 1 cash Total, 128 taels 7 mace 2 candareens 9 cash The invoice was dated at Canton on 6 February 1765. The signatories reserved the right to correct any mistakes found in it later. Tho. Fitzhugh Saml. Blount Nath. Garland Wm. Mackenzie Stephen De Visme Tho. Smith Mann Horner Willm. Rous **Interpretations** Congou and bohea were both black teas from the hills of Fujian province, shipped through Canton. Bohea was the coarsest and cheapest grade, made from larger, later leaves, and it formed the bulk of the tea drunk by ordinary households in Britain. Congou was a better tea, made from more carefully rolled leaves picked earlier in the season, and the invoice priced it at 24 taels a picul against bohea's 18. The sugar was Chinese cane sugar, probably from Fujian or Guangdong, packed in chests and bought far more cheaply than West Indian sugar. The weights and money followed the Chinese system used by the Company at Canton. A picul was a porter's load of 100 catties, roughly 133 lb, and a catty was about 1⅓ lb. The tael was a weight of silver serving as money of account, divided into 10 mace, each mace into 10 candareens and each candareen

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			into 10 cash. Prices in the Canton trade were set in taels of silver because the Company paid for its cargoes largely in Spanish silver dollars, weighed rather than counted. The eight signatories formed the Company's council of supercargoes at Canton, who managed its trade in China for each season. By signing the invoice jointly, they made themselves collectively responsible for the quantities and prices charged to St Helena. The clause reserving errors allowed the island or the directors to reopen any mistake in weight, price or arithmetic without the invoice being treated as a final settlement. Sending a single chest of each tea and a larger consignment of sugar showed the island supplied from the China fleet with goods for the Company's own table, stores and sale to settlers. Tea and sugar reached St Helena directly from Canton rather than by way of London, so the island had access to them at Canton prices well before they became cheap in England.
311	304	3d June Invoice of Ship Lord Holland Tales Mace No 7 & 8 Tea Congo 2 Chests contg nett Peculs 1 . 28 4/10 at 24 Ta P Pecul 30 . 816 9 Tea Bohea 1 Do Do 1 . 14 @ 13 Do 20 . 520 49 @ 57 56 & No 57 Sugar 11 Do Do 21 . 94½ @ 4 . 500 Do 98 . 753 Tales 150 . 089 Canton Feby 6th 1765 Errors Excepted (Signed) Thos Fitzhugh Saml Blount Nath Garland Wm Mackenzie Stepn De Visme Thomas Smith Mann Horner Wm Rous John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The supercargoes at Canton issued a separate invoice for the goods the *Lord Holland* carried for St Helena. Chests nos. 7 and 8, 2 chests of congou tea, net weight 1 picul 28 4/10 catties, at 24 taels a picul, 30 taels 8 mace 1 candareen 6 cash Chest no. 9, 1 chest of bohea tea, net weight 1 picul 14 catties, at 18 taels a picul, 20 taels 5 mace 2 candareens 0 cash Chests nos. 49 to 57, 56 and 57, 11 chests of sugar, net weight 21 piculs 94½ catties, at 4 taels 5 mace a picul, 98 taels 7 mace 5 candareens 3 cash Total, 150 taels 0 mace 8 candareens 9 cash This invoice also carried the date of 6 February 1765 at Canton, and its signatories again kept the right to correct later any mistakes it contained. Tho. Fitzhugh Saml. Blount Nath. Garland Wm. Mackenzie Stepn. De Visme Thomas Smith Mann Horner Wm. Rous The members of the island's Council added their own signatures beneath. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The *Lord Holland* invoice used exactly the same prices as the *Worcester* invoice drawn up on the same day: 24 taels a picul for congou, 18 for bohea and 4 taels 5 mace for sugar. The two ships between them brought the island three chests of congou, two of bohea and 22 of sugar, worth 278 taels 8 mace 1 candareen 8 cash in all. Splitting one order across two ships in near-equal shares was a deliberate precaution, since the loss of either vessel on the passage would leave the island with half its supply rather than none. The Council's signatures beneath those of the Canton supercargoes marked the point at which the goods passed into the island's charge. From that moment the Governor and Council were answerable for the tea and sugar in their own stores and accounts, and the invoice value in taels would be converted to sterling and set against the island's books in London.
312	305	10th June At a Consultation held on Monday the 10th Day of June 1765 at the Castle	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 10 June 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attending.

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		Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved & signed dated the 3d June 1765 Wednesday the 5th Passed by three Ships at a great distance Yesterday Died Mr Matthew Bazett Overseer Mr Matthew Burling reports that he has been on board the Ships Worcester and Lord Holland to Muster their Companys and enquire for deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow Muster Roll of Ship Worcester Richard Hall Commander Mr Dobbie 1st Mate Mr Leel 2d Do Mr Burges 3d Do Mr Boustall 4th Do Mr Boucher 5th Do Wm Thompson 6th Do Mr Goudie Surgeon Mr Bristow Purser Wm Aldridge Gunner James Burn Boatswain John Cole Carpenter John Frost Midshipman David Lesly Do John Brand Do Augustus Skinner Do George Penny Qr Master James Laran Do William Crichton Do William Ashley Do John Evans Ships Steward Richd Carpenter Capts Do John Batty Carpenter John King Ships Cook 43	The councillors read, approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 3 June 1765. They noted that three ships had passed the island far out to sea on Wednesday 5 June 1765. The overseer Matthew Bazett died on 9 June 1765. Matthew Burling told the Council that he had gone aboard the *Worcester* and the *Lord Holland* to count their crews and search for deserters. He found none on either ship. He submitted the crew lists he had taken. The *Worcester* carried the following crew. Richard Hall, commander Mr Dobbie, first mate Mr Liel, second mate Mr Burges, third mate Mr Bouttale, fourth mate Mr Boucher, fifth mate Mr Thomson, sixth mate Mr Gowdie, surgeon Mr Bustow, purser William Aldridge, gunner James Evern, boatswain John Cole, carpenter John Frost, midshipman David Lisley, midshipman John Braid, midshipman Augustus Skinner, midshipman George Penny, quartermaster James Lanan, quartermaster William Crichton, quartermaster William Ashley, quartermaster John Evans, ship's steward Richard Carpenter, captain's steward John Petty, cooper John King, ship's cook [...], 43 **Interpretations** The search for deserters was aimed chiefly at the island's own soldiers and servants. A homeward East Indiaman offered the only realistic way off St Helena, and a man hidden among a crew of well over 100 could reach England before his absence was traced. By sending a councillor aboard to call over every name against the ship's books, the Council checked that no one had been added since the vessel arrived. The muster was therefore a tool of control over the garrison as much as a check on the ships. Matthew Bazett's death on 9 June 1765 followed that of his son Charles on 30 May 1765, recorded at the previous meeting. Two deaths in one household within ten days suggested an infectious illness, perhaps carried ashore from one of the ships then calling at the island. The *Worcester* carried six mates, a purser, a surgeon and four midshipmen, a scale of officers found only on the largest ships in the Company's service. The mates held ranked positions that governed their share of private trade, so the order in which they were listed was a matter of pay and privilege as well as command.
313	306	10th June Benjn Jackman Capt Cook John Rake Caulker Saml Johnson Sailmaker James Jarrett Carpentrs Mate Saml Alder Do Do James Scott Gunners Mate Saml Coals Boatswains Do Thos Cooper Caulkers Do Patrick Lawrence Cooper John Crow Armorer Edwd Painton Butcher William Stone Taylor Francis Ellis Barber William Capes Cooks Mate	The *Worcester*'s crew list went on to name the ship's petty officers, officers' servants and seamen. Benjamin Jackman, captain's cook John Rake, caulker Samuel Johnson, sailmaker James Jarrett, carpenter's first mate Samuel Alder, carpenter's second mate James Scott, gunner's mate Samuel Coats, boatswain's mate Thomas Cooper, caulker's mate Patrick Lavener, cooper John Crow, armourer Edward Tointon, butcher William Stone, tailor Francis Ellis, barber

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		Robt Thompson Capts Servant Erasmus Tidsdale Do John Bateman 1st Mates Do Alexr Aldridge 2d Do Do John Handy Surgeons Do John Ward Gunners Do John Seeven Boats Do William West Carpentrs Do Chas Burn Emerson Seamn James Lewin Do Thomas Bransell Do Peter Jugan John Tucker Seaman John Forbes John Ferguson James Marshal Richard Acton Matthew Lecken William Berry David Henderson Thomas Adams James Sinclair John Herron Andrew Holin Richd Burrell Joseph Swail Richd Webber James Cocks Robt Morris Edward Hill Griffith Rice Robert Maynard John Lyton William Smith William Anderson John Stubs John Tate Richd Bridge Seaman John Price William Osgoodby John Shobsol[e] William Apsley Thos Sinclair John Roberts John Roberts Andrew Swan William Richardson Francis Welsh Richd Hollings John Laton Edward Warrington Richard Woolar Thos Wade James Stovel Joseph Boyce George Spalding John O'Hara Luke Jenkens Thomas Dowling Joseph Summer John Butler Dennis Hans Lewis Carew Passengers Senior Negaire Senior Wincente Portugues Gentlemen (Signed) R. Hall	William Capes, cook's mate Robert Thompson, captain's servant Erasmus Tisdale, captain's servant John Bateman, first mate's servant Alexander Aldredice, second mate's servant John Hardy, surgeon's servant John Ward, gunner's servant John Scown, boatswain's servant William West, carpenter's servant Charles Brew Emerson, seaman James Lewin, seaman Thomas Branscob, seaman Peter Regan John Tucker, seaman John Forbes John Ferguson James Marshal Richard Acton Matthew Lickin William Berry David Henderson Thomas Adams James Sinclair John Herron Andrew Holm Richard Burnell Joseph Swail Richard Webber James Cocks Robert Morris Edward Hill Griffith Rice Robert Maynard John Lyton William Smith William Anderson John Stubs John Tate Richard Bridge, seaman John Price William Osgoodby John Shobsole William Apsley Thomas Sinclair John Roberts John Roberts Andrew Swan William Richardson Francis Welsh Richard Hollings John Laxton Edward Warrington Richard Wooler Thomas Wade James Stovel Joseph Boyce George Spalding John O'Hara Luke Jenkens Thomas Dowling Joseph Summer John Butler Dennis Hare Lewis Carew The ship also carried two Portuguese gentlemen as passengers, Senhor Negarin and Senhor Vincente. Richard Hall signed the list as commander. **Interpretations** The officers' servants listed on the *Worcester* were usually boys or young men placed with an officer to learn the sea. Each was entered on the ship's books and drew Company wages, but the pay commonly went to the officer who kept him. A servant's place was therefore a perquisite of rank, and the list shows the captain entitled to two while each mate, the

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			surgeon, the gunner, the boatswain and the carpenter had one. The two Portuguese passengers had perhaps boarded at Macao, the Portuguese settlement near Canton where the Company's supercargoes spent the months outside the trading season. Foreigners travelled on Company ships only with permission, and naming them on the muster protected the commander against any suggestion that he had carried unauthorised persons. Because the Council's purpose in taking the muster was to find anyone who should not have been aboard, the listing of passengers was as important as the crew roll itself. Hall's signature certified the list as a full and true account of all aboard. Had a deserter from the island later been found on the *Worcester*, the signed muster would have made the commander personally answerable for concealing him.
314	307	1765 Muster Roll of Ship Lord Holland Farham Nairn Commander Daniel Steele 1st Mate Henry Collins 2d Do John Griffin 3d Do Jn Blennerhasset 4th Do Jn Austin 5th Do Edwd Bengough Surgn Benjamin Gould Purser Alexr Younger Carpenter Jn Coltar Boatswain David Leighton Gunner Jn Hobson Caulker Richd Rawthers Midn John Hastings Do Jn Madden Do Robt Anger Do James Weldie Qr M[r] David Kings Qr Master Willm Phillips Do Wm Cheek Do Jn Nelson Do Edwd Corey Ships Steward John Ramshaw Capts Do John Lawson Ships Cook Robt Wester Capts Do Benjamin Page Cooper Jn Richardson Sailmaker Isaac Jopsley Gunrs Mate Chas Pinkstone Armourer John Tate Carpr Mate Edward Pritchett Boats Mate Jas Huggins Surgeons Do Robt McCulloch Capts Do Do Andrew Wallis Seaman James Rippon Do Edd Wetherington Thomas Carey Peter Murphy Thos Rose James Hull Oswald Potts Griffith Roberts Thomas Perkins Barnd Sweeny Perry Hanyett Jn Harris Jn Barrett Jno Pinney Rd Collins Thos Groome Conrt Kelly John Brown Jacob Mugny Collin McKenzie Alexr Smith	The *Lord Holland*'s crew list set out the following men. Fasham Nairn, commander Daniel Stoker, first mate Henry Collins, second mate John Griffin, third mate John Blennerhasset, fourth mate John Austin, fifth mate Edward Bengough, surgeon Benjamin Gould, purser Thomas Younger, carpenter John Colton, boatswain David Leighton, gunner John Hobson, caulker Richard Carruthers, midshipman John Hastings, midshipman John Madden, midshipman Robert Anger, midshipman James Waldie, quartermaster Edward King, quartermaster William Phillips, quartermaster William Check, quartermaster John Nelson, quartermaster Edward Coxe, ship's steward John Ramshaw, captain's steward John Lawson, ship's cook Robert Hester, captain's cook Benjamin Page, cooper Andrew Richardson, sailmaker Isaac Jopling, gunner's mate Charles Pinkerton, armourer John Tate, cooper's mate Edward Fitchett, boatswain's mate James Huggins, surgeon's mate Robert McCulloch, captain's servant Andrew Wallis, seaman James Rippon, seaman Edward Witherington Thomas Carny Peter Murphy Thomas Rose James Hall Oswald Potts Griffith Roberts Thomas Perkins Barnard Sweeney Berry Hangett John Harris John Barrett John Binney Robert Collins Thomas Crome Conrad Holly John Brown Jacob Megney Collin McKenzie Alexander Smith

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		Wm Hunter James Grigg Seaman Geo. Engsley Thoms Sackspeach William Lenham James Loveen James McElvie John Sted John Archer Robt Cummings James Scott John Scott Thos Scott Robert Culleton William Anderson Peter Cunninghame David Drinkholm Isaac Summers William Simons George Allen John Struttes John Simmons Fredk Allen John Stephenson John Hughes Mr Jas Robt Moor Thoms Loyd Edwd Pearce	William Hunter James Grigg, seaman George Pugsley Thomas Sackspeach William Lenham James Lowen James McElvie John Sted John Archer Robert Cummings James Scott John Scott Thomas Scott Robert Cullerton William Anderson Peter Cunningham David Drumholm Isaac Hammers William Simons George Allen John Strutts John Simmons Andrew Allen John Stephenson John Hughes [...] Robert Moor Thomas Loyd Edward Pearce
315	308	10th June Geo. Durham Seaman Samuel Brodie Alexr Dyer Willm Johnson John Jarvis Seaman Robt Hodges Willm Douglass Edward Hoskins Danl Crouch John Norman Seaman Willm Ward John Welch John Wales (Signed) Farham Nairn The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores short received from the Ship Lord Holland viz Account of Stores short received from Ship Lord Holland viz Sugar Short Weight C qr lb 1 . 1 (Signed) James Powell Storekeeper St Helena 10th June 1765 The Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of May last, were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz	The *Lord Holland*'s crew list closed with the remaining seamen, and Fasham Nairn signed it as commander. George Durham, seaman Samuel Brodie Alexander Dyer William Johnson John Jarvis, seaman Robert Hodges William Douglass Edward Hoskins Daniel Crouch John Norman, seaman William Ward John Welch John Wales The storekeeper presented the Council with a statement of goods from the *Lord Holland* that had arrived short. He found the sugar underweight by the following amount. Sugar short in weight, 0 cwt 1 qr 1 lb James Powell signed the statement as storekeeper at St Helena on 10 June 1765. The gunner and the steward then submitted their accounts for May. The Council checked and approved both. **Interpretations** The shortfall of 29 lb fell on the 11 chests of sugar entered on the *Lord Holland*'s Canton invoice at 21 piculs 94½ catties. Sugar lost weight on a long voyage through leakage of molasses, damp and pilfering, and the storekeeper's signed statement fixed the loss at the moment of delivery. That certificate gave the Company grounds to charge the difference against the ship or the invoice, since a commander was answerable for delivering freight in the quantity he had signed for. Without it the island's accounts would have carried goods it never received. The *Worcester*'s consignment, loaded at Canton on the same day, produced no such statement. That contrast suggested the loss on the *Lord Holland* came from handling or stowage on that particular ship rather than from an error in weighing at Canton.
316	309	1765 Artillery Stores Expended in May 1765	The artillery account for May 1765 recorded the guns fired and the powder used during the month.

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		Guns Fired, 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended 1st An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb 2 Arrived the Northumberland: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb 3d Departed the Snow Mercury: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb 7 Sailed the Lord Mansfield and Latham: Guns Fired 12, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 12, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 12 lb 13th Do the British King, Norfolk and Northumberland: Guns Fired 27, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 27, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 27 lb 18th A Double Alarm: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 3, 3 lb 3, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 3, Powder Expended 18 lb Arrived His Majestys Ships Medway & York: Guns Fired 15, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 15, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 15 lb Saluted Governor Van Sittarts comming on Shore: Guns Fired 19, 4 lb 1, 3 lb 1, 2 lb 17, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 20 lb 8 oz 21 Do Commodore Tinkers Do: Guns Fired 17, 4 lb 1, 3 lb 1, 2 lb 15, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 18 lb 8 oz Powder to Shoot for the Governor: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 lb 23 Fired for the Capt. on the York Comming on Shore: Guns Fired 13, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 13, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 13 lb 26th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb Arrived the Royal George: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb Depart his Majesty's Ship York: Guns Fired 13, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 13, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 13 lb 31 An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb Arrived the Worcester: Guns Fired 9, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb Powder for priming at different times: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 33 lb Do for Signals: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 lb 8 oz Do for the funeral of James Hylands: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 lb 4 oz Do for the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 3 lb Total: Guns Fired 135, 4 lb 11, 3 lb 11, 2 lb 15[4], 1 lb 9, Powder Expended 262 lb 12 oz	The guns were entered under four columns headed 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb and 1 lb. Alarm, 1 May 1765, 6 guns fired, 2 in the 4 lb column, 2 in the 3 lb column, 0 in the 2 lb column, 2 in the 1 lb column, 12 lb 0 oz of powder Arrival of the *Northumberland*, 2 May 1765, 9 guns fired, 0 in the 4 lb column, 0 in the 3 lb column, 9 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 9 lb 0 oz of powder Departure of the snow *Mercury*, 3 May 1765, 9 guns fired, 0 in the 4 lb column, 0 in the 3 lb column, 9 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 9 lb 0 oz of powder Sailing of the *Lord Mansfield* and the *Latham*, 7 May 1765, 12 guns fired, 0 in the 4 lb column, 0 in the 3 lb column, 12 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 12 lb 0 oz of powder Sailing of the *British King*, the *Norfolk* and the *Northumberland*, 13 May 1765, 27 guns fired, 0 in the 4 lb column, 0 in the 3 lb column, 27 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 27 lb 0 oz of powder Double alarm, 18 May 1765, 9 guns fired, 3 in the 4 lb column, 3 in the 3 lb column, 0 in the 2 lb column, 3 in the 1 lb column, 18 lb 0 oz of powder Arrival of the King's ships *Medway* and *York*, 18 May 1765, 15 guns fired, 0 in the 4 lb column, 0 in the 3 lb column, 15 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 15 lb 0 oz of powder Salute for Governor Van Sittart landing, 19 guns fired, 1 in the 4 lb column, 1 in the 3 lb column, 17 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 20 lb 8 oz of powder Salute for Commodore Tinker landing, 21 May 1765, 17 guns fired, 1 in the 4 lb column, 1 in the 3 lb column, 15 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 18 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for Governor Skottowe's shooting, 0 guns fired, 2 lb 0 oz of powder Salute for the captain of the *York* landing, 23 May 1765, 13 guns fired, 0 in the 4 lb column, 0 in the 3 lb column, 13 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 13 lb 0 oz of powder Alarm, 26 May 1765, 6 guns fired, 2 in the 4 lb column, 2 in the 3 lb column, 0 in the 2 lb column, 2 in the 1 lb column, 12 lb 0 oz of powder Arrival of the *Royal George*, 26 May 1765, 9 guns fired, 0 in the 4 lb column, 0 in the 3 lb column, 9 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 9 lb 0 oz of powder Departure of the King's ship *York*, 26 May 1765, 13 guns fired, 0 in the 4 lb column, 0 in the 3 lb column, 13 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 13 lb 0 oz of powder Alarm, 31 May 1765, 6 guns fired, 2 in the 4 lb column, 2 in the 3 lb column, 0 in the 2 lb column, 2 in the 1 lb column, 12 lb 0 oz of powder Arrival of the *Worcester*, 31 May 1765, 9 guns fired, 0 in the 4 lb column, 0 in the 3 lb column, 9 in the 2 lb column, 0 in the 1 lb column, 9 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for priming at various times, 0 guns fired, 33 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for signals, 0 guns fired, 2 lb 8 oz of powder Powder for the funeral of James Hylands, 0 guns fired, 2 lb 4 oz of powder Powder for the Main Guard, 0 guns fired, 3 lb 0 oz of powder Total, 135 guns fired, 11 in the 4 lb column, 11 in the 3 lb column, 15[...] in the 2 lb column, 9 in the 1 lb column, 262 lb 12 oz of powder **Interpretations** The salutes were graded by rank, and the number of guns showed how the island placed each visitor. Governor Van Sittart, who had recently left the governorship of Bengal, received 19 guns, the highest

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			salute of the month. Commodore Tinker received 17 and the captain of the *York* 13. Ordinary Company ships were saluted with nine guns on arrival or departure, and a larger number when several sailed together. The scale let the garrison honour the Company's senior servants above the King's naval officers, a pointed choice on an island governed by the Company rather than the Crown. Commodore Tinker was John Bladen Tinker, the naval officer commanding the *Medway* and *York*. On 27 May 1765 the Council issued him a bill of exchange for £351 0s 0d on the Court of Directors, so his stay ashore involved private business with the island treasury as well as ceremony. The alarms of 26 May and 31 May 1765 fell on the days the *Royal George* and the *Worcester* came in. An alarm gun was fired when an unknown sail was sighted, calling the garrison to its posts until the ship's identity was confirmed. The double alarm on 18 May 1765 matched the appearance of two warships at once. Each alarm used guns in three of the four columns, while every salute drew almost entirely on one, which suggested that alarms were fired from designated signal pieces at different posts around the island. A snow was a two-masted merchant vessel rigged much like a brig, with a small extra mast behind the mainmast carrying a trysail. Such ships were smaller than East Indiamen and often traded privately between India, the Cape and the Atlantic islands.
317	310	10th June Spunge Staves broke at the Main Fort 2 Do for the Masons for the use of the Fort 1 Rammer Head for the use of the Castle 1 Tallow for the Carpenters 2 lb Gun Carriage for a Nine Pounder unserviceable 1 Hands Spikes broke on the Line 1 Bedd broke on the Curtain 1 Rammers Heads broke on the Line 4 Spunge Staves Do 2 Speaking Trumpet for Banks's 1 Match burnt at the Main Fort 6 lb Spunge Heads expended 2 Rammer Heads Do 2 Sheep Skins Do 2 Nails for Spunges 150 Worm broke at Prosperous Bay 1 (Signed) A. Mitchell Sundrys Expended in the Month of May 1765 at the Honble Companys Table viz 13 Bottles Port Wine £ 1 . 2 . 6 27 Do Lisbon 2 . 6 13 Do Mountain 19 . 6 Carried over£	The artillery stores used up during May 1765 included the following items. 2 sponge staves broken at the Main Fort 1 sponge staff given to the masons for work on the fort 1 rammer head for the Castle 2 lb of tallow for the carpenters 1 gun carriage for a nine-pounder, no longer usable 1 handspike broken on the Lines 1 gun bed broken on the curtain 4 rammer heads broken on the Lines 2 sponge staves broken on the Lines 1 speaking trumpet for Banks's 6 lb of match burnt at the Main Fort 2 sponge heads used up 2 rammer heads used up 2 sheepskins used up 150 nails for the sponges 1 worm broken at Prosperous Bay A. Mitchell signed the list. The Company's table accounted for its provisions and drink for May 1765, beginning with the wine. 15 bottles of port wine, £1 2s 6d 27 bottles of Lisbon wine, £2 0s 6d 13 bottles of Mountain wine, £0 19s 6d Sub-total, £4 2s 6d **Interpretations** Wine at the Company's table fell sharply from April. In that month the table used 25 bottles of port and 61 of Lisbon, against 15 and 27 in May, while Mountain rose only from nine bottles to 13. The prices held steady at 1s 6d a bottle for all three wines. April had seen the *Lord Clive*, *Dutton*, *Salisbury* and *Pocock* settle their accounts at the island, and the entertainment of their officers probably accounted for much of the heavier drinking. The speaking trumpet for Banks's served the post where arriving ships sent their boats ahead to report, as the *Worcester*'s and *Lord Holland*'s boats did on 31 May and 2 June 1765. A trumpet let the guard hail a boat and demand its identity before it came

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		4 . 2 . 6	close enough to land, which fitted the island's caution towards unknown vessels. Several items named parts of the island's fortifications. The Lines were the defensive wall running across the mouth of James Valley to protect Jamestown from the sea, and the curtain was the stretch of wall between two bastions. Prosperous Bay lay on the east coast, one of the few places where an enemy could land, and it carried its own battery. Some of the tools would be unfamiliar now. A worm was a spiral iron hook on a long staff, used to draw out a charge or remnants of wadding that had failed to fire. A handspike was a stout wooden lever for shifting a gun carriage to aim it. The gun bed was the heavy timber base on which the rear of a gun rested, adjusted by wedges to change the elevation.
318	311	1765 Brought over£ 4 . 2 . 6 40 Bottles Beer 8 . 4 62 Do Arrack 4 . 13 . [...] 202¼ lb Beef 4 . 4 . 3¼ 2 Ps Salt Beef 5 . 7½ 2 Lambs 1 2 Kids 10 271¼ lb Mutton 5 . 13 . 2½ 63 lb Candy 1 . 1 23¾ lb Butter 1 . 3 . 9 342 lb Flour 2 . 2 . 9 2 Geese 10 2 Turkeys 10 9 Ducks 13 . 6 15 Fowls 1 . 2 . 6 £ 28 . 5 . 5½ We this day received the following Letter from Captain Mitchell which we have made our Observations upon in our general Letter to the Honorable Company P Ship Worcester To the Worshipful Governor and Council of the Island St Helena Gentlemen In Obedience to your Orders I send you enclosed a List	The May account for the Company's table continued from a sub-total of £4 2s 6d brought forward. Brought forward, £4 2s 6d 40 bottles of beer, £0 8s 4d 62 bottles of arrack, £4 13s [...]d 202¼ lb of beef, £4 4s 3¾d 2 pieces of salt beef, £0 5s 7½d 2 lambs, £1 0s 0d 2 kids, £0 10s 0d 271¾ lb of mutton, £5 13s 2½d 65 candles, £1 1s 0d 23¾ lb of butter, £1 8s 9d 342 lb of flour, £2 2s 9d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 9 ducks, £0 13s 6d 15 fowls, £1 2s 6d Total, £28 5s 5½d The Council received a letter from Captain Mitchell and commented on it in the general letter it sent to the Company by the *Worcester*. Mitchell addressed his letter to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He began by explaining that he was enclosing a list, as they had instructed him to do. **Interpretations** The table cost £28 5s 5½d in May against £27 0s 0¼d in April, but the make-up of the bill shifted. Mutton rose from 192¼ lb to 271¾ lb, while beef eased slightly from 213 lb to 202¼ lb, and lambs and kids appeared for the first time. The move towards sheep and goats came just after the Council had agreed to count the Company's cattle only once a quarter to protect the herds from damage. Drawing more on the flocks spared the cattle at a time when the Council was plainly concerned for their condition. Arrack became markedly dearer. In April 60 bottles cost £3 7s 6d, about 1s 1½d each, while in May 62 bottles cost at least £4 13s, close to 1s 6d each. Arrack reached the island from ships coming home from India and the East, and the supply bought in April had perhaps come from the four Indiamen that settled their accounts that month. With only China ships and naval vessels calling in May, the table may have had to buy from a dearer source. The Council's decision to answer Mitchell's letter in its general letter to London, rather than settling the matter on the island, showed that the issue lay beyond its own authority. The general letter was the Council's main report to the Court of Directors, sent with each homeward ship, and placing Mitchell's complaint or request there passed the final decision to the directors.
319	312	10th June List of such Stores as will be wanting for the use of the Artillery, and for the repairs of the Fortifications of this Island I should have been Glad to have laid before you, at the	Captain Mitchell's enclosure was a list of the stores the artillery would need and of the materials required to repair the island's fortifications. Mitchell explained that he had hoped to send, at the same time, his assessment of the defences as they

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		same time, my opinion of the Works as they now stand, with the Additions and alterations I apprehend will be necessary to be made to them, But having but very lately been provided with a Boat proper to take this Survey it has not been in my Power to finish it; The Moment it is compleated I shall deliver it in, in Order to its being transmitted to England As it will be some Years before the Additional Batteries intended to be built for the defence of this Island can be compleated so as to admit of Artillery being mounted on them; I have therefore indented for none this Year, Nor indeed was it possible to ascertain either the Number or Nature of the Ordnance that may be wanted, until the Approbation of the Court of Directors is received, relative to the new Works to be constructed. It being represented last Year to the Court of Directors that the Lime Stone on this Island was almost Exausted, and that it would be necessary to send Lime from England in Order to construct the new Works and to repair the old ones, in consequence of which, Eighty Tuns of Lime Stone were sent out by last Years Store Ships; it will no doubt give them pleasure to be informed, that I have discovered great plenty as well as Variety of Limestone on the Island, to be got with very Little Labour or Expence; And that Coals only are wanting for burning it, Wood (which has hitherto been us'd for this purpose) being not only very improper but	stood. He also meant to set out the additions and changes he thought necessary. He had only recently been given a boat suitable for surveying the coast, however, and so had not been able to finish the work. He promised to hand in his report as soon as it was complete, so that it could go to England. The new batteries planned for the island's defence would take some years to build to the point where guns could be mounted on them. Mitchell had therefore ordered no new guns that year. He added that he could not judge how many guns would be needed, or of what kind, until the Court of Directors approved the plans for the new works. The Court had been told the previous year that the island's limestone was almost exhausted. It had been advised that lime would have to come from England to build the new works and repair the old ones. The store ships of that year had accordingly brought out 80 tons of limestone. Mitchell now reported that he had found limestone in abundance and in several varieties on the island. It could be quarried with little labour or cost. Coal was the only thing lacking for burning it. The wood previously used for this purpose was, in his view, badly suited to the task. **Interpretations** Mitchell's decision to order no guns that year broke with the usual practice of sending an annual requisition for artillery stores by the homeward ships. He passed over that default for two stated reasons: the new batteries were years from completion, and the Court had not yet approved their design. Ordering guns in advance would have tied up money and filled the island's stores with ordnance that might prove the wrong size or number once the plans were settled. Leaving the order until the directors had agreed the works placed the choice of guns with the body that would pay for them. Limestone was burnt in a kiln to produce quicklime, which was slaked with water and mixed with sand to make the mortar used in building walls and batteries. Shipping 80 tons of it from England took up valuable space on the store ships and made every repair to the fortifications dependent on the annual fleet. Mitchell's discovery meant the island could make its own mortar, provided it had fuel. His request for coal reflected the island's shortage of timber, which made wood too precious to burn in quantity, and coal gave the steadier, hotter fire a lime kiln needed. The boat provided for Mitchell's survey showed that the island's defences were judged from the sea. Only from offshore could an engineer see which landing places an enemy might use and which stretches of coast the existing batteries covered.
320	313	1765 but by much too scarce to admit of so great a consumption as would be necessary, I have therefore in the inclosed Indent, specified the Quantity of Coals wanted for this Purpose I beg leave to mention another Circumstance which I could wish was properly represented to the Honble Company at Home. The Commanding Officer of the Artillery has instructions to receive from each Indiaman that Anchors in the Road a Barrell of Gun Powder for the use of the Company, after inspecting into Its Goodness and finding it fit for service; In consequence of this order, I have been obliged to reject almost every Barrell of Powder that has been offered me as	Captain Mitchell went on to explain that wood on the island was far too scarce to supply the large quantity that lime burning would consume. He had therefore listed in his enclosed requisition the amount of coal needed for the work. Mitchell also raised a further matter that he wished the Company in London to understand. The commander of the artillery had standing instructions to take one barrel of gunpowder from every Indiaman anchoring in the road. The powder was to be examined first and accepted only if it proved fit for use. Mitchell had followed these instructions and found himself turning away almost every barrel offered. The powder was of such poor quality that it could not be relied on in action. Accepting it would only have filled the magazines with useless powder, with disastrous results if the island came under attack. Mitchell proposed that the Company take the value of each barrel in money instead. The captain of the artillery would then send home every year a

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		its Quality has been so bad as to render it altogether unfitt for using in real Service, and would only serve to fill our Magazines with a Quantity of Bad Powder, which in Case of an Attack might be attended with the most fatal consequences. I should therefore apprehend, it would be much more for the Interest of the Company to take an Equivalent in Money, instead of the Barrell of Powder; and give Orders for the Capt of the Artillery here to indent every Year for what Quantity of Powder may have been expended during the foregoing One; By which means the proper Complement of Powder may always be kept up; and the Old Powder gradually expended in Salutes and other Services, which is a Measure essentially necessary, since it is well known, that Powder (let it be kept ever so dry) will lose much of its Virtue by Age, & become at last altogether unfitt for Service You must be already sensible of the great want of a military Storekeeper in this Garrison; In an Island like this, where the Stores are so numerous, and so much dispers'd in all the different	requisition for as much powder as had been used during the previous twelve months. That arrangement would keep the magazines at full strength and allow the older powder to be used up steadily in salutes and other routine firing. He considered this essential, since powder lost much of its strength with age, however dry it was kept, and eventually became unusable. Mitchell then turned to the island's need for a military storekeeper, which he expected the Council to recognise already. He pointed out that the garrison's stores were very numerous and scattered across the island. **Interpretations** The barrel of powder required from each Indiaman was a levy in kind, a form of port due paid in munitions rather than money. Because the commanders chose which barrel to hand over, they had every reason to part with their worst powder, and the inspection meant to guard against this merely led to wholesale rejection. Mitchell's proposal passed over the obvious remedy of stricter inspection and instead asked for the levy to be turned into cash. Money could not be debased at the moment of payment, and the annual requisition would bring powder from the Company's own suppliers in England. The proposal also addressed a problem of rotation. Powder stored for years lost strength through damp and the settling of its ingredients, so a magazine filled once and left untouched would slowly become worthless. Mitchell's scheme tied new supplies to the powder actually spent, and the May account showed how much that was, with 262 lb 12 oz burnt in alarms, salutes, signals and priming in a single month. Using the oldest powder for ceremonial firing kept fresh powder in reserve for defence. The call for a military storekeeper showed a gap in the island's administration. James Powell, who signed the account of sugar short received on 10 June 1765, kept the Company's general stores. The artillery's powder, shot, tools and gun parts lay in batteries across the island, and no officer had sole charge of them. Without such a post, losses and breakages like those listed in the May stores account could not be traced to any one person.
321	314	10th June Different Quarters of the Island, and where in all probability they will soon be more so, by the new Works to be erected; I apprehend such an Officer will be absolutely necessary I have the Honor to be Gentlemen Your most obt humble Servant St Helena 10th June 1765 (Signed) [A]. Mitchell James Hall and Baren Delose Centinels this day Petitioned for their discharges from the Garrison having served the Honble Company their Contracted Times Granted John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	Captain Mitchell's final point was that the stores were spread across every part of the island. The new works would probably scatter them even more widely, and he judged a military storekeeper to be essential. He signed the letter at St Helena on 10 June 1765. James Hall and Baron Delose, two sentinels in the garrison, asked the Council for their discharge because they had completed the terms they had agreed to serve the Honourable Company. The Council granted their request. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** Hall and Delose were infantry privates, known as sentinels, whereas the two men discharged on 27 May 1765 were matrosses of the artillery. Four men left the garrison within a fortnight, each time with homeward ships at anchor. The *Worcester* and *Lord Holland* were in the road on 10 June 1765, giving the newly discharged men a ready passage to England. Granting discharges when a ship was at hand prevented former soldiers from lingering on the island without pay or employment, where they would become a charge on the Company or a source of disorder.

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322	315	17th June At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th Day of June 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Captn Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 10th June 1765 Monday the 10th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ships Worcester and Lord Holland for England Friday the 14th Arrived the Van Sittarts Boat at Banks's at Half an Hour past eight o'clock in the Morning Do Do Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Van Sittart from Bengal and brought Us the following Supplies viz Invoice of Ship Van Sittart Rice Fine No 1 @ 30 30 Bags Do 60 Bazar Maunds @ 25 As P Md 103 . 14 Sugar Fine 1 @ 10 10 Bags Do 20 Factory Do @ 7 Rs P Md 140 Paddy 1 @ 15 15 Bags Do 22½ Do Do @ 14 As P Do 19 . 7 Wax Candles 4 Chests Do 8 Do Do @ 65 Rs P Do 1 @ 4 520 Batavia Arrack 1 @ 2 2 Leaguers @ 175 Rs P Leagr 375 1162 Carried Over 1162	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 17 June 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attending. The councillors read, approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 10 June 1765. They recorded that the Company's ships *Worcester* and *Lord Holland* had left for England on Monday 10 June 1765. A boat from the *Van Sittart* reached Banks's at half past eight on the morning of Friday 14 June 1765. The Company's ship *Van Sittart* came in from Bengal on the same day, carrying supplies for the island. Her invoice listed the following goods. Fine rice, bags nos. 1 to 30, 30 bags containing 66 bazaar maunds, at 25 annas a maund, 103 rupees 11 annas 0 pies Fine sugar, bags nos. 1 to 10, 10 bags containing 20 factory maunds, at 7 rupees 4 annas a maund, 145 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Paddy, bags nos. 1 to 15, 15 bags containing 22½ factory maunds, at 14 annas a maund, 19 rupees 7 annas 0 pies Wax candles, chests nos. 1 to 4, 4 chests containing 8 factory maunds, at 65 rupees a maund, 520 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batavia arrack, casks nos. 1 and 2, 2 leaguers, at 175 rupees a leaguer, 378 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Sub-total, 1,166 rupees 2 annas 0 pies **Interpretations** The invoice used two different maunds, and the distinction mattered to the price. The bazaar maund was the weight used in Bengal's local markets, at roughly 82 lb. The factory maund was the lighter standard adopted by the Company in its own warehouses, at about 74 lb. Pricing the rice in bazaar maunds and the sugar, paddy and candles in factory maunds reflected where each had been bought, and anyone checking the delivery at St Helena had to know which measure applied to each line. Paddy was rice still in its husk. Unlike husked rice, it kept longer and could be sown, and on St Helena it was probably wanted for feeding poultry and livestock or for trial planting. Its price of 14 annas a maund, against 25 annas for husked rice, showed how much of the value lay in the milling. Batavia arrack was distilled in Java from sugar cane molasses and fermented red rice, and it was reckoned the finest arrack in the eastern trade. It reached Bengal through Dutch and private traders before being shipped on. A leaguer was a large Dutch cask holding about 150 gallons, so the two leaguers amounted to roughly 300 gallons. Their arrival came after a month in which the Company's table paid about 1s 6d a bottle for arrack, against about 1s 1½d in April, and a bulk supply at Bengal prices would ease that cost. Wax candles made from beeswax burned brighter, cleaner and longer than the tallow candles in common use. At 65 rupees a maund they were by far the costliest item on the invoice. They were intended for the Castle and the Company's table, where appearances mattered, and not for the barracks or ordinary households.
323	316	17th June Brought over 1166 . 2 Charges Marchandize 95 Gunney Bags and Sowing 13 . 7 . 6 4 Empty Chests and Packages 7 . 5 . 9 1 Peon 2 . 3 . 6	The *Van Sittart*'s invoice added the costs of packing and shipping to the value of the goods brought forward. Brought forward, 1,166 rupees 2 annas 0 pies Packing and shipping charges: 95 gunny bags and sewing, 13 rupees 7 annas 6 pies 4 empty chests and packing materials, 7 rupees 5 annas 9 pies 1 peon, 2 rupees 3 annas 6 pies

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		Cooleys Victuals 4 Weighmen 5 . 6 Mootes 5 . 13 Sloophire 34 . 10 Boathire 6 . 7 . 9 20 Matts 1 . 10 82 . 3 Current Rupees 1248 . 5 Errors Excepted Fr (Signed) Richd Watts Sub Accompt Ordered the following Advertizement to be Published viz	Food for the coolies, 0 rupees 4 annas 0 pies Weighmen, 0 rupees 5 annas 6 pies Porters, 3 rupees 13 annas 0 pies Hire of a sloop, 34 rupees 10 annas 0 pies Hire of a boat, 6 rupees 7 annas 9 pies 20 mats, 1 rupee 10 annas 0 pies Total charges, 82 rupees 3 annas 0 pies Total in current rupees, 1,248 rupees 5 annas 0 pies Richard Watts signed the invoice as sub-accountant, reserving the right to correct any errors found later. The Council then ordered a public notice to be issued. **Interpretations** The current rupee was not a coin but the money of account used in the Company's Bengal books. Actual payments were made in sicca rupees, the newly minted coins of the Mughal mint, which were worth about 16 per cent more than the current rupee. Keeping accounts in current rupees gave the Company a fixed unit for recording prices, whatever the mix of new and worn coins that actually changed hands. The charges show how goods reached an Indiaman in Bengal. Large ships could not come up the Hooghly as far as Calcutta, so cargo was carried downriver by sloop and boat to anchorages near the river mouth. The sloop hire was by far the largest charge, making up over 40 per cent of the extra costs. Gunny bags were coarse sacks woven from jute or hemp, used for rice, paddy and sugar. Peons were servants employed as messengers or guards, here perhaps to watch the goods in transit, while the porters and coolies carried loads between warehouse, scales and boat. The charges added a little under seven per cent to the cost of the goods. Charging these costs to St Helena, rather than absorbing them in Bengal, meant the island's accounts bore the true cost of its supplies from India.
324	317	1765 Island St Helena 17th June 1765 This is to give Notice to all the Planters upon the said Island that there will be but one Beast killed a Week for the Market as the Stock of Cattle will not admit of more for the remainder of this Year, They are therefore desired to supply the Market on a Wednesday with what Pork Mutton and Goat they possibly can & that all such Meat they may Send there will be certainly sold As the employing of a Long Boat here has been always attended with the Expence of a Shilling a Day P each Man, and as it is necessary to have Six for that Purpose; Upon Calculation of the amount of the Expence we find it will be Ninety three pounds eighteen Shillings a Year Sundays not included, And as for the time to come it will require the constant attendance of Boats for the repairs of the Fortifications as well as all other occasional services, Therefore think fit as the most reasonable and Cheapest Way to the Honorable Company to fix the said Men at six pounds a Year each salary, and allow them two Pieces of Salt Meat P Week among them which with the Salary, will amount to no more than forty six pounds, eight Shillings P Annum Counted and examined the Honble Company's Cash for the Month of May last, which is as follows viz	At St Helena on 17 June 1765, the Council issued a notice to all the island's planters. It announced that only one head of cattle a week would be slaughtered for the market for the rest of the year, since the herds could not bear more. The planters were asked to bring as much pork, mutton and goat meat as they could to the market every Wednesday. The Council assured them that all the meat they sent would find buyers. The Council also considered the cost of manning a longboat. Six men were needed to crew it, and each had always been paid 1s 0d for every day's work. On that basis the boat cost £93 18s 0d a year, excluding Sundays. The Council expected that boats would be needed constantly in future, both for repairing the fortifications and for other duties as they arose. It judged that the fairest and cheapest course was to put the six men on a fixed wage of £6 0s 0d a year each. They would also share two pieces of salt meat a week between them. Wages and meat together would cost no more than £46 8s 0d a year. The Council then counted the Honourable Company's cash for May and checked it against the books. **Interpretations** The longboat decision replaced day hire with a standing crew at less than half the cost. Paying 1s 0d a day was the obvious arrangement while boats were needed only from time to time, and it left the Company free of any obligation when the boat lay idle. The Council passed over that course because it now expected work for the boat every day, driven by the repairs to the fortifications that Captain Mitchell's letter of 10 June 1765 had set in motion. Once the

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			boat was in constant use, day wages would reach £93 18s 0d a year, while salaried men with a meat allowance cost £46 8s 0d. The men gave up the higher daily rate in return for secure yearly pay and food. The limit of one beast a week for the market extended the Council's efforts to protect the Company's cattle. On 13 May 1765 it had cut the counting of the herds from monthly to quarterly to spare the animals from rough handling, and in May the Company's table had already shifted towards mutton, lambs and kids. The notice now pushed the whole island in the same direction. The Company controlled the slaughter of cattle for sale, so reducing the weekly kill was within its power, but it could not order planters to supply other meat. The promise that every joint would sell was the incentive offered to draw pork, mutton and goat into the market and keep the garrison and townspeople fed.
325	318	17th June Cash Dr 1765 May 1st To Balance remaining £ 7737 . 1 . 5 4th To Ship Latham received the Balance of her Account 44 . 4 . 3 To Ship Lord Mansfield received Do 16 . 16 . 9 6th To Exchange for one Set of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Capt Peter Lea for 292 11th To Ship British King received the Balance of her Account 46 . 1 To Ship Norfolk Do 141 . 1 To Ship Northumberland Do 15 . 12 . 7 To Exchange for two Sets of Bills drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors payable as follows viz One Set to Mr John James for £ 70 One Do to Captain Peter Rigou 605 . 1 . 6 675 . 1 . 6 20th To Exchange for Two Sets of Bills drawn as above payable as follow viz One Set to Capt. Francis Dupont for £ 32 One Set to Mr Edward Young 445 477 27th To Exchange for 3 Sets of Bills drawn as above payable as follow viz One Set to John Bladen Tinker Esqr £ 351 One Do to Mr James Renwicke 72 One Do to Roger Tiler 102 . 4 525 . 4 £ 9249 . 1 . 7	The Company's cash account for May 1765 recorded the following money received. 1 May 1765, balance brought forward, £7,737 1s 5d 4 May 1765, the ship *Latham* paid the balance owing on her account, £44 4s 3d The ship *Lord Mansfield* paid the balance owing on her account, £16 16s 9d 6 May 1765, cash taken in exchange for one set of bills drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to Captain Peter Lea, £292 0s 0d 11 May 1765, the ship *British King* paid the balance owing on her account, £46 0s 1d The ship *Norfolk* paid the balance owing on her account, £141 0s 0d The ship *Northumberland* paid the balance owing on her account, £15 12s 7d Cash taken in exchange for two sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors: One set payable to John James, £70 0s 0d One set payable to Captain Peter Rigou, £605 1s 6d Total for the two sets, £675 1s 6d 20 May 1765, cash taken in exchange for two further sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors: One set payable to Captain Francis Dupont, £32 0s 0d One set payable to Edward Young, £445 0s 0d Total for the two sets, £477 0s 0d 27 May 1765, cash taken in exchange for three sets of bills drawn on the Court of Directors: One set payable to John Bladen Tinker, £351 0s 0d One set payable to James Renwick, £72 0s 0d One set payable to Roger Tiler, £102 4s 0d Total for the three sets, £525 4s 0d Total received, £9,249 1s 7d **Interpretations** The five ships that paid their balances in May did so in the days just before they sailed. The *Latham* and *Lord Mansfield* settled on 4 May 1765 and left on 7 May, while the *British King*, *Norfolk* and *Northumberland* paid on 11 May and sailed on 13 May, as the artillery account recorded. Settlement was a condition of departure. A ship that had drawn water, provisions and stores could not leave the road until her commander had cleared her account with the treasury, which gave the Council firm control over what passing ships owed. Bills of exchange brought in £1,969 5s 6d in May, against £1,570 0s 0d in April, and they now made up the larger share of new money entering the treasury. The heavy traffic of homeward ships and the visit of the King's squadron under Commodore Tinker brought officers and passengers with coin to remit. Captain Rigou's single bill for £605 1s 6d was

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			the largest of the month and suggested a substantial private fortune being sent home from the East.
326	319	1765 Per Contra Cr 1765 May 31st By Balance remaining viz £ s d In Specie [...]09 . 6 . 7 In Cash Notes of no Use 539 . 15 £ 9249 . 1 . 7	Against the receipts for May 1765, the treasury held the following balance on 31 May 1765. Coin in hand, £8,709 6s 7d Cash notes that could not be put to use, £539 15s 0d Total balance, £9,249 1s 7d **Interpretations** Coin in the treasury rose from £7,197 6s 5d at the end of April to £8,709 6s 7d at the end of May, an increase of £1,512 0s 2d. The rise came entirely from the settlement of five homeward ships' accounts and the heavy sale of bills on London during the visit of the King's squadron. As in April, no payments were entered against the cash, so the whole of the month's receipts passed straight into the reserve. The unusable cash notes stood at exactly £539 15s 0d in both months. The Council had evidently found no way to redeem or spend them, and they remained a fixed dead weight within the balance. Carrying them forward unchanged month after month kept them in view of the directors, who alone could decide whether to write them off or arrange their redemption elsewhere.
327	320	17th June Mr Matthew Bazett the Honorable Companys Overseer dying the 9th instant We this day discharged Thomas Warne Soldier from the Garrison, and appointed him to succeed to that employ at the usual Salary as he has been always bred to Farming We think he will do very well for that Station John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 24th Day of June 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Captain Thoms Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 17th June 1765 Yesterday Died Elizabeth Daughter of Thomas Harper Clerk of the Market Mr Matthew Burling Reports that he has been on board the Ship Van Sittart to Muster Her Company and enquire for deserters but found none her Muster is as follows viz	Matthew Bazett, the Honourable Company's overseer, died on 9 June 1765. The Council released Thomas Warne, a soldier, from the garrison and appointed him to fill the vacant post at the usual salary. Warne had been brought up to farming, and the Council considered him well suited to the work. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Monday 24 June 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attending. The councillors read, approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 17 June 1765. They recorded the death on 23 June 1765 of Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Harper, the clerk of the market. Matthew Burling reported that he had gone aboard the *Van Sittart* to count her crew and search for deserters, and had found none. He handed in the ship's crew list. **Interpretations** Filling the overseer's post from the ranks of the garrison was not the obvious course. Settlers and planters on the island had direct knowledge of its land and stock, and one of them might have seemed the natural successor. The Council instead chose Warne for his upbringing in farming, and his discharge from the army was the means of making the appointment. Drawing a Company servant from the soldiery kept the post in the hands of a man already bound to the Company's discipline, rather than a planter with his own land and interests to protect. The overseer managed the Company's own plantations, its livestock and the slaves who worked them. The post carried particular weight at this moment, when the Council had cut the counting of the herds to once a quarter on 13 May 1765 and limited the market to one beast a week on 17 June 1765. Bazett's death, just as those measures were taking effect, left the Company's farming without direction, and the Council filled the vacancy within a fortnight. The clerk of the market was a Company officer who supervised sales in Jamestown's public market, checking weights, prices and the quality of meat and produce. Thomas Harper's office gave practical force

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			to the notice of 17 June 1765, since the Wednesday market for pork, mutton and goat would run under his supervision.
328	321	24th June Muster Roll of Ship Van Sittart Richd Lewin Commander Robt Carr Chief Mate John Gonzins 2d Mate Wm Parker 3d Do Jn Sinhouse 4th Mate Thos Earths 5th Do David Belfour Surgeon Andrew Mowet Gunner Wm Huges Boatswain Aaron Peter Carpenter William Clay Ship Steward John Firth Capt Do Bryant Benson Midsh[...] Wm Sinton Do Francis Hall Do Will Phillips Do John Porter Do Grovenor Anfield Do Francis McGee Do James West Do David Viney Quart Mast Wm Fife Do John Muny Do Michl Beverage Do John Coldworth Do John Oaly Do Richd Eeles Caulker Wm Tayler Cooper Saml Carl Capt Cook Arnd Wineing Ships Do George Hanborough Sail mak Richd Eccles Carpenters Mte John Warner Gunners Do John Carey Boatsn Do James Apworth Do Do Dugald McDonald Corpeld Do James Fox Armourer Thoms McCormack Joyner Robert Fell Butcher Nich Norton Poulterer Peter Paul Cooks Mate Edward Hutchinson Seamn James West Andrew Anderson Thoms Jameson Edward Townsend James Lawson James Webann John Hyde Thomas White John Child John Rogers John Brown Seaman Henry Browman Benj Smith John Gilchrist Lewis Davis Andrew Purvis Peter Peterson Francis Carraro Christian Morrow Thomas Harracks Andrew Muldrum Willm Blinding John Harmon Thoms Taylor John Gaderland Andrew Simon Joseph Dominick Jacob Davis	The *Van Sittart*'s crew list set out the following men. Richard Lewin, commander Robert Carr, chief mate John Gouzins, second mate William Parker, third mate Jo. Sinhouse, fourth mate Thomas Earths, fifth mate David Belfour, surgeon Andrew Mewet, gunner William Hughes, boatswain Aaron Peter, carpenter William Clay, ship's steward John Firth, captain's steward Bryant Benson, midshipman William Linton, midshipman Francis Hall, midshipman Will Phillips, midshipman John Porter, midshipman Grosvenor Aspele, midshipman Francis McGee, midshipman James West, midshipman David Viney, quartermaster William Fife, quartermaster John Muny, quartermaster Michael Beverage, quartermaster John Goodworth, quartermaster John Caly, quartermaster Richard Eccles, caulker William Taylor, cooper Ed. Carl, captain's cook Arnd. Wincing, ship's cook George Hanborough, sailmaker Richard Eeles, carpenter's mate John Warner, gunner's mate John Curry, boatswain's mate James Epworth, boatswain's mate Dugald McDonald, cooper's mate James Fox, armourer Thomas McCormack, joiner Robert Fell, butcher Michael Norton, poulterer Peter Paul, cook's mate Edward Hutchinson, seaman James West Andrew Anderson Thomas Jameson Edward Townsend James Lawson James Weburn John Hyde Thomas White John Child John Rogers John Brown, seaman Henry Brownin Benjamin Smith John Gilchrist Lewis Davis Andrew Purvis Peter Peterson Francis Carraro Christian Morrow Thomas Harracks Andrew Muldrum William Blinding John Harmon Thomas Taylor John Gaderland Andrew Simon Joseph Dominick Jacob Davis

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		John Williams John Loyal Jeremiah Gilstrap Pierre Lami Dulubois Frederick Homfort Charles Friedrick John Lock Wm Marchant	John Williams John Loyal Jeremiah Gilstrap Pierre Laurent Lulubois Frederick Hornport Charles Friedrich John Lock William Merchant
329	322	24th June James Peterson Seaman John Hawkes Thomas Hill Daniel McCormack Peter Alexander John Lea Seaman Henry Hawkings Wm George James Tibourn Wm Bartlet Geo. Darlwell Charles Renck James Gordon Thomas Midleof Passengers Matthews Johnston Crofton Sexton Palmer Captains Wakely Nevill Humphries Lieutenants Messrs Grant Geo Palmer Edwards Perry Daniel McCormack Daniel Dee John Lucas John McConnicka Thoms Hill Richd Money John Young John McIntire Robert Carr Peter Durrat James Smith Allen Sterling William Wright Alexander McKay Willm Dick John Almond John Ashton George Brown Saml Campbell Thomas Claybrook William Fletcher John Gorman Robert Gillis Neal Graham Daniel King John Henderson John King William McFarling Mattw McCubbing John Mattheuson Archd McLaughlin	The *Van Sittart*'s crew list closed with the remaining seamen. James Peterson, seaman John Hawker Thomas Hill Daniel McCormack Peter Alexander John Fea, seaman Henry Hawkings William George James Gibourn William Bartlet George Darlwell Charles Bench James Gordon Thomas Mildeep The ship also carried the following passengers. Captain Matthews Captain Johnston Captain Crofton Captain Lefton Lieutenant Palmer Lieutenant Wakely Lieutenant Nevill Lieutenant Humphries Mr Grant Mr Gee Mr Palmer Mr Edwards Mr Perry Daniel McCormack Daniel Due John Lucas John McConnicka Thomas Hill Richard Money John Young John McIntire Robert Carr Peter Durrat James Smith Allen Sterling William Wright Sylvester McKay William Dick John Almond John Ashton George Brown Samuel Campbell Thomas Claybrook William Fletcher John Gorman Robert Gillis Neil Graham Daniel King John Henderson John King William McFarling Matthew McCubbing John Matthewson Archibald McLaughlin
330	323	1765 Charles Morgan Walter Murry John McKenzie	The passenger list for the *Van Sittart* concluded with the following names. Charles Morgan Walter Murry

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		John McPhillips James Munnel Robt Paterson John Palmer Richd Peacock Andrew Robb Willm Reed William Stevenson William Simpson Robt Steward Danl Southerland William Stead David Waterson (Signed) Richd Lewin The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from Ship Van Sittart viz Account of Stores Short received from Ship Van Sittart viz 1 . 3 . 2 1 . 1 . 19 2 . 7 10 Short Weight 1 Leaguer Arrack gages 155 Galls wants to fill 8 Galls 1 Do Do 145 Galls Do 6 Galls 300 Galls 14 Galls Recd 286 Galls (Signed) James Powell Storekeepr St Helena 24th June 1765	John McKenzie John McPhillip James Murrell Robert Paterson John Palmer Richard Peacock Andrew Robb William Reed William Stevenson William Simpson Robert Steward Daniel Southerland William Stead David Waterson Richard Lewin signed the list as commander. The storekeeper presented the Council with a statement of goods from the *Van Sittart* that had arrived short. The four weight shortfalls were entered without commodity names. They are set out below in the order of the four weighed goods on the ship's invoice, from which the commodities have been carried in. Rice short in weight, 1 cwt 3 qr 2 lb Sugar short in weight, 1 cwt 1 qr 19 lb Paddy short in weight, 0 cwt 2 qr 7 lb Wax candles short in weight, 0 cwt 0 qr 10 lb 1 leaguer of arrack, gauged at 155 gallons, 8 gallons short of full 1 leaguer of arrack, gauged at 145 gallons, 6 gallons short of full Total arrack by gauge, 300 gallons Total arrack short, 14 gallons Total arrack received, 286 gallons James Powell signed the statement as storekeeper at St Helena on 24 June 1765. **Interpretations** The arrack casks were measured by gauging, in which an officer used a graduated rod to calculate a cask's full capacity from its dimensions and then measured the empty space left above the liquid. Spirits leaked through the staves and evaporated on a long voyage in warm latitudes, and casks were sometimes tapped by the crew. The storekeeper's figure of 286 gallons received out of 300 recorded a loss of nearly five per cent, and his signed statement fixed the shortfall so that it could be charged against the ship. The *Van Sittart*'s losses were far heavier than the 29 lb of sugar the *Lord Holland* delivered short on 10 June 1765. The rice alone fell short by 198 lb and the sugar by 159 lb. Goods in gunny bags lost weight more readily than goods in chests, through spillage, damp and pilfering, and the Bengal cargo travelled almost entirely in bags. The Canton sugar, packed in chests, arrived with a much smaller deficit.
331	324	24th June We this day received the following Letter from Captain Mitchell viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor & Council of St Helena Gentlemen The Repairs of the Castle being now so far compleated, as to admit of the greatest Part of the Honorable Company's Workmen being otherwise employed; I therefore propose (with the approbation of the Governor and Council) forthwith to set about the Execution of that part of the Companys Instructions, relative to the Repairs of the several Fortifications of this Island For this Purpose I have collected and burnt a sufficient Quantity of Lime for the Immediate Prosecution of	The Council received another letter from Captain Mitchell, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Mitchell reported that the repairs to the Castle were far enough advanced for most of the Company's workmen to be moved to other tasks. With the approval of the Governor and Council, he proposed to begin at once on the part of the Company's instructions dealing with repairs to the island's fortifications. Mitchell had already gathered and burnt enough lime to start this important work straight away. His discovery of several kinds of limestone on the island meant, in his estimate, that the Company could now obtain its main building material for less than a quarter of the cost and labour it had required in recent years. He intended to start with the Lower Battery at Banks's. Floodwater pouring into that valley from the surrounding hills had so weakened the arch that

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		this Important Work, and by the Discoveries, I have made of various kinds of Limestone on the Island I may venture to say the Honble Companys Works here will be supplied with this principal Article at less than One Quarter the Expence as well as Labour it has cost them for some Time past. I intend beginning with the Lower Battery at Banks's, where the Impetuosity of the Torrents of Water that Center in that Valley from the Adjacent Hills, have so far damaged the Arch through which it passes, which supports a Part of the Rampart, as to render it necessary to pull that Part intirely down. **Margin Notes:** [...]	carried the stream beneath the battery that part of the rampart resting on it would have to be demolished completely. **Interpretations** Mitchell's claim that lime would now cost less than a quarter of its former price followed directly from his letter of 10 June 1765. In that letter he had reported the discovery of limestone on the island and asked for coal to burn it, pointing out that the Court had sent out 80 tons of limestone by the previous year's store ships. By 24 June 1765 he had already burnt a working stock, which suggested he had used whatever fuel was to hand rather than wait for coal from England. Local lime freed the building programme from the annual store fleet and made large-scale repairs affordable for the first time. Batteries at the mouths of St Helena's valleys were built across the course of the streams that ran down them to the sea. An arch or culvert beneath the rampart let the water through while keeping the defensive wall continuous. After heavy rain, the steep and bare hillsides sent sudden torrents down these narrow valleys, and the arch at Banks's had been undermined by them. Mitchell's decision to take down the damaged section entirely, rather than patch the arch, reflected the judgement that a weakened culvert would fail again in the next flood and bring the rampart above it down with it. Mitchell framed his plans as a proposal awaiting the Council's approval, even though he had already burnt the lime. The Company's instructions on fortifications came from London, but their execution on the island still depended on the Governor and Council, who controlled the workmen, the stores and the money. Seeking their consent kept the engineer within the chain of civil authority that governed the island.
332	325	1765 As the Present Arch has been built considerably too narrow for the Quantity of Water that must sometimes pass thro' it. I therefore propose to Construct One a Good deal wider, and otherwise to secure effectually this Part of the Battery from being hurt by any Future Floods; The Portcullis being rotten will likewise require to be renewed The other Repairs wanting to Compleat this Battery will consist in new pointing the whole; In taking up the Pebble Stones with which the Rampart is very improperly pav'd and in improving the Banquette, which in its present Form is altogether useless. The Platforms likewise on this Battery as well as on every other on the Island, will require being new laid and much enlarged. Over the left of this Work hangs a large Rock, so loose, that the least Shock, such as firing One of the Guns would certainly bring it down, & by that Means greatly injure the Battery. I am therefore of Opinion it would be necessary to blow it up. As soon as the above Repairs are finished I shall acquaint you, and shall then propose such further Repairs to the other Works as shall appear proper As there is at present a great Deficiency of Stonelayers belonging to the Company, there not being more than three fit for	Captain Mitchell went on to explain that the existing arch at Banks's had been built far too narrow for the volume of water that sometimes had to pass through it. He proposed to build a much wider one and to take other steps to protect that part of the battery from future floods. The portcullis had rotted and would also have to be replaced. The rest of the work needed on the battery was to repoint all the masonry, to lift the pebbles laid unsuitably as paving on the rampart, and to improve the firing step. In its present shape the step served no purpose. The gun platforms on this battery, and on every other on the island, would have to be relaid and made much larger. A large rock hung so loosely above the left side of the battery that the slightest jolt, even the firing of a gun, would bring it down and cause serious damage. Mitchell therefore judged that it would have to be blown up. He promised to report to the Council once these repairs were finished. He would then recommend whatever further work on the other fortifications seemed necessary. The Company was badly short of stonemasons, with no more than three men fit for regular work. Mitchell suggested that the repairs would move far faster if Governor Skottowe and the Council could name suitable people to employ in this trade. He had already set aside several of the newly arrived slaves. **Interpretations** The slaves Mitchell had set aside were probably drawn from those the *Royal George* landed from Angola. On 27 May 1765 the Council had forwarded 150 of the 236 to Sumatra and kept 86 on the island in line with the Company's orders. Within a month some of them were being assigned to the Company's building works. The shortage of skilled stonemasons made slave labour the Council's readiest means of expanding its workforce, and training slaves in

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		constant Work; It will therefore tend much to expedite these Repairs, if the Governor and Council can point out any Persons proper to be employed in this Branch I have already set a part several of the new Slaves to be	masonry turned them into a lasting asset for the Company's defence programme. Mitchell's objection to the pebble paving rested on a basic principle of fortification. When enemy shot struck a rampart paved with loose, rounded stones, the pebbles flew out like grapeshot and caused heavy casualties among the gun crews. Flat, bedded paving or earth reduced that danger. The banquette was the raised step behind a parapet on which soldiers stood to fire over it, and a step of the wrong height left them either exposed or unable to aim. Gun platforms were the floors of timber or stone on which carriages stood and recoiled. Larger guns and heavier charges needed longer platforms to absorb the recoil safely, and Mitchell's call to enlarge every platform on the island implied that the existing ones had been laid for smaller or fewer guns than the defences now required.
333	326	24th June be instructed in this Profession but it will be some time before they can be of much use I have the Honour to be Gentlemen Your most Obedient and most humble St Helena Servant 24th June 1765 (Signed) A. Mitchell Having considered the above Letter we approve of the Measures the Engineer has laid before Us, with respect to Banks's Lower Fortification, and have in consequence thereof Ordered all the Masons belonging to the Honorable Company to be employed for the Expediting that Work. The Widow and Executrix to the last Will and Testament of Mr Matthew Bazett 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 viz In the Name of God, Amen. I Matthew Bazett of the Island St Helena being weak of Body, but of sound Mind and Memory (blessed be God) do this Seventh day of June in the fifth Year of the Reign of our	Captain Mitchell explained that the slaves he had set aside were to be trained as masons, though they would not be of much use for some time. He signed the letter at St Helena on 24 June 1765. The Council considered the letter and approved the measures the engineer had proposed for the lower fortification at Banks's. It ordered every mason in the Company's service to be put to work there so that the repairs could be finished quickly. The widow of the late Matthew Bazett, who was also the executrix of his will, brought the will before the Council and asked for it to be proved. The Council granted probate after the witnesses to the will had given their evidence on oath. Bazett opened his will with a dedication to God. He described himself as a resident of St Helena who was physically weak but still clear in mind and memory. He made the will on 7 June 1765. **Interpretations** The Council's decision to send every Company mason to Banks's went beyond what Mitchell had asked. He had proposed to begin there and then move on to other works, and had requested more stonemasons to speed the programme. The Council could have divided its three or so skilled masons between Banks's and other tasks, as it had done while the Castle was under repair. Concentrating them all on one battery reflected the urgency of the damaged arch, since a single heavy flood could bring down the rampart before the work was done. Probate on St Helena lay with the Governor and Council, who acted as the island's court for wills and estates as well as its government. By hearing the witnesses on oath and then accepting the will, the Council gave the widow legal authority to collect debts, sell goods and distribute Bazett's property. Without that grant she could not act for the estate. Bazett made his will on 7 June 1765 and died two days later, on 9 June. His son Charles had died on 30 May 1765. The timing showed that Bazett drew up his will only when his own death was clearly close, perhaps from the same illness that had taken his son.
334	327	1765 our Sovereign Lord George the third, and in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and Sixty five, make and publish this my last Will and Testament in Manner and Form following, [that is to say:] Imprimis, I commend my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God, who gave it; And my Body to the Earth from whence it Came, in Hopes of a Joyful Resurrection through the Merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ; And as	Bazett dated his will in the fifth year of the reign of King George III, which was 1765. He commended his soul to God and asked for his body to be buried, in the hope of rising again through Christ. He then set out how his property was to be distributed. His debts and funeral costs were to be paid first. He left everything he owned to his wife, Martha Bazett, including land and goods of every kind and wherever situated. The bequest covered property he held at his death, whether in hand or due to come to him in the future. Martha was to own it all outright, with the right to pass it to her heirs or transfer it to anyone else. He named her as sole executrix. He

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		for that Wordly Estate wherewith it has pleased God to Bless me, I Dispose thereof as follows, First, I will that my Debts and funeral Charges shall be paid and discharged. Item, I give unto my Loving Wife Martha Bazett all and Singular the Estate both Real and personal, whatsoever and wheresoever, whereof I shall die Seized in Possession, Reversion or Remainder, for her, her Heirs and Assigns to have and enjoy for ever; And I make and Ordain her my said Wife sole Exectrix of this my Will, and my Loving Brother and good Friend Thomas Bazett Overseer thereof, to take Care and and see the same performed, according to my true Intent and Meaning, Hereby revoking, annulling and making Void all former Wills and Testaments by me heretofore made. In Witness whereof, I the said Matthew Bazett have to This my last Will and Testament set my Hand and Seal, the Day and Year above written. Signed, Sealed and Delivered (Signed) by the Testator, as and for his Matthew Bazett last Will and Testament in the Presence of us, who were present at the signing and Sealing thereof (Signed) Phill. Mahony Thomas Harper	appointed his brother and friend Thomas Bazett to supervise the will and make sure it was carried out as he intended. The will cancelled any earlier wills he had made. Matthew Bazett signed and sealed the will. Phill. Mahony and Thomas Harper signed as witnesses, confirming that they had seen him sign and seal it and declare it to be his last will. **Interpretations** The words covering property held in possession, reversion or remainder reached beyond what Bazett held at his death to include rights that would only fall to him later. A reversion was the right to recover property once a lease or life interest granted to someone else came to an end. A remainder was a future interest that took effect after an earlier estate expired. On St Helena, where the Company owned the land and leased it to settlers, such clauses ensured that any lease renewals, reversions or other future claims passed to Martha rather than lapsing or reverting to the Company. Leaving the whole estate to Martha outright, to her heirs and assigns, gave her complete freedom to sell, mortgage or bequeath it as she chose. The will made no mention of children. Bazett's son Charles had died on 30 May 1765, a week before the will was drawn up, and no other child appeared in it. The overseer of a will had no legal title to the estate but acted as a guardian of its administration. He could challenge the executrix if she neglected her duties and advise her in dealing with creditors and the Council. Naming his brother Thomas gave Martha a male relative to support her in the island's courts and business, where a widow acting alone could face difficulty. Thomas Harper, one of the witnesses, was the clerk of the market whose daughter Elizabeth died on 23 June 1765. His presence at Bazett's bedside on 7 June 1765 showed how closely the Company's small circle of officers was bound together in the island's affairs.
335	328	24th June Mr Richard Beale this day presented the following Petition viz Island St Helena. To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor & ca & Council The Petition of Richard Beale most humbly setteth forth and Sheweth, That your Petitioner hath been in the Service of the Honorable Company for about Sixty Years past, That before his Admission into the said Service, their Honors allow'd a Capable man out of their Garrison at this Island, made duty free, to instruct the Youth of this Island, with the Garrison Salary of £ 15 . 16 . P Annum, That the same Allowance was granted your Petitioner in the Year 1725, and which hath been continued to him ever since, for his care of instructing the Youth (which he now follows) to this present time, That for some years past, the Garrison's Salary hath been increased, But the said Addition hath not been paid, or requested by your Petitioner, That he hath Officiated as Judge Advocate Upwards of Ten years, and the Garrison being now pretty full, consequently Court-martials more	Richard Beale presented a petition to the Council, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council and dated 24 June 1765. Beale explained that he had served the Honourable Company for about 40 years. Before he joined, the directors had allowed a suitable man to be taken from the garrison and freed from military duty to teach the island's children. That man received a soldier's pay of £15 10s 0d a year. Beale was given the same allowance in 1725 to take charge of the children's teaching, and he had received it ever since while carrying on the work. For some years the garrison's pay had been higher, but Beale had neither received the increase nor asked for it. He had also acted as judge advocate for more than ten years. The garrison was now close to full strength, so courts martial had become more frequent, and at his advanced age he was finding the duties of that post increasingly heavy. Beale asked the Council to take account of his long service and to raise his salary by whatever amount it thought fair. **Interpretations** Beale's salary as schoolmaster was pegged to a private soldier's pay rather than set as a civil stipend. The arrangement dated from a time when the teacher was a soldier released from duty, and it meant his income was tied to the military establishment. When the garrison's pay was raised, the increase should in principle have followed, but because Beale was no longer a serving soldier it had simply been overlooked. His petition exposed how an informal arrangement from the Company's early years had left

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		frequent, he finds the duty of the said Office begin to fall heavy upon him, as he is now far advanced in Years. Your Petitioner humbly submits the consideration of his long Services to Your mature judgments, Praying some Augmentation to his Salary, As you shall think Adequate and proper, And as in duty bound shall ever pray. June the 24th 1765, (Signed) Richd Beale	a long-serving officer paid at a rate set four decades earlier. A judge advocate at a court martial managed the prosecution, advised the court on military law, took down the evidence and recorded the sentence. Beale had carried out this work for over a decade without, it seems, any extra payment. A fuller garrison meant more trials for desertion, drunkenness, theft and insubordination, and each hearing fell on him. The Council's reliance on the island's schoolmaster to serve as its military lawyer showed how thinly qualified men were spread in so small a settlement. The petition's reference to the garrison being nearly full connected with recent events. The Council had released several soldiers on completion of their terms in May and June 1765, but new recruits evidently kept the numbers up. A larger garrison brought more offences and more courts martial, adding to the burden on a man who was, by the petition's own account, well into old age.
336	329	1765 We agreed to recommend the above Petition to the Honorable Company's Consideration. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 1st Day of July 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieutenant Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed dated the 24th June 1765 Tuesday the 25th Arrived the Valentine's Boat at Banks's half an hour past ten o'Clock in the morning Do Do the Honorable Company's Ship Valentine from China Wednesday the 26th Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Van Sittart for England	The Council agreed to pass Richard Beale's petition to the Honourable Company with its recommendation. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Monday 1 July 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attending. The councillors read, approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 24 June 1765. A boat from the *Valentine* reached Banks's at half past ten on the morning of Tuesday 25 June 1765. The Company's ship *Valentine* arrived from China on the same day. The *Van Sittart* left for England on Wednesday 26 June 1765. **Interpretations** Beale had asked the Council itself to raise his salary by whatever amount it judged fair. The Council did not grant a rise on its own authority but forwarded the petition to London with a favourable recommendation. The salaries of the island's establishment were fixed by the directors, and any increase the Council awarded without their sanction could be disallowed and charged against the councillors. Referring the petition protected the Council while still lending its support, but it also meant Beale would wait many months for an answer carried by ships to England and back.
337	330	1st July Captain Skottowe acquainting Us that the Slaves were properly refreshed and the Ship Royal George ready to proceed on the Voyage, We this day gave him sailing Orders in writing to make the best of his way to Fort Marlborough according to the Instructions he had received from the Honorable the Court of Directors, to whom we likewise gave the following Letter to the President and Council of Fort Marlborough viz To the Honorable Roger Carter Esqr President and Governor & ca Council of Fort Marlborough Honorable Sir and Sirs We take this opportunity by our Honorable Masters Ship Royal George, of Addressing you and agreeable to their Orders have consigned to you one hundred and fifty Slaves	Captain Skottowe informed the Council that the slaves had recovered their strength and that the *Royal George* was ready to continue her voyage. The Council gave him written orders to sail for Fort Marlborough as quickly as possible, following the instructions he had received from the Court of Directors. It also entrusted him with a letter to Roger Carter, the President at Fort Marlborough, and his Council. In that letter, the Council explained that it was using the *Royal George* to write to them. As the directors had ordered, it was sending them 150 slaves, as listed in the enclosed bill of lading. The Council also enclosed an account of the provisions and stores supplied to the ship for the voyage. A further account showed the food used for the slaves while they were on the island and the supplies loaded for them on board. Following the Company's orders, the Council had paid the captain and the chief mate their commission for buying the slaves at Cabinda. Commission to the captain on 236 slaves at 15s 0d each, £177 0s 0d

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		According to the Bill of Lading Enclosed We likewise transmit to you an Account of Provision and Stores supplied the Ship for the Voyage, also of what Provision has been expended here and put on board for the use of the Slaves. Agreeable to the Honorable Companys Orders we have paid the Capt. and Chief Mate their Commission for Purchasing Slaves at Cabinda, which is as follows viz To the Capt. for 236 Slaves @ 15/ each £ 177 To the Chief Mate for 236 Do @ 5/ each 59 £ 236 You will receive Enclosed a Packet directed to you from	Commission to the chief mate on 236 slaves at 5s 0d each, £59 0s 0d Total, £236 0s 0d The Council added that it was enclosing a packet addressed to the President and Council. **Interpretations** The commission paid to the captain and chief mate was a per-head reward for purchasing slaves, and it gave the ship's officers a direct stake in the number they acquired. The Company fixed the rate at 15s 0d for the captain and 5s 0d for the mate on every slave bought, so the pair received £1 0s 0d between them for each person. Paying it on all 236 at St Helena, although only 150 went on to Sumatra, showed that the reward was earned by the purchase itself, not by delivery at the final destination. The arrangement encouraged officers to buy as many as possible, with the risk of deaths on the voyage falling on the Company rather than on them. Cabinda lay on the Loango coast north of the mouth of the Congo river, and it was one of the busiest slave markets in West-Central Africa. The Council had described the *Royal George* on 27 May 1765 as arriving from Angola, a term then applied broadly to the whole coast south of the equator. English, French and Dutch traders all bought there, often from local brokers who brought captives down from the interior. The halt at St Helena gave the slaves about five weeks ashore between the Atlantic crossing and the long passage round the Cape to Sumatra. The Council's concern that they were properly recovered before sailing reflected the Company's financial interest in their survival. The account of provisions used on the island and loaded for the voyage would be set against the cost of the whole scheme, so that the directors could judge what each slave delivered to Fort Marlborough had cost.
338	331	1765 from the Honorable Company together with several other Papers as P List sent. We have taken this opportunity of consigning to you four Pair of Smiths Bellows as P Invoice and Bill of Lading Enclosed, apprehending they may be of use to your settlement. We wish success to the Honorable Company's affairs under your direction, And are with esteem Honorable Sir and Sirs Your most Obedient humble Servants (Signed) John Skottowe Danl Corneille St Helena M Burling 1st July 1765 Thos Kirkpatrick P.S. Capt. Skottowe upon signing the Bill of Lading having Objected to the Condition of the Bellows set forth therein, As they have been here some time and consequently cannot be so good as when we first received them; nevertheless have sent them, as we suppose they may be of use. The Lieut. Governor representing to the Council the necessity of having a Superintendant of the Honorable Companys Slaves for seeing them Victualled, Clothed, and allotted to their respective departments of daily Work, and have the entire care and management of them; We thought proper to appoint John Bazett who	The Council's letter to Fort Marlborough explained that the packet came from the Honourable Company and was accompanied by several other papers, as shown in the enclosed list. The Council had also taken the chance to send four pairs of blacksmith's bellows, listed in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading, in the belief that the settlement might find them useful. It closed by wishing the President and Council success in managing the Company's affairs. John Skottowe Dan Corneille M. Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick The letter was dated at St Helena on 1 July 1765. In a postscript, the Council noted that Captain Skottowe had objected to the description of the bellows given in the bill of lading when he came to sign it. The bellows had been on the island for some time and were no longer in the condition they had been in on arrival. The Council had sent them all the same, believing they would still serve a purpose. The Lieutenant Governor told the Council that the Company needed an officer to take charge of its slaves. That person would see that they were fed and clothed, assign them to their various daily tasks and hold full responsibility for their care and management. The Council appointed John Bazett to the post. **Interpretations** A master who signed a bill of lading acknowledged receiving the goods in the condition it described, and he became answerable for delivering them in that state. Captain Skottowe refused to accept a description that would have made him liable for bellows already worn by storage on the island. The Council could have withdrawn the bellows or

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			rewritten the bill to match their true condition. It chose instead to send them as they were and to explain the difference in a postscript. That note shifted responsibility for their state from the ship to the island, while still giving Fort Marlborough equipment it might otherwise have lacked. The new post of superintendent of the Company's slaves separated their management from the overseer's wider farming duties. Thomas Warne had taken over as overseer on 17 June 1765 after Matthew Bazett's death. The 86 slaves retained from the *Royal George* on 27 May 1765, some of them now training as masons under Captain Mitchell, greatly increased the Company's labour force, and their feeding, clothing and allocation to work needed a dedicated officer. John Bazett's appointment placed another member of the Bazett family in a Company office. Matthew Bazett had been overseer until his death, Thomas Bazett was named as supervisor of his will, and Captain Henry Bazett held a lease at Sandy Bay. In so small a settlement, a few established families supplied many of the men the Council relied on to run the Company's business.
339	332	1st July who is a Capable Man for that purpose; at the Salary of forty pounds a Year to commence from this day. As the Repairs of the Fortifications which are now carrying on, require an Overseer to Look after the Labourers and see that they do not Idle their time we think it necessary to appoint Sergeant Thomas Payne for that Purpose at 1/6 P Day as a common Labourer has 1/ P Day. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council judged John Bazett well qualified for the post and set his salary at £40 0s 0d a year, starting on 1 July 1765. The repairs to the fortifications, now under way, needed a supervisor to watch the labourers and make sure they did not waste their time. The Council appointed Sergeant Thomas Payne to the task. He was to be paid 1s 6d a day, since an ordinary labourer earned 1s 0d. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** John Bazett's salary of £40 0s 0d a year as superintendent of slaves was more than two and a half times the £15 10s 0d that Richard Beale had received for teaching the island's children since 1725. Beale's petition for a rise had been forwarded to London only the week before, on 24 June 1765. The contrast showed where the Company placed its priorities: the management of a newly enlarged slave workforce, on which the fortification programme depended, commanded a salary the island's schoolmaster could not obtain after 40 years. The Council chose a serving sergeant to supervise the labourers, rather than a civilian foreman or one of the masons. A sergeant brought military authority and was used to enforcing discipline, which suited a workforce that included soldiers on fatigue duty and slaves. Paying him by the day, at a premium of 6d over the labourers, tied his pay to the life of the works and kept him visibly above the men he oversaw without committing the Company to a permanent salary.
340	333	8th July At a Consultation held on Monday the 8th Day of July 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thoms Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 1st Day of July 1765 Monday the 1st Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Royal George for Fort Marlborough Wednesday the 3d Died John Marsh Inhabitant	The Council met at the Castle on Monday 8 July 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attending. The councillors read, approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 1 July 1765. They recorded that the Company's ship *Royal George* had left for Fort Marlborough on Monday 1 July 1765. John Marsh, a resident of the island, died on Wednesday 3 July 1765. John Ward, a sentinel in the garrison, asked to be released from service because he had completed the term he had agreed to serve the Honourable Company. The Council granted his request.

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		John Ward Centinel this day petitioned for his Discharge from the Garrison having served the Honorable Company his contracted Time Granted The Plantation Account from the 1st April to the 30th June, and the Gunners and Stewards Accounts for the Month of June last, were this day brought in which were examined and approved and are as follow viz	The Council then received the plantation account covering the three months from 1 April to 30 June 1765, together with the gunner's and steward's accounts for June. It checked and approved all three. **Interpretations** The plantation account covered the Company's farms, livestock and produce for the whole quarter, and it closed only weeks after the management of that business had changed hands twice. Matthew Bazett had run the plantations as overseer until his death on 9 June 1765, Thomas Warne took over on 17 June and John Bazett became superintendent of the Company's slaves on 1 July. Approving the account for the full quarter settled the record for Bazett's period in charge and gave his successors a clean starting point.
341	334	Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Neat Cattle & ca from the 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz 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, Horses Horses, Horses Mares, Horses Total, Asses Asses, Asses Jasses, Asses Total, Poultry Fowls, Poultry Ducks, Poultry Turkeys, Poultry Geese Remg 1st Apl: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 90, Neat Cattle Calves 50, Neat Cattle Yearlings 47, Neat Cattle Heifers 29, Neat Cattle Steers 48, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 286, Sheep Ewes 300, Sheep Weathers 105, Sheep Lambs 122, Sheep Rams 7, Sheep Total 534, Goats Ewes 160, Goats Weathers 50, Goats Kids 77, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 295, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 3, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 14, Asses Asses 1, Asses Jasses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 96, Poultry Ducks 32, Poultry Turkeys 32, Poultry Geese 12 Encreased: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 0, Neat Cattle Calves 62, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 62, Sheep Ewes 0, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 116, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 116, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 6, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 6, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 0, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0, Asses Asses 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 4, Poultry Ducks 0, Poultry Turkeys 0, Poultry Geese 0 Total: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 90, Neat Cattle Calves 112, Neat Cattle Yearlings 47, Neat Cattle Heifers 29, Neat Cattle Steers 48, Neat Cattle Oxen 19, Neat Cattle Total 348, Sheep Ewes 300, Sheep Weathers 105, Sheep Lambs 238, Sheep Rams 7, Sheep Total 650, Goats Ewes 160, Goats Weathers 50, Goats Kids 83, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 301, Hogs Sows 2, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 3, Horses Horses 8, Horses Mares 6, Horses Total 14, Asses Asses 1, Asses Jasses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 100, Poultry Ducks 32, Poultry Turkeys 32, Poultry Geese 12 Killed: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 4, Neat Cattle Calves 0, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 2, Neat Cattle Steers 28, Neat Cattle Oxen 0, Neat Cattle Total 34, Sheep Ewes 3, Sheep Weathers 27, Sheep Lambs 2, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 32, Goats Ewes 0, Goats Weathers 13, Goats Kids 4, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 17, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Horses Horses 0, Horses Mares 0, Horses Total 0,	The Lieutenant Governor submitted the account of the Honourable Company's cattle and other livestock for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1765. Cattle remaining on 1 April 1765, 3 bulls, 90 cows, 50 calves, 47 yearlings, 29 heifers, 48 steers, 19 oxen, 286 in total Sheep remaining on 1 April 1765, 300 ewes, 105 wethers, 122 lambs, 7 rams, 534 in total Goats remaining on 1 April 1765, 160 nannies, 50 wethers, 77 kids, 8 billies, 295 in total Pigs remaining on 1 April 1765, 2 sows, 0 young hogs, 0 piglets, 1 boar, 3 in total Horses remaining on 1 April 1765, 8 horses, 6 mares, 14 in total Donkeys remaining on 1 April 1765, 1 male, 1 female, 2 in total Poultry remaining on 1 April 1765, 96 fowls, 32 ducks, 32 turkeys, 12 geese Cattle born during the quarter, 0 bulls, 0 cows, 62 calves, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 oxen, 62 in total Sheep born during the quarter, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 116 lambs, 0 rams, 116 in total Goats born during the quarter, 0 nannies, 0 wethers, 6 kids, 0 billies, 6 in total Pigs born during the quarter, 0 sows, 0 young hogs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 0 in total Horses born during the quarter, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in total Donkeys born during the quarter, 0 males, 0 females, 0 in total Poultry added during the quarter, 4 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 turkeys, 0 geese Cattle in all, 3 bulls, 90 cows, 112 calves, 47 yearlings, 29 heifers, 48 steers, 19 oxen, 348 in total Sheep in all, 300 ewes, 105 wethers, 238 lambs, 7 rams, 650 in total Goats in all, 160 nannies, 50 wethers, 83 kids, 8 billies, 301 in total Pigs in all, 2 sows, 0 young hogs, 0 piglets, 1 boar, 3 in total Horses in all, 8 horses, 6 mares, 14 in total Donkeys in all, 1 male, 1 female, 2 in total Poultry in all, 100 fowls, 32 ducks, 32 turkeys, 12 geese Cattle slaughtered, 0 bulls, 4 cows, 0 calves, 0 yearlings, 2 heifers, 28 steers, 0 oxen, 34 in total Sheep slaughtered, 3 ewes, 27 wethers, 2 lambs, 0 rams, 32 in total Goats slaughtered, 0 nannies, 13 wethers, 4 kids, 0 billies, 17 in total Pigs slaughtered, 1 sow, 0 young hogs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 1 in total Horses slaughtered, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 in total Donkeys slaughtered, 0 males, 0 females, 0 in total

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		Asses Asses 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 32, Poultry Ducks 4, Poultry Turkeys 3, Poultry Geese 2 Dead: Neat Cattle Bulls 0, Neat Cattle Cows 12, Neat Cattle Calves 1, Neat Cattle Yearlings 0, Neat Cattle Heifers 0, Neat Cattle Steers 0, Neat Cattle Oxen 3, Neat Cattle Total 16, Sheep Ewes 5, Sheep Weathers 0, Sheep Lambs 24, Sheep Rams 0, Sheep Total 29, Goats Ewes 10, Goats Weathers 0, Goats Kids 8, Goats Rams 0, Goats Total 18, Hogs Sows 0, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 1, Hogs Total 1, Horses Horses 5, Horses Mares 2, Horses Total 7, Asses Asses 0, Asses Jasses 0, Asses Total 0, Poultry Fowls 27, Poultry Ducks 12, Poultry Turkeys 24, Poultry Geese 6 Remg 30th: Neat Cattle Bulls 3, Neat Cattle Cows 74, Neat Cattle Calves 111, Neat Cattle Yearlings 47, Neat Cattle Heifers 27, Neat Cattle Steers 20, Neat Cattle Oxen 16, Neat Cattle Total 298, Sheep Ewes 292, Sheep Weathers 78, Sheep Lambs 212, Sheep Rams 7, Sheep Total 589, Goats Ewes 150, Goats Weathers 37, Goats Kids 71, Goats Rams 8, Goats Total 266, Hogs Sows 1, Hogs Shoats 0, Hogs Pigs 0, Hogs Boars 0, Hogs Total 1, Horses Horses 3, Horses Mares 4, Horses Total 7, Asses Asses 1, Asses Jasses 1, Asses Total 2, Poultry Fowls 35, Poultry Ducks 16, Poultry Turkeys 5, Poultry Geese 4 1 Boy born named Joe 1 Man Dead Do Winchester 1 Do Dead Do Wycomb 1 Do Do Saml Moore 1 Woman Do Ruth 1 Do Do Hager Yam Expended for the Slaves 45940 Do for the Stock 6320 Total 52260 (Signed) Dan Corneille **Margin Notes:** 8th July	Poultry slaughtered, 38 fowls, 4 ducks, 3 turkeys, 2 geese Cattle that died, 0 bulls, 12 cows, 1 calf, 0 yearlings, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 3 oxen, 16 in total Sheep that died, 5 ewes, 0 wethers, 24 lambs, 0 rams, 29 in total Goats that died, 10 nannies, 0 wethers, 8 kids, 0 billies, 18 in total Pigs that died, 0 sows, 0 young hogs, 0 piglets, 1 boar, 1 in total Horses that died, 5 horses, 2 mares, 7 in total Donkeys that died, 0 males, 0 females, 0 in total Poultry that died, 27 fowls, 12 ducks, 24 turkeys, 6 geese Cattle remaining on 30 June 1765, 3 bulls, 74 cows, 111 calves, 47 yearlings, 27 heifers, 20 steers, 16 oxen, 298 in total Sheep remaining on 30 June 1765, 292 ewes, 78 wethers, 212 lambs, 7 rams, 589 in total Goats remaining on 30 June 1765, 150 nannies, 37 wethers, 71 kids, 8 billies, 266 in total Pigs remaining on 30 June 1765, 1 sow, 0 young hogs, 0 piglets, 0 boars, 1 in total Horses remaining on 30 June 1765, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 in total Donkeys remaining on 30 June 1765, 1 male, 1 female, 2 in total Poultry remaining on 30 June 1765, 35 fowls, 16 ducks, 5 turkeys, 4 geese The account also recorded changes among the Company's slaves during the quarter. Boy born, named Joe, 1 Man who died, named Winchester, 1 Man who died, named Wycomb, 1 Man who died, named Samuel Moore, 1 Woman who died, named Ruth, 1 Woman who died, named Hager, 1 It closed with the yams issued during the quarter. Yams issued to the slaves, 45,940 Yams issued to the livestock, 6,320 Total yams issued, 52,260 Daniel Corneille signed the account, and the Council entered it on 8 July 1765. **Interpretations** The Company's slaves were recorded in the same account as its cattle, sheep and horses, with births and deaths entered beneath the livestock tallies. The placing reflected how the Company treated them in its books: as working stock on its plantations, counted, fed from the same stores and signed off by the same officer. Five slaves died in the quarter against one birth, a rate of loss that would steadily shrink the workforce without fresh arrivals such as those from the *Royal George*. Each dead slave was named, which allowed the Council to check the account against the roll of the Company's people. Yams were the staple food of the Company's slaves, grown on the plantations and issued by count. The 45,940 issued to the slaves in 13 weeks amounted to roughly 3,500 a week. Feeding yams to livestock as well showed that the same crop supported both parts of the Company's farming. The cattle figures explained the Council's measures earlier in the year. Of 348 cattle available in the quarter, 34 were slaughtered and 16 died, 12 of them cows. Losses of mature breeding cows at that rate threatened the herd's future, and steers, the animals raised for beef, fell from 48 to 20. The Council's decision on 17 June 1765 to kill only one beast a week for the rest of the year would cut slaughter to about 13 a quarter, less than half the rate recorded here. Corneille's warning on 13 May 1765 about injuries from monthly round-ups fitted the high death rate among the cows. Lambs and calves were born in large numbers between April and June, the late autumn and early

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			winter of the southern hemisphere. In England the same months were late spring, after the main lambing season had passed. On St Helena, breeding followed the island's own seasons, with young stock born as the cooler, wetter months brought fresh grass. The loss of 24 lambs out of 238 suggested that the season was not without cost. The heavy mortality among other stock was striking. Seven of the 14 horses died, along with 24 of the 32 turkeys and 12 of the 32 ducks. The account gave no cause, but losses on this scale across unrelated animals pointed to disease, poor forage or both. The horses in particular were valuable, since they drew the carts for the building works now under way.
342	335	1765 Artillery Stores expended in June 1765 Guns Fired, 32 lb, 24 lb, 18 lb, 9 lb, 4 lb, 3 lb, 2 lb, 1 lb, Powder Expended lb oz 2d An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb 0 oz Arrived the Lord Holland: Guns Fired 9, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb 0 oz 4th Fired for the Cellebration of his Majestys Day and for proving the Guns: Guns Fired 21, 32 lb 20, 24 lb 1, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 39[6] lb 0 oz 4th Fired with Small arms for Do: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 20 lb 4 oz 5 A Double Alarm for three Ships that went by: Guns Fired 11, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 4, 3 lb 4, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 3, Powder Expended 30 lb 0 oz Powder for Blowing Lime Stone: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended [...] lb 0 oz 14th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb 0 oz Arrived the Van Sittart: Guns Fired [...], 32 lb 0, 24 lb 1, 18 lb 1, 9 lb 2, 4 lb 4, 3 lb 4, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 41 lb 8 oz 24th An Alarm: Guns Fired 6, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 2, 3 lb 2, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 2, Powder Expended 12 lb 0 oz Arrived the Valentine: Guns Fired 9, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz 26th Departed the Van Sittart: Guns Fired 9, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 9, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 9 lb 0 oz Powder for priming at different times: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 17 lb 0 oz Do for Signals: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 2 lb 4 oz Do for Shooting Goats on the side of the Hills: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1 lb 2 oz Do expd Cartridges at the Main Guard: Guns Fired 0, 32 lb 0, 24 lb 0, 18 lb 0, 9 lb 0, 4 lb 0, 3 lb 0, 2 lb 0, 1 lb 0, Powder Expended 1 lb 4 oz Total: Guns Fired 102, 32 lb 20, 24 lb 2, 18 lb 1, 9 lb 2, 4 lb 16, 3 lb 1[...], 2 lb 37, 1 lb [...], Powder Expended 663 lb 12 oz	The artillery account for June 1765 listed the guns fired, by size, and the powder used during the month. Alarm, 2 June 1765, 6 guns fired, 0 thirty-two-pounders, 0 twenty-four-pounders, 0 eighteen-pounders, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder Arrival of the *Lord Holland*, 9 guns fired, 0 thirty-two-pounders, 0 twenty-four-pounders, 0 eighteen-pounders, 0 nine-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder Alarm, 6 guns fired, 0 thirty-two-pounders, 0 twenty-four-pounders, 0 eighteen-pounders, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder Salute for the King's birthday and proof firing of the guns, 4 June 1765, 21 guns fired, 20 thirty-two-pounders, 1 twenty-four-pounder, 0 eighteen-pounders, 0 nine-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 291 lb 0 oz of powder Small-arms fire for the King's birthday, 4 June 1765, 0 guns fired, 20 lb 4 oz of powder Double alarm for three ships passing the island, 5 June 1765, 11 guns fired, 0 thirty-two-pounders, 0 twenty-four-pounders, 0 eighteen-pounders, 0 nine-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 4 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 3 one-pounders, 23 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for blasting limestone, 0 guns fired, 30 lb 0 oz of powder Alarm, 14 June 1765, 6 guns fired, 0 thirty-two-pounders, 0 twenty-four-pounders, 0 eighteen-pounders, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder Arrival of the *Van Sittart*, 9 guns fired, 0 thirty-two-pounders, 1 twenty-four-pounder, 1 eighteen-pounder, 2 nine-pounders, 4 four-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 0 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 41 lb 8 oz of powder Alarm, 24 June 1765, 6 guns fired, 0 thirty-two-pounders, 0 twenty-four-pounders, 0 eighteen-pounders, 0 nine-pounders, 2 four-pounders, 2 three-pounders, 0 two-pounders, 2 one-pounders, 12 lb 0 oz of powder Arrival of the *Valentine*, 9 guns fired, 0 thirty-two-pounders, 0 twenty-four-pounders, 0 eighteen-pounders, 0 nine-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder Departure of the *Van Sittart*, 26 June 1765, 9 guns fired, 0 thirty-two-pounders, 0 twenty-four-pounders, 0 eighteen-pounders, 0 nine-pounders, 0 four-pounders, 0 three-pounders, 9 two-pounders, 0 one-pounders, 9 lb 0 oz of powder Powder for priming at various times, 0 guns fired, 17 lb 0 oz of powder

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			Powder for signals, 0 guns fired, 3 lb 4 oz of powder Powder for shooting goats on the hillsides, 0 guns fired, 1 lb 2 oz of powder Powder for cartridges at the Main Guard, 0 guns fired, 1 lb 4 oz of powder Total, 92 guns fired, 20 thirty-two-pounders, 2 twenty-four-pounders, 1 eighteen-pounder, 2 nine-pounders, 16 four-pounders, 13 three-pounders, 27 two-pounders, 11 one-pounders, 503 lb 12 oz of powder **Interpretations** Powder used in June came to 503 lb 12 oz, almost double the 262 lb 12 oz recorded in May, even though fewer guns were fired. Nearly the whole increase came from a single occasion on 4 June 1765, when 20 thirty-two-pounders and a twenty-four-pounder fired for the King's birthday and burnt 291 lb of powder between them. The heavy guns that guarded the anchorage used around 14 lb of powder a shot, against about 1 lb for the light pieces used in routine salutes. The Council combined the royal salute with the proof firing of its heavy guns. Proving meant firing a gun with a full or extra charge to test that the barrel was sound, and it was normally a separate exercise with its own cost in powder. Folding it into the birthday salute gave the King his 21 guns and tested the island's main defences in one discharge. The saving mattered at a time when Captain Mitchell was warning that the powder received from Indiamen was mostly unfit, and when fresh supplies depended on the annual requisition from London. The column headings, legible in this month's account, showed that alarms were fired from the four-, three- and one-pounders, while salutes to arriving and departing ships used two-pounders. The *Van Sittart*'s arrival was the exception, answered with a mixture of guns from twenty-four-pounders down to three-pounders. The larger guns and heavier charge, 41 lb 8 oz against 9 lb for an ordinary arrival, perhaps marked an honour to the ship bearing the name of the former Governor of Bengal. The 30 lb of powder used for blasting limestone showed Captain Mitchell's lime programme under way before his letter of 24 June 1765 reported it. Quarrying rock by blasting was far quicker than cutting it by hand, and the charge came from the artillery's own magazines. Powder for shooting goats on the hillsides pointed to animals that could not be rounded up. Goats ranged freely over the steep slopes of the island, where herding was impossible, and shooting was the only way to take them for meat. The practice fitted the Council's efforts to spare the Company's cattle by drawing on other sources of meat.
343	336	12th July Paper for making Large Cartridges 7 qrs Do delivered to the Adjutant 1 qr Hand Spikes broke upon the Line 4 Spunge Heads 2 Spunge Staves 2 Sheep Skins 2 Nails for Coating Spunges 102 Ladles broke 5 Tallow for the Carts and Lry 84 lb	The artillery stores used up in June 1765 also included the following items. 7 quires of paper for making large cartridges 1 quire of paper issued to the adjutant 4 handspikes broken on the Lines 2 sponge heads 2 sponge staves 2 sheepskins 102 nails for covering sponges 5 ladles broken 84 lb of tallow for the carts and the gin 1 rammer head broken 1 tampion broken A. Mitchell signed the list. The Company's table accounted for its provisions and drink for June 1765. 28 bottles of port wine, £2 2s 0d 106 bottles of Lisbon wine, £7 19s 0d 23 bottles of Mountain wine, £1 14s 0d

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		Rammer Heads broke 1 Tompion broke 1 (Signed) A. Mitchell Sundry's Expended at the Honorable Company's Table in the Month of June 1765 viz 28 Bottles Port Wine £ 2 . 2 106 Do Lisbon 7 . 19 23 Do Mountain 1 . 14 64 Do Beer 10 60 Do Arrack 3 . 7 . 6 131 lb Beef 3 . 3 . 1¾ 267 lb Mutton 5 . 11 . 5¼ 3 Kids 15 473 lb Flour 1 . 17 . 5½ 20¼ lb Butter 1 . 3 99 lb Candy 1 . 13 8 Ducks 12 £ 30 . 4 . 9½ Sold 2 Chests Port Wine for 28 . 10 Paid for for a puncheon of Rum 105 Gallons at 5/ 26 . 5 To 45 Galls Port Wine @ 3/6 1 . 7 . 6 28 . 2 . 6	64 bottles of beer, £0 10s 0d 60 bottles of arrack, £3 7s 6d 151 lb of beef, £3 3s 1½d 267½ lb of mutton, £5 11s 5½d 3 kids, £0 15s 0d 473 lb of flour, £1 17s 5½d 20¼ lb of butter, £1 0s 3d 99 candles, £1 13s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d Total, £30 4s 9½d A note beside the account recorded an exchange of drink. 2 chests of port wine sold, £28 10s 0d 1 puncheon of rum bought, 105 gallons at 5s 0d a gallon, £26 5s 0d 15 gallons over proof at 2s 6d a gallon, £1 17s 6d Total paid for the rum, £28 2s 6d **Interpretations** Beef at the Company's table fell to 151 lb in June from 213 lb in April and 202¼ lb in May, while flour rose sharply to 473 lb from 342 lb. The decline followed the Council's notice of 17 June 1765 limiting the island to one beast a week, and the quarterly stock account showing 34 cattle slaughtered and 16 dead in three months. Mutton held at over 267 lb, and the table leaned more heavily on bread to make up the shortfall in beef. Lisbon wine rose to 106 bottles, from 27 in May and 61 in April. The month saw the *Worcester*, *Lord Holland*, *Van Sittart* and *Valentine* call, each bringing officers and passengers to be entertained, and the King's birthday on 4 June 1765 was celebrated with a 21-gun salute. Arrack returned to 60 bottles at £3 7s 6d, about 1s 1½d a bottle, the same price as in April, after the dearer purchase recorded in May. The note on the port and rum showed the Company's steward trading one kind of drink for another, with the sale of two chests of port almost exactly covering a puncheon of rum. Spirits were sold by reference to proof, the standard strength at which gunpowder soaked in the spirit would still ignite. Rum stronger than that standard was worth more, since it could be diluted, and the 15 gallons over proof represented the extra value of the stronger spirit, charged at half the normal rate. A tampion was a wooden plug fitted into a gun's muzzle to keep out rain and sea spray. A ladle was a long-handled copper scoop used to load loose powder into a gun when no cartridge was available. The gin was a lifting frame of three poles with a pulley, used to hoist guns on and off their carriages, and its large ration of tallow, along with the carts', reflected the heavy haulage of Mitchell's repair work.
344	337	On the 3d Instant we received the following Letter from Capt. Fernell viz 1765 To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esquire Governor & ca Council of St Helena Gentlemen My Salt Provision turning out extremely bad that it obliges me to apply to you for the undermentioned Supply to carry me to Europe, and which cannot possibly do without and I have calculated each Article so as to give exactly the Sum of the Scale in favor of this Settlement which I am informed runs short of here viz Beef Pieces 400 Pork Do 400 Pieces Flour lb 1152 I am Gentlemen Your most humbly Servant	The Council received a letter from Captain William Fernell on 3 July 1765, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Fernell reported that his salted provisions had proved so badly spoiled that he had to ask the island for fresh supplies to carry his ship to Europe. He could not make the voyage without them. He had been told the settlement was short of beef, and he had worked out each quantity so that any margin fell in the island's favour. He requested the following. Salt beef, 400 pieces Salt pork, 400 pieces Flour, 1,152 lb The Council summoned Captain Fernell and explained how scarce the provisions he wanted were on the island. He insisted that he could not put to sea without adding to what he already carried. The Council agreed to let him have nine casks of salted meat, and one cask of flour for his own table and no one else's.

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		July 3d 1765 (Signed) Wm Fernell Upon which we this day sent for Captain Fernell and represented to him the scarcity of the Provision he demanded; he declaring he could not go to Sea without an Additional supply to what he had, We agreed to spare him the following viz 9 Casks Salt Provision, and one Cask Flour for the Use of his Table only. The Governor this day applied to Us to pay two hundred and thirty pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash which	The Governor asked the Council on the same day to accept £230 0s 0d from him into the Honourable Company's treasury. **Interpretations** The Council gave Fernell only a fraction of what he asked. A Company ship unable to reach Europe for lack of food was the Company's own loss, and supplying her in full was the ordinary course. The Council passed over that default because meat on the island was now critically short. The stock account entered on 8 July 1765 showed the Company's cattle reduced by slaughter and death, the market had been cut to one beast a week on 17 June 1765 and beef at the Company's own table had fallen to 151 lb in June. Only on 27 May 1765 the Council had itself bought 556 pieces of salt beef and 623 of pork from Henry Topham to shore up its stores. Handing 800 pieces back to a single ship would have stripped the island of the very reserve it had just built. Restricting the cask of flour to the captain's table kept the ship's company on whatever bread they already had while ensuring the commander himself was not left short. The distinction reflected the privileges of rank at sea, and it also limited the drain on the island's flour to the smallest quantity that would satisfy the captain. Fernell's phrase about the turn of the scale meant that he had rounded each quantity down rather than up, so that the island would bear no more than the strict minimum. The Council's reply showed that even that minimum exceeded what it felt able to spare. Nine casks, each perhaps holding around 40 to 50 pieces of meat, amounted to roughly half his request.
345	338	8th July which Sum, we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors, payable to Robert Wood Esqr (or Order) Ninety days after sight George Street Armourer proving a very worthless Drunken Fellow and having Embezled a few of the Honorable Company's Tools which we suspect he has made a practice of, and totally neglected his business; We for these reasons thought proper to Dismiss him the Service, and send him home upon the Ship Valentine. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Thursday the 11th Day of July 1765 at the Castle, Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Govr Mr Matthew Burling Captn Thoms Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and Signed, dated the 8th July 1765, Monday 8th Died Charles Son of Fredrick Merchant Publican	The Council took Governor Skottowe's £230 0s 0d into the treasury. In return it issued him bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors, payable to Robert Wood or his nominee 90 days after presentation. George Street, the Company's armourer, had proved a worthless drunkard. He had stolen some of the Honourable Company's tools, and the Council suspected he had been doing so regularly. He had also entirely neglected his work. For these reasons the Council dismissed him from the Company's service and ordered him sent back to England on the *Valentine*. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Thursday 11 July 1765. The Governor presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attending. The councillors read, approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 8 July 1765. Charles, the son of the innkeeper Frederick Merchant, died on Monday 8 July 1765. **Interpretations** The Council dealt with Street by dismissal and deportation rather than by trial. Theft of Company property could have gone before the island's court or, had he been under military discipline, a court martial, with punishment and perhaps a charge against his wages. The Council passed over both and simply removed him on the next homeward ship. A trial would have taken time and could only confirm what the Council already believed, while a dismissed man left on the island would still need feeding and might steal again. Putting him aboard the *Valentine* ended the Company's costs and removed a known thief from a small community in a single step. The Governor's own remittance of £230 0s 0d passed through the same system of bills that officers

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			and passengers used. By paying his money into the island treasury and taking a bill on London, he transferred his private funds home without shipping coin, and made the bill payable to Robert Wood, perhaps his agent in England. The Council recorded the transaction in full, which kept the Governor's dealings with the Company's cash as open to the directors' scrutiny as any other.
346	339	1765. We this day Received the following Letter from Captain Fernell viz To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor & ca Council. Gentlemen Beg leave to acquaint you the Ship Valentine will be ready for Sailing on Sunday and desire the favor you will let me have all the live Cattle you can spare and as am greatly distressed in regard to getting fresh provision for my own Table beg your kind Indulgence of a dozen good sheep out of the Honoble Company's Stock which will infinitely oblige. Gentlemen Your most obedient humble Servant. St Helena (Signed) 11th July 1765. Wm Fernell, To which we returned him the following Answer viz To Captain William Fernell Commander of Ship Valentine, Sir The Number of Cattle which we have allotted you and the remainder of the expected Ships are ten; as you have killed but six are Intitled to four more, are sorry we cannot provide you	The Council received another letter from Captain Fernell, dated at St Helena on 11 July 1765 and addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Fernell reported that the *Valentine* would be ready to sail on Sunday. He asked the Council to let him have as many live cattle as it could spare. He added that he was in real difficulty over fresh food for his own table, and he asked as a special favour for a dozen good sheep from the Honourable Company's flock. The Council sent its reply to Captain William Fernell as commander of the *Valentine*. It explained that each ship, his own and those still expected, had been allotted ten head of cattle. Since he had slaughtered only six, he was entitled to four more. The Council expressed its regret that it could not supply him beyond that. **Interpretations** The allowance of ten cattle per ship showed the Council rationing its herd across the whole shipping season rather than meeting each request as it came. Homeward Indiamen relied on St Helena for fresh beef, both to feed their crews in port and to carry live animals to sea. With the Company's cattle falling from 348 to 298 over the last quarter and the market cut to one beast a week, the Council fixed a quota in advance so that ships arriving later in the season would find animals left for them. Fernell's six already slaughtered were counted against his ten, leaving four. Fernell's plea for a dozen sheep for his own table followed the Council's refusal on 3 July 1765 to give him more than a fraction of the salt provisions he wanted. The two requests together suggested a ship in genuine want, but the Council held to its quota even so. The flock of 589 sheep at the end of June was larger than the herd, yet the Company's table and the market were now drawing heavily on mutton to replace beef, and the Council was unwilling to open a second front of demand from passing ships.
347	340	11th July you with Sheep from the Honorable Company's Stock as it is a practice we have never yet done and cannot make a president of it; as it is customary for the Planters to supply those wants. We are Sir Your humble Servants. (Signed) John Skottowe St Helena Daniel Corneille 11th July 1765. Matthw Burling Thoms Kirkpatrick Mr Matthew Burling Reports that he has been on board the Ship Valentine to Muster Her Company and enquire for deserters but found none her Muster Roll is as follows viz Muster Roll of Ship Valentine Wm Fernell Commander Wm Brown Chief Mate Richd Williamson 2d Do Robt Maw 3d Do Wm Nassau Green 4th Do	The Council told Captain Fernell that supplying ships with sheep from the Honourable Company's flock was something it had never done and could not allow to become a precedent. Commanders customarily obtained such supplies from the island's planters. Governor Skottowe, Daniel Corneille, Matthew Burling and Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the reply at St Helena on 11 July 1765. Matthew Burling reported that he had gone aboard the *Valentine* to count her crew and search for deserters, and had found none. He submitted the ship's crew list. William Fernell, commander William Brown, chief mate Richard Williamson, second mate Robert Maw, third mate William Nassau Green, fourth mate Lachlan Thomas, surgeon John Kippen, boatswain Hunter Pearson, gunner William Danfort, cooper Aaron Maxton, ship's steward Thomas Bount, captain's steward Joseph Foster, sailmaker Benjamin Tree, captain's cook William Hill, ship's cook

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		Luchlan Thomas Surgeon John Rippen Boatswain Hunter Pearson Gunner Wm Daufort Cooper Aaron Marten Ships Steward Thoms Burnt Capt. Do Joseph Foster Sailmaker Benj. Tree Capt. Cook William Hill Ships Do Thoms Williams Surgs Mt Thoms Bass Coopers Do Wm Crawford Gunners Do John Pierce James Tatling Thos Speakman Armourr Jn Cumine Midshipm John Sparrell Do George Hyde Do Joseph Stiles Do Dan Tenor Quartermr Andw Hinch Seaman Ireal Vera	Thomas Williams, surgeon's mate Thomas Brass, cooper's mate William Crawford, gunner's mate John Pierce James Tatling Thomas Speakman, armourer Jo. Cummins, midshipman John Sparrell, midshipman George Hyde, midshipman Joseph Stiles, midshipman Daniel Fenor, quartermaster Andrew Hinch, seaman Israel Vera **Interpretations** The Council refused Fernell's sheep on grounds of precedent rather than scarcity alone. Granting a dozen sheep to one commander in distress would have been easy, and the Company's flock numbered 589 at the end of June. The Council passed over that course because every future commander could then claim the same, turning a single kindness into a standing drain on the Company's stock. Directing ships to the planters kept the Company's animals for the garrison and its own table, while giving the settlers a market for their surplus. The reply fitted the notice of 17 June 1765, which had urged planters to bring pork, mutton and goat to market and promised them buyers.
348	341	1765 Robert Lumsdane Seaman John McCastie Thoms Bilcher Henry Archbald Christopr Polson Charles Sippinger David Brun John Gunning Wm Blakey Evan Williams Robt Chambers Robt Munns Thomas Redborn Nicholas Anderson Robt Jacks Wm Pelham John Hanke Alexr Chapman Seamn John Artis John Ashman John Ross Harison Nobes Martin Anson Thomas Jones Robt Wayland John Smith Thomas Dyer William Stayner Robt Scott Robt Bridie Capt Servant Richd Reston Second Mts Do John Garrat Surgeons Do James Fiddler Boatswain Do George Reynolds Gunners Do Ullocky W Thos Moss Seaman Richd Iclego Emas Nothing Joseph Sudmon Joseph Parish James Bowman Robt Ladd Andrew Scott 2d Master William Mather Seamn John Thurby John Billings	The *Valentine*'s crew list continued with the following men. Robert Lumsdane, seaman John McCashie Thomas Belcher Henry Archbald Christopher Olsen Charles Toppinger David Brin John Gunning William Blakey Evan Williams Robert Chambers Robert Munns Thomas Redborn Nicholas Anderson Robert Jacks William Pelkin John Hanks Alexander Chapman, seaman John Artis John Ashman John Ross Harrison Nobes Martin Anson Thomas Jones Robert Wayland John Smith Thomas Dye William Stayner Robert Scott Robert Pridie, captain's servant Richard Reston, second mate's servant John Garrat, surgeon's servant James Hadliss, boatswain's servant George Reynolds, gunner's servant [...] Thomas Moss, seaman Nicholas Jelgo Emas Nothing Joseph Sudmen Joseph Parish James Bowman Robert Ladd Andrew Scott, quartermaster William Mather, seaman John Kirby

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		Stephen Murray Christon Richd Greer Nichs Francke Thoms Watson Wm Douglass Passengers Wm Preston Judda his Servant Mr Quintin Thomson this day applied to Us to pay fifty pounds into the Honorable Company's Cash which Sum we have received and given him Bills of Exchange drawn upon the	John Billings Stephen Murray [...] Christon Richard Greer Nicholas Faucett Thomas Watson William Douglass The ship also carried William Preston as a passenger, together with his servant Judda. Quintin Thomson asked the Council to accept £50 0s 0d from him into the Honourable Company's treasury. The Council took the money and issued him bills of exchange in return.
349	342	11th July the Honorable the Court of Directors payable to Mr Ninnian Ballentine (or Order) ninety days sight John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Thos Kirkpatrick At a Consultation held on Monday the 15th Day of July 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut. Governor Mr Matthew Burling Capt. Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read approved and signed dated the 11th July 1765 Thursday Died Eleanor Daughter of Joseph Chamberlain Carpenter Do Sailed the Honoble Compys Ship Valentine for England The Storekeeper this day brought in his Collections and the Paymaster Accounts for the Quarter commencing the 1st April and ending the 30th June 1765 which were examined and approved and are as follow viz	The Council's bills of exchange for Quintin Thomson were drawn on the Court of Directors and made payable to Ninian Ballentine or his nominee 90 days after presentation. John Skottowe Dan Corneille Burling Tho. Kirkpatrick The Council met at the Castle on Monday 15 July 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor, Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick also attending. The councillors read, approved and signed the minutes of their meeting held on 11 July 1765. Eleanor, the daughter of the carpenter Joseph Chamberlain, died on Sunday 14 July 1765. The Company's ship *Valentine* left for England on the same day. The storekeeper then presented his record of money collected, together with the paymaster's accounts, for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1765. The Council checked and approved them.
350	343	15th July Collections of Goods Sold and delivered out of the Honourable Company's Ware Houses from 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Sold to the Companys Servants at 10 P Cent viz Beef & Pork viz 1392 Ps Beef 139 . 4 3107 Ps Pork 310 . 14 449 . 18 Candles 314 lb 34 . 4 Flour viz 2253 lb Flour 16 . 8 . 6 252 C 1 qr 3 lb Do Backed 257 . 15 274 . 3 . 6 Sugar and Candy viz 4204 lb Sugar 70 . 1 . 4 2253 lb Candy 56 . 6 . 6 126 . 7 . 10 Tea viz 265 lb Bohea 12 . 13 . 11 188 lb Single	The storekeeper's account of goods sold and issued from the Honourable Company's warehouses between 1 April and 30 June 1765 opened with sales to the Company's servants, charged at cost plus 10 per cent. Beef and pork: 1,392 pieces of salt beef, £139 4s 0d 3,107 pieces of salt pork, £310 14s 0d Sub-total for beef and pork, £449 18s 0d Candles, 314 lb, £34 0s 4d Flour: 2,253 lb of flour, £16 8s 6d 252 cwt 1 qr 3 lb of baked flour, £257 15s 0d Sub-total for flour, £274 3s 6d Sugar and sugar candy: 4,204 lb of sugar, £70 1s 4d 2,253 lb of sugar candy, £56 6s 6d Sub-total for sugar and sugar candy, £126 7s 10d Tea: 265 lb of bohea tea, £12 13s 11d 138 lb of singlo tea, £14 9s 10d 96 lb of congou tea, £7 8s 0d Sub-total for tea, £34 11s 9d Coffee, 21 lb, £0 19s 3d Cape salt, 75 [...], £0 5s 9d Oil: 26½ gallons of train oil, £4 12s 9d 3½ gallons of linseed oil, £0 14s 9d 13 bottles of Florence oil, £2 12s 6d Sub-total for oil, £8 0s 0d Sub-total carried forward, £923 6s 5d

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		14 . 9 . 10 96 lb Congo 7 . 8 34 . 11 . 9 Coffee 21 lb 19 . 3 Salt 75 [...] 5 . 9 Oil viz 26½ Train 4 . 12 . 9 3½ Linseed 14 . 9 18 Bottles Flo 2 . 12 . 6 8 Carried Over £ 923 . 6 . 5	**Interpretations** The Company's servants on the island bought their food and household goods from its warehouses at cost plus a fixed 10 per cent. The arrangement served as both a supply system and a form of pay, since it gave officers, soldiers and artisans access to imported goods at far below the prices ships' officers or private traders would charge. The 10 per cent covered the Company's freight and handling while keeping the servants dependent on its stores rather than on private dealers. Salt meat was sold at 2s 0d a piece for both beef and pork. The same value underlay the Council's calculation on 17 June 1765 that two pieces a week for the longboat crew, with their wages, would cost £46 8s 0d a year. Pork outsold beef by more than two to one, with 3,107 pieces against 1,392, which suggested that salt pork was the main meat of ordinary households at a time when fresh beef was rationed. Several goods would be unfamiliar now. Sugar candy was sugar crystallised slowly on strings or sticks into large, hard lumps, made chiefly in China and shipped through Canton; it kept well and was used for sweetening drinks and as a confection. Singlo was a green tea from Anhui province in China, dearer than the black bohea and congou teas. Train oil was rendered from whale or seal blubber and burned in lamps, while Florence oil was fine olive oil from Tuscany, sold in straw-covered flasks for cooking and the table. Cape salt came from the salt pans near the Cape of Good Hope, the nearest source for an island that produced none of its own. Baked flour meant bread or biscuit made in the Company's bakehouse and issued ready to eat. At over 252 cwt, about 28,000 lb in three months, it far exceeded the 2,253 lb of raw flour sold. Most servants, particularly the soldiers, drew their bread already baked rather than making it themselves, which gave the Company control over both the flour and the ration.
351	344	15th July Brought over£ 923 . 6 . 5 Shalloon viz 74¼ Colour'd 7 . 11 . 7 11½ Scarlet 1 . 9 . 6 9 . 1 . 1 Sope 633 lb 23 . 1 . 6 Blankets 9 2 . 14 Arrack 28½ Galls 7 . 2 . 6 Rice and Paddy viz 13 C 1 qr 21 lb Rice 5 . 10 . 1 5 C Paddy 1 . 0 . 10 6 . 10 . 11 Starch 43½ 19 . 11 Cordage 416 lb 8 . 4 . 8 Lead viz 12¼ Sheet 2 . 11 18 Shot	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from £923 6s 5d brought forward. Brought forward, £923 6s 5d Shalloon: 74¼ yards of coloured shalloon, £7 11s 7d 11½ yards of scarlet shalloon, £1 9s 6d Sub-total for shalloon, £9 1s 1d Soap, 633 lb, £23 1s 6d Blankets, 9, £2 14s 0d Arrack, 28½ gallons, £7 2s 6d Rice and paddy: 13 cwt 1 qr 21 lb of rice, £5 10s 1d 3 cwt 0 qr 0 lb of paddy, £1 0s 10d Sub-total for rice and paddy, £6 10s 11d Starch, 43½ lb, £0 19s 11d Rope, 416 lb, £8 4s 8d Lead: 12¼ lb of sheet lead, £0 2s 11d 18 lb of lead shot, £0 4s 2d Sub-total for lead, £0 7s 1d Pepper, 18 lb, £0 10s 1d Buckram, 18½ yards, £0 12s 6d White bunting, 9 yards, £0 5s 3d Canvas: 1 bolt and 26 yards of English canvas, £4 2s 6d 64 yards of osnaburg, £2 16s 0d Sub-total for canvas, £6 18s 6d Twine and wick: 34 skeins of twine, £1 1s 3d 4½ lb of cotton wick, £0 9s 11d Sub-total for twine and wick, £1 11s 2d Thread: 9½ lb of brown thread, £3 10s 10d

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		4 . 2 7 . 1 Pepper 18 lb 10 . 1 Buckram 18½ lb 12 . 6 Bunting 9 Yds White 5 . 3 Canvas viz 1 Co 26 Yds En 4 . 2 . 6 64 Yds Osenbrigs 2 . 16 6 . 18 . 6 Twine viz 34 Skains Twine 1 . 1 . 3 4½ Cotton Wick 9 . 11 1 . 11 . 2 Thread viz 9½ lb Brown 3 . 10 . 10 3 lb Coloured 10 . 9 4 . 1 . 7 Corks viz 8 Gross Corks 1 . 4 1¾ Sheet 1 . 2 1 . 1 . 6 Leather 65¼ Sds 3 . 5 . 3 Carried Over£ 1004 . 19 . 11	3 lb of coloured thread, £0 10s 9d Sub-total for thread, £4 1s 7d Corks: 8 gross of corks, £1 0s 4d 7¼ sheets of cork, £0 1s 2d Sub-total for corks, £1 1s 6d Sole leather, 65¼ lb, £3 5s 3d Sub-total carried forward, £1,004 19s 11d **Interpretations** Several of the textiles were materials for clothing rather than finished goods. Shalloon was a light, closely woven worsted twill, named after Châlons-sur-Marne in France and made in quantity in England, used above all for lining coats and waistcoats. The scarlet shalloon matched the red of military uniforms, and servants perhaps bought it to line or repair their regimentals. Buckram was coarse linen or cotton stiffened with gum or size, used to give shape to collars, cuffs and the fronts of coats. Bunting was a thin, loosely woven worsted used for flags and signal colours, and the white bunting may have been bought for making or mending ensigns. The account showed a community that made and mended much of what it used. Thread, twine, cotton wick, starch, sole leather and corks were the raw materials of tailoring, shoemaking, laundry, candle-making and bottling. Buying them from the Company's warehouse at cost plus 10 per cent allowed households and tradesmen on the island to carry out work that in England would often have been bought ready made from shops. Sheet lead served for roofing, gutters and lining cisterns, while lead shot was used for sporting guns. A gross was 12 dozen, so eight gross amounted to 1,152 corks, and the sheets of cork were cut down by users into bungs and stoppers of whatever size they needed.
352	345	1765 Brought over£ 1004 . 19 . 11 Ticking 2½ Yards 6 . 3 Challows 9 Ps 4 . 17 . 10 Sago 27 lb 11 . 3 Long Cloth 1 Ps L 5 . 7 . 10 3 Ps Y 10 . 9 4 Ps T 6 3 Ps U 4 . 11 . 6 1 Ps X 4 . 8 1 Ps W 5 . 5 . 3 1 Ps R 4 . 8 1 Ps No 5 2 . 5 . 4 42 . 7 . 1 Iron Ware viz 3 Chest Locks 1 . 5 14 Splinter Do 7 . 7	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from £1,004 19s 11d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,004 19s 11d Ticking, 2½ yards, £0 6s 3d Chelloes, 9 pieces, £4 17s 10d Sago, 27 lb, £0 11s 3d Longcloth: 1 piece of longcloth marked L, £5 7s 10d 3 pieces of longcloth marked Y, £10 0s 9d 4 pieces of longcloth marked T, £6 0s 0d 3 pieces of longcloth marked U, £4 11s 6d 1 piece of longcloth marked X, £4 8s 0d 1 piece of longcloth marked W, £5 5s 8d 1 piece of longcloth marked R, £4 8s 0d 1 piece of longcloth marked no. 5, £2 5s 4d Sub-total for longcloth, £42 7s 1d Ironmongery: 8 chest locks, £1 5s 0d 14 spring locks, £0 7s 7d 1 pickaxe, £0 3s 5½d 1 tool handle, £0 0s 8d 3 blank keys, £0 2s 3d 3 padlocks, £0 5s 0d 1 pair of iron H-L hinges, £0 1s 10d 2 scythe whetstones, £0 0s 5½d 1 spring rat trap, £0 1s 3d 2 dozen wood screws, £0 0s 9d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 10d 1 iron frying pan, £0 2s 1d 2 stock locks, £0 6s 1d 2 iron and 4 brass knobs, £0 0s 11d 1 pair of hooks, £0 1s 0d Sub-total for ironmongery, £3 10s 8d Earthenware, 1 close-stool pan, £0 3s 3d

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		1 Pickax 3 . 5½ 1 Helve 3 3 Blank Keys 2 . 3 3 Pad Locks 5 1 Pr Im HL Hinges 1 . 10 2 Scythe Stones 5½ 1 Spring Rat Trap 1 . 3 2 doz. Wood Screws 9 1 Hd Hatchet 1 . 10 1 Tin Fryg Pan 2 . 1 2 Stock Locks 6 . 1 2 Iron Do wth Brass Knobs 11 1 Brass Hook 1 3 . 10 . 8 Earthen Ware 1 Close Stool Pan 3 . 3 Carried Over£ 1056 . 17 . 1	Sub-total carried forward, £1,056 17s 1d **Interpretations** Chelloes and longcloth were Indian cotton textiles brought to the island by the Company's ships from Bengal and the Coromandel coast. Chelloes were chequered or striped cottons, often in blue and white, used for shirts, aprons and bedding, and they were also widely traded to West Africa. Longcloth was plain, unbleached or white calico woven in unusually long pieces, sometimes 36 or more yards, and it served for shirts, sheets and underclothing. The letters attached to each piece were the Company's warehouse marks for grade and origin, which explained why pieces sold at such different prices. Sago was a starch extracted from the pith of the sago palm in the Malay archipelago and processed into small pearls. It was prized as a light food for invalids and children, cooked in milk or water, and it reached St Helena by way of the Company's eastern trade. Its sale alongside ordinary provisions showed how the island's position on the route home from Asia gave its settlers access to foods that in England were still sold mainly by apothecaries. A few of the hardware items would be unfamiliar now. H-L hinges were strap hinges shaped like those two letters, fixed across the face of a door and its frame. A stock lock was a door lock set in a heavy wooden case. A helve was the wooden handle of an axe or pick, sold separately so that a broken handle could be replaced. The close-stool pan was the earthenware pot set into a close stool, the boxed seat that served as an indoor privy.
353	346	15th July Brought over£ 1056 . 17 . 1 Tin Ware viz 1 Quart Sauce Pan 7 1 Driping Pan 3 3 Lamps 2 . 6 6 . 1 Paint viz 42½ lb Indico 4 . 5 33 lb Blue Smalts 2 . 4 4 lb W Lead dry 1 . 5 3 Barl Blacking 1 . 11 38 lb Whiting 1 . 7 6 lb Rd Red dry 1 . 4 6 . 15 . 3 Cuttlery Ware viz 12 Ivory Handles Knives and Forks 1 . 14 . 1 16 Horn Combs 2 . 3 403 Prs Shoe Buckles 11 . 19 . 1 331 Prs Knee Do 5 . 10 . 4 397 Leather Garthers 12 . 8 . 1 2 Shoe Knives 9 12 Buck: Handle Knives & Forks 10 . 3 5 Ivory Combs 6 . 3 32 . 11 . 6	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from £1,056 17s 1d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,056 17s 1d Tinware: 1 quart saucepan, £0 0s 7d 1 dripping pan, £0 3s 0d 3 lamps, £0 2s 6d Sub-total for tinware, £0 6s 1d Paint and pigments: 42½ lb of indigo, £4 5s 0d 33 lb of blue smalt, £2 4s 0d 4 lb of dry white lead, £0 1s 5d 3 balls of blacking, £0 1s 11d 38 lb of whiting, £0 1s 7d 6 lb of dry red lead, £0 1s 4d Sub-total for paint and pigments, £6 15s 3d Cutlery and small wares: 12 ivory-handled knives and forks, £1 14s 1d 16 horn combs, £0 2s 3d 403 pairs of shoe buckles, £11 19s 1d 331 pairs of knee buckles, £5 10s 4d 397 leather garters, £12 8s 1d 2 shoemaker's knives, £0 0s 9d 12 buckhorn-handled knives and forks, £0 10s 3d 5 ivory combs, £0 6s 3d Sub-total for cutlery and small wares, £32 11s 6d Glassware: 1 beer glass, £0 1s 3½d 1 glass decanter, £0 3s 10½d 2 pairs of candle shades, £1 3s 5d 15 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 10s 0d 25 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 6s 9d 3 panes of glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 2s 9d Sub-total for glassware, £2 8s 1d Sub-total carried forward, £1,098 18s 0d **Interpretations** The quantities of shoe buckles, knee buckles and garters, at around 400, 330 and 400 respectively, far exceeded what the island's civilian households could use in three months. They were almost certainly for the garrison. Soldiers fastened their shoes with

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Glass Ware viz 1 Beer Glass 1 . 3½ 1 Do Decanter 3 . 10½ 2 Pr Candle Shades 1 . 3 . 5 15 Sqs Glass 8 by 10 10 25 Do Do 6 by 8 6 . 9 3 Do Do 10 by 12 2 . 9 2 . 8 . 1 Carried Over£ 1098 . 18	buckles, closed their breeches below the knee with knee buckles and held up their stockings with garters, and these items wore out or broke quickly. Selling them through the Company's warehouse, rather than issuing them free, allowed the cost to be recovered from the men's pay, so the soldiers bore the expense of keeping their uniforms complete. Indigo and smalt were both blue colourants. Indigo was a dye extracted from the leaves of the indigo plant, grown in Bengal and other parts of India, and it was used for dyeing cloth and as a laundry blue to whiten linen. Smalt was powdered blue glass coloured with cobalt, made chiefly in Saxony, and it served as a paint pigment and as a cheaper laundry blue. Whiting was finely ground chalk used for whitewash and for cleaning. Blacking came in hard balls of lampblack mixed with wax or tallow and was rubbed onto shoes and leather accoutrements. Candle shades were tall glass cylinders set over candles to keep draughts from blowing them out. On an island swept by steady trade winds, they allowed candles to burn on open verandas or near windows. The panes of window glass in three standard sizes showed settlers glazing and repairing their houses with imported glass, since none was made on the island.
354	347	1765 Brought over£ 1098 . 13 China Ware viz 8 Bowls 8 35 Saucers 8 . 9 9 Tea Pots 11 . 3 3 Setts Dishes and Plates 2 . 18 . 4 5 Chamber Pots 7 . 6 4 Guglets and Basons 10 3 Blue & White Sallad Dishes 1 . 8 3 Sauce Boats 10 24 Soop Plates 9 1 Do Dish 5 . 6 30 Half Pt Cups and Saucers 13 . 9 6 Qt Do Do Do 2 2 Salts 1 . 4 1 Tureen and Dish 3 . 4 7 . 1 . 3 Shoes viz 86 Prs Mens Ordinary Shoes 12 . 19 . 10 30 Prs Do Fine Do 9 . 5 32 Prs Do Do Pumps 8 . 16 4 Prs Do Can Do 1 . 7 . 2 7 Prs Womens Calimance Shoes 4 . 18 . 3 19 Prs Womens Spanish Do 1 . 10 . 6 19 Prs Womens Calf Do 2 . 17	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from £1,098 18s 0d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,098 18s 0d Chinaware: 8 bowls, £0 8s 0d 35 saucers, £0 8s 9d 9 teapots, £0 11s 3d 3 sets of dishes and plates, £2 12s 4d 5 chamber pots, £0 7s 6d 4 goglets and basins, £0 10s 0d 3 blue and white salad dishes, £0 1s 8d 3 sauce boats, £0 0s 10d 24 soup plates, £0 9s 0d 1 soup dish, £0 5s 6d 30 half-pint cups and saucers, £0 13s 9d 6 pint cups and saucers, £0 2s 0d 2 salt cellars, £0 1s 4d 1 tureen and dish, £0 3s 4d Sub-total for chinaware, £7 1s 3d Shoes: 86 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £12 19s 10d 30 pairs of men's fine shoes, £9 5s 0d 32 pairs of men's pumps, £8 16s 0d 4 pairs of men's canvas shoes, £1 7s 2d 7 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £4 18s 3d 19 pairs of women's Spanish leather shoes, £1 10s 6d 19 pairs of women's calfskin shoes, £2 17s 0d 9 pairs of boys' shoes, £1 11s 1d 7 pairs of girls' calfskin shoes, £0 16s 11d 10 pairs of calamanco shoes, £1 15s 0d Sub-total for shoes, £51 16s 9d Deal timber: 14 feet of Riga timber, £0 13s 8d 15 double deals, £2 16s 1d 6 single deals, £0 12s 9d Sub-total for deal timber, £4 3s 0d Sub-total carried forward, £1,161 19s 0d **Interpretations** The chinaware was Chinese export porcelain, landed by the Company's ships returning from Canton. Teapots, soup plates, sauce boats, tureens and even chamber pots in porcelain were within reach of the Company's ordinary servants on St Helena at a time when most English households below the gentry still ate from pewter, wood or coarse earthenware. The island's position on the

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		9 Prs Boys Do 1 . 11 . 1 7 Prs Girls Calf Do 16 . 11 10 Prs Callimanco Do 1 . 4 . 5 51 . 16 . 9 Deals viz 4 Ps Riga Timber 13 . 8 15 Double Deals 2 . 16 . 1 6 Single Do 1 . 12 . 9 4 . 3 Carried Over£ 1161 . 14	China route gave its settlers a standard of tableware that in England was only beginning to spread, as Chinese porcelain and cheaper English imitations became common in the later 18th century. A goglet was a long-necked water jar of porous earthenware or porcelain, used in India and the East for keeping drinking water cool by evaporation. The word came into English through the Portuguese in India, and the pairing of goglets with basins suggested sets for washing as well as drinking. Calamanco was a glossy woollen cloth woven in Norwich and Flanders with a satin finish, often striped or chequered, and it made a durable, fashionable upper for women's and children's shoes. Spanish leather was fine goatskin tanned in the Spanish manner, soft and supple, also known as cordovan. Pumps were light shoes with thin soles and low heels, worn for dress and dancing. The range of shoes for men, women, boys and girls in different materials showed a settled community of families, not merely a garrison. Deals were sawn planks of fir or pine, normally imported from the Baltic, with double deals thicker than single ones. Riga timber came from the forests behind the Latvian port of Riga and was prized for masts and heavy framing. With the island's own wood too scarce even to burn lime, as Captain Mitchell had reported on 10 June 1765, every plank for building or repair had to be shipped in.
355	348	15th July Brought Over£ 1161 . 19 Pitch and Tar viz 9 lb Pitch 1 . 10½ 2½ Galls Tar 2 . 3½ 23 lb Rozin 6 . 5 10 . 7 Pewter viz 1 Bed Pan 7 . 8 1 Close Stool Pan 5 . 2 2 Quart Funnels 5 2 Basons 5 1 . 2 . 10 Haberdashery viz 1 Yd Tabby 9 . 3½ 3¼ lb Whone 1 . 5 32 Ozs Silk 2 . 7 . 10 59 Do Mohair 1 . 9 . 6 6 Doz: Mohair Bt Buttons 2 . 3 1 Ps White Buckram 17 3 Doz. Gilt Bt Buttons 10½ ½ Mohair Do Buttons 6½ 356 Cockades 6 . 13 . 6 2 Gross Horn Moulds 4 . 11 3½ Doz. Silv Wire Bt Buttons 3 . 5½ 1 Ps Galloon 5 . 8½	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from £1,161 19s 0d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,161 19s 0d Pitch, tar and rosin: 9 lb of pitch, £0 1s 10½d 2½ gallons of tar, £0 2s 3½d 23 lb of rosin, £0 6s 5d Sub-total for pitch, tar and rosin, £0 10s 7d Pewter: 1 bedpan, £0 7s 8d 1 close-stool pan, £0 5s 2d 2 quart funnels, £0 5s 0d 2 basins, £0 5s 0d Sub-total for pewter, £1 2s 10d Haberdashery: 1 yard of tabby, £0 9s 3½d 3¼ yards of alamode, £1 0s 5d 32 skeins of silk, £2 7s 10d 59 skeins of mohair thread, £1 9s 6d 6 dozen mohair breast buttons, £0 2s 3d 1 piece of white buckram, £0 17s 0d 3 dozen gilt breast buttons, £0 10s 1½d ½ dozen mohair buttons, £0 0s 4½d 356 cockades, £6 13s 6d 2 gross of horn button moulds, £0 4s 11d 3½ dozen silver wire breast buttons, £0 3s 5½d 1 piece of galloon, £0 5s 8½d 1 piece of carnation tape, £0 0s 7½d Sub-total for haberdashery, £14 10s 0d Nails: 24 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 15s 6d 36 lb of sixpenny nails, £1 1s 0d 13 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 5s 5d 23 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 11s 6d 9 lb of twopenny nails, £0 6s 11d 3 lb of threepenny nails, £0 2s 5d 1½ lb of tacks, £0 3s 5d Sub-total for nails, £3 6s 2d Sub-total carried forward, £1,181 18s 7d **Interpretations** The 356 cockades, like the hundreds of buckles and garters in the same account, pointed to the garrison. A cockade was a rosette or knot of ribbon worn on the hat as a badge of allegiance, and every soldier in British service wore a black one. Buying

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Ps Cusrution Tape 7½ 14 . 10 Nails viz 24 lb 4 Nails 15 . 6 36 lb 6 Do 1 . 1 13 lb 20 Do 5 . 5 23 lb 10 Do 11 . 6 9 lb 2 Do 6 . 11 3 lb 3 Do 2 . 5 1½ Tack 3 . 5 3 . 6 . 2 Carried Over£ 1181 . 18 . 7	them in such numbers through the Company's warehouse meant the men paid for this part of their uniform themselves, with the cost deducted from their wages. Several of the fabrics and trimmings were specialised materials. Tabby was a heavy silk taffeta with a watered or rippled finish. Alamode was a thin, glossy black silk used for hoods, scarves and mourning dress. Galloon was a narrow braid of silk, worsted or metal thread used to edge hats and uniforms. Carnation tape was tape dyed the pale pink of carnation flowers. Horn moulds were button blanks cut from horn, which the buyer covered with fabric to match a garment. Breast buttons were the smaller buttons used on waistcoats and the fronts of coats. Nails were named by their old price per hundred, so fourpenny nails had once cost 4d a hundred and twentypenny nails 20d. The names had long since become a measure of length rather than cost, running from small twopenny nails of about an inch to twentypenny nails of about four inches. The spread of sizes bought in one quarter showed settlers carrying out every kind of carpentry, from fixing laths to framing roofs. Pitch, tar and rosin were used to waterproof roofs, boats and casks and to seal joints in timber. Rosin was the hard residue left after distilling turpentine from pine resin, and it was also used in soldering and for making sealing compounds.
356	349	1765 Brought over £ 1181 . 8 . 7 Hooks and Lines viz 243 No 2 3 . 16 . 9 144 No 3 2 . 12 6 No 4 2 . 6 Lines 1 Hambro Do 1 . 8 200 No 7 10 . 6 450 No 9 11 300 No 12 1 . 4½ 100 No 13 10½ 550 No 15 4 . 4½ 225 No 14 1 . 11½ 100 No 11 1 . 9 Hooks 8 . 4 . 9 Hosiers Ware viz 9 Prs Mens Wove Stockgs 1 . 15 . 7 66 Prs Mens Ordinry Thread Do 10 . 10 . 4 2 Prs Mens Fine Do Do 13 . 3 9 Prs Mens Eng. Cotton Do 3 . 7 . 10 3 Prs Boys Do 6 . 10 2 Prs Black Breeches 19 . 4 3 Prs Red Do 1 . 15 19 . 8 . 2	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants continued from £1,181 8s 7d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,181 8s 7d Fishing lines and hooks: 243 no. 2 fishing lines, £3 16s 9d 144 no. 3 fishing lines, £2 12s 0d 6 no. 4 fishing lines, £0 2s 6d 1 Hamburg fishing line, £0 1s 8d 200 no. 7 fish hooks, £0 10s 6d 450 no. 9 fish hooks, £0 11s 0d 300 no. 12 fish hooks, £0 1s 4½d 100 no. 13 fish hooks, £0 0s 10½d 550 no. 15 fish hooks, £0 4s 4½d 225 no. 14 fish hooks, £0 1s 11½d 100 no. 11 fish hooks, £0 1s 9d Sub-total for fishing lines and hooks, £8 4s 9d Hosiery and breeches: 9 pairs of men's woven stockings, £1 15s 7d 66 pairs of men's ordinary thread stockings, £10 10s 4d 2 pairs of men's fine thread stockings, £0 13s 3d 9 pairs of men's English cotton stockings, £3 7s 10d 3 pairs of boys' stockings, £0 6s 10d 2 pairs of black breeches, £0 19s 4d 3 pairs of red breeches, £1 15s 0d Sub-total for hosiery and breeches, £19 8s 2d Turned and woven wares: 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 2d 15 shoe brushes, £0 9s 4½d 1 clothes brush, £0 1s 6d 2 hair brooms, £0 5s 0d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 6d 7 punch ladles, £0 0s 4½d 1 flasket, £0 3s 2d 1 labourer's basket, £0 0s 10d Sub-total for turned and woven wares, £1 7s 11d Sub-total carried forward, £1,210 9s 5d **Interpretations** The Company's servants bought nearly 400 fishing lines and some 1,900 hooks in a single quarter. Fish was the one plentiful source of fresh protein around St Helena, with mackerel, albacore, bullseye and other species in the waters off the coast. At a

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Turners Ware viz 2 Prs Brushes 1 . 2 15 Shoe Do 9 . 4½ 1 Cloth Do 1 . 6 2 Hair Brooms 5 1 Scrubing Brush 2 . 6 7 Bunch Ladles 4½ 1 Flasket 3 . 2 1 Labourers Basket 10 1 . 7 . 11 Carried Over £ 1210 . 9 . 5	time when the Council had cut the beef market to one beast a week and was refusing cattle and sheep to passing ships, fishing gave islanders a supply of food outside the Company's rationing. Lines and hooks were numbered by size, with lower numbers for heavier lines and larger hooks, so the range suggested fishing both from the rocks for small fish and from boats for larger ones. A flasket was a long, shallow basket with two handles, used for carrying laundry or produce. Punch ladles were small ladles for serving punch, the mixed drink of spirits, citrus, sugar and water that was popular throughout the Company's settlements, where arrack from the East made a cheap base. The breeches were perhaps sold for the soldiers of the garrison, whose uniform clothing included breeches as well as the stockings, buckles and garters listed elsewhere in the account. Buying them through the store meant the cost was recovered from the men's pay.
357	350	15th July Brought over £ 1210 . 9 . 5 Shirts viz 5 Ps Ir Linnen 8 . 17 . 11 205 Centinels Shirts 50 . 17 . 11 102 Frocks 3 . 10 . 1 13 Yards Brown Holland 1 . 16 . 9 65 . 2 . 8 Books viz 2 Spelling Books 2 . 7 1 Grammer 3½ 1 Testament 1 . 3½ 4 . 2 Broad Cloth viz 15¾ Yds Blue 15 . 12 . 10 7¼ Yds Brown 7 . 11 2½ Yds Scarlet 1 . 16 . 2 2¾ Yds French Grey 2 . 12 . 11 4 Yds Black 3 . 15 30 . 12 . 4 Serge 19 Yds Blue 4 . 16 . 11 Camblet 2¼ Yds Brown 4 Braziers Ware 2 Prs Snuffers 6 . 8 Hats viz 5 Mens fine 4 . 16 . 10 6 Boys 2 . 10 6 . 17 . 1 Long Ells viz 20¼ Yds Blue 1 . 17 . 1½ 3 Yds Scarlet 7 . 7½ 2 . 4 . 9 £ 1325	The storekeeper's account of goods sold to the Company's servants concluded from £1,210 9s 5d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,210 9s 5d Shirts and linen: 5 pieces of Irish linen, £8 17s 11d 205 soldiers' shirts, £50 17s 11d 102 smocks, £3 10s 1d 12 yards of brown holland, £1 16s 9d Sub-total for shirts and linen, £65 2s 8d Books: 2 spelling books, £0 2s 7d 1 primer, £0 0s 3½d 1 New Testament, £0 1s 3½d Sub-total for books, £0 4s 2d Broadcloth: 15¾ yards of blue broadcloth, £15 12s 10d 7¾ yards of brown broadcloth, £7 1s 11d 2½ yards of scarlet broadcloth, £1 16s 2d 2¾ yards of French grey broadcloth, £2 12s 11d 4 yards of black broadcloth, £3 15s 0d Sub-total for broadcloth, £30 18s 4d Blue serge, 19 yards, £4 16s 11d Brown camlet, 2¼ pieces, £4 0s 0d Brassware, 2 pairs of snuffers, £0 6s 8d Hats: 5 men's fine hats, £4 16s 10d 6 boys' hats, £2 0s 10d Sub-total for hats, £6 17s 1d Long ells: 20¼ yards of blue long ells, £1 17s 1½d 3 yards of scarlet long ells, £0 7s 7½d Sub-total for long ells, £2 4s 9d Total, £1,325 0s 0d **Interpretations** Sales to the Company's servants from its warehouses came to £1,325 0s 0d in three months, a sum larger than the island treasury's entire cash receipts from ships' accounts over April and May. The warehouse acted as the island's main shop, supplying food, clothing, tools, household goods and uniform items to officers, soldiers, artisans and their families. With every item priced at cost plus 10 per cent, the Company earned roughly £120 a quarter on the trade, while recovering through the soldiers' pay much of what it spent on their upkeep. The two spelling books, a primer and a New Testament were the only books sold in the quarter. They were the standard texts of elementary schooling, from which children learned their letters and then to read scripture. Their appearance in the account came three weeks before the Council forwarded Richard Beale's petition of 24 June 1765, in which the island's schoolmaster of 40 years asked for a rise in his salary of £15 10s 0d.

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			Several fabrics would be unfamiliar now. Brown holland was unbleached linen, originally from the Netherlands, used for aprons, smocks and furniture covers. Broadcloth was fine, heavily fulled woollen cloth woven on a wide loom, used for good coats; French grey was a pale bluish grey. Camlet was a durable cloth of wool mixed with goat hair or silk, used for cloaks and outer garments. Long ells were a cheap, coarse woollen cloth, named from their length of about 24 ells, made in the West Country and widely sold for soldiers' clothing and the Eastern trade. Snuffers were scissor-like tools with a small box on one blade, used to trim and catch the charred wick of a candle. The 205 soldiers' shirts, at about 5s each, were the single largest item in the account. Like the buckles, garters, cockades and stockings recorded on earlier pages, they were bought by the men of the garrison and charged against their pay.
358	351	1765 Sold to the Planters at 25 P Cent viz Long Cloth 2 Ps K 10 Shoes viz 7 Prs Mens fine 2 . 9 13 Prs Womens Calimanco 3 . 3 . 4 11 Prs Do Calf 1 . 16 . 8 8 Prs Girls Do 12 1 Prs Do Calimanco 4 10 Prs Boys 1 . 19 . 2 1 Prs Mens Pumps 6 . 3 2 Prs Mens Ordinary Shoes 10 1 Prs Do Channel Pumps 7 . 9 11 . 18 . 2 Shirts 3 Yds Brown Holland 6 . 10 Chelloes 3 Ps 1 . 17 Buckram 2 Ps 2 . 3 Hosiers Ware viz 7 Prs Mens Wove Stockings 1 . 1 . 6 1 Prs Do Knit Do 3 . 9 1 Prs Boys Do 2 . 7 1 Prs Womens Do 3 . 10 1 Prs Girls Do 2 . 9 2 . 4 . 5 Hatts viz 2 Boys Hatts 1 . 1 . 9 1 Mans Do 1 . 1 . 11 2 . 3 . 8 Serge viz 12 Yds Blue 3 . 10 2½ Yds Scarlet	The storekeeper's account then turned to goods sold to the island's planters, charged at cost plus 25 per cent. Longcloth marked K, 2 pieces, £10 0s 0d Shoes: 7 pairs of men's fine shoes, £2 9s 0d 13 pairs of women's calamanco shoes, £3 3s 4d 11 pairs of women's calfskin shoes, £1 16s 8d 3 pairs of girls' calfskin shoes, £0 12s 0d 1 pair of girls' calamanco shoes, £0 4s 0d 10 pairs of boys' shoes, £1 19s 2d 1 pair of men's pumps, £0 6s 3d 2 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £0 10s 0d 1 pair of men's channel pumps, £0 7s 9d Sub-total for shoes, £11 18s 2d Shirting, 3 yards of brown holland, £0 6s 10d Chelloes, 3 pieces, £1 17s 0d Buckram, 2 pieces, £0 2s 3d Hosiery: 7 pairs of men's woven stockings, £1 11s 6d 1 pair of men's knitted stockings, £0 3s 9d 1 pair of boys' stockings, £0 2s 7d 1 pair of women's stockings, £0 3s 10d 1 pair of girls' stockings, £0 2s 9d Sub-total for hosiery, £2 4s 5d Hats: 2 boys' hats, £1 1s 9d 1 man's hat, £1 1s 11d Sub-total for hats, £2 3s 8d Serge: 12 yards of blue serge, £3 10s 0d 2½ yards of scarlet serge, £0 17s 11d Sub-total for serge, £4 7s 11d Blue long ells, 6 yards, £0 12s 6d Sub-total carried forward, £33 12s 9d **Interpretations** The Company charged its planters a markup of 25 per cent on warehouse goods, against 10 per cent for its own servants. The difference showed in the prices of identical items. Men's pumps sold to servants at about 5s 6d a pair and to planters at 6s 3d, and men's woven stockings rose from about 4s a pair to 4s 6d. The higher rate recognised that planters were independent settlers rather than employees, while still binding them to the Company's stores for goods they could obtain nowhere else on the island. It also gave the Company a larger return from households that did not draw its pay. The planters' purchases were small and largely domestic compared with those of the servants. There were no soldiers' shirts, cockades, buckles or garters, and the shoes and stockings were bought for men, women, boys and girls alike. The pattern reflected family households on scattered farms rather than a garrison.

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		17 . 11 4 . 7 . 11 Long Ells 6 Yds Blue 12 . 6 Carrd Over £ 33 . 12 . 9	Channel pumps were light shoes in which the stitching of the sole was sunk into a groove, or channel, cut in the leather and then closed over. The method hid and protected the stitches, giving a neater and more durable shoe than ordinary pumps, and explained the higher price.
359	352	15th July Brought Over £ 33 . 12 . 9 Camblet viz 2 Yds Scarlet 9 . 2 6¾ Yds Brown 19 1 . 8 . 2 Broad Cloth viz 7¼ Yds Blue 8 . 3 . 1 10¼ Yds Brown 11 . 3 . 1 19 . 6 . 2 Shalloon 33½ Yards Coloured 3 . 14 . 8 Sold at 40 P Cent viz Pitch and Tar viz 20 lb Pitch 5 . 5 1 Gall Tar 1 . 3 6 . 8 Nails viz 6 lb Scupper Nails 4 . 1½ 6 lb 10d Do 4 . 1½ 12 lb 6d Do 9 . 3 3 lb 2d Do 3 8 lb 4d Do 6 . 8 ¼ lb Tacks 5 4 lb Coopers Rivets 2 . 10 1 . 10 . 5 Oil viz 5 Galls Train 1 . 2 . 6 9½ Galls Do 2 . 12 . 3 3 . 14 . 9 Twine 23 Sks 1 . 1 Sugar and Candy viz 653 lb Sugar 14 . 19 . 3 57 lb Candy 1 . 18 16 . 17 . 3 Carrd Over £ 81 . 11 . 10	The account of goods sold to the planters continued from £33 12s 9d brought forward. Brought forward, £33 12s 9d Camlet: 2 yards of scarlet camlet, £0 9s 2d 6¾ yards of brown camlet, £0 19s 0d Sub-total for camlet, £1 8s 2d Broadcloth: 7¼ yards of blue broadcloth, £8 3s 1d 10¼ yards of brown broadcloth, £11 3s 1d Sub-total for broadcloth, £19 6s 2d Coloured shalloon, 33½ yards, £3 14s 8d A further group of goods was sold at cost plus 40 per cent. Pitch and tar: 20 lb of pitch, £0 5s 5d 1 gallon of tar, £0 1s 3d Sub-total for pitch and tar, £0 6s 8d Nails: 6 lb of scupper nails, £0 4s 1½d 6 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 4s 1½d 12 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 9s 3d 3 lb of twopenny nails, £0 3s 0d 8 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 6s 8d ¼ lb of tacks, £0 0s 5d 4 lb of cooper's rivets, £0 2s 10d Sub-total for nails, £1 10s 5d Oil: 5 gallons of train oil, £1 2s 6d 9½ gallons of linseed oil, £2 12s 3d Sub-total for oil, £3 14s 9d Twine, 23 skeins, £1 1s 0d Sugar and sugar candy: 653 lb of sugar, £14 19s 3d 57 lb of sugar candy, £1 18s 0d Sub-total for sugar and sugar candy, £16 17s 3d Sub-total carried forward, £81 11s 10d **Interpretations** The account revealed a third tier of pricing at cost plus 40 per cent, applied to sugar, nails, oil, pitch, tar and twine. The effect was plain in the price of sugar, which the Company's servants bought at about 4d a pound and which went out under this heading at about 5½d. Sugar candy rose from about 6d to 8d a pound. These were goods in steady demand on the farms, for preserving, building, fencing and lighting, and the higher rate let the Company draw a larger profit from the planters' reliance on its warehouse for things they could not make themselves. Scupper nails were short nails with broad, flat heads, originally used at sea to fix leather or lead over the scupper holes that drained water from a ship's deck. Ashore they served wherever leather, canvas or sheet lead had to be fastened without tearing. Cooper's rivets were small soft-iron rivets used to join the ends of the iron hoops that bound casks, an essential item in a settlement that stored most of its provisions and drink in barrels.
360	353	1765 Brought over £ 81 . 11 . 10 Coals 5 Chaldrons 15 Paint viz 11 lb Indico	The account of goods sold at the higher rate continued from £81 11s 10d brought forward. Brought forward, £81 11s 10d Coal, 5 chaldrons, £15 0s 0d Paint and pigments: 11 lb of indigo, £1 9s 1d 2 lb of blue smalt, £0 3s 4½d 8 lb of dry white lead, £0 3s 10d

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		1 . 9 . 1 2 lb Blue Smalts 3 . 4½ 8 lb W Lead dry 3 . 10 2 lb Ven: Red mixed 1 . 4½ 1 lb Yell: Oaker Do 3½ 1 Barrl Blacking 9½ 1 . 18 . 9 Sope 67 lb 6 . 12 . 7 Cordage 145 lb 3 . 15 . 6 China Ware viz 2 Chamber Pots 4 . 4 1 Blue & White Sallad Dish 1 . 1 5 . 5 Tin Ware viz 2 Drippg Pans 8 30 Larthorns Leaves 6 . 10 2 Globe Lamps 1 . 6 . 6 2 . 1 . 4 Leather 3¼ lb Sole 4 . 2 Oars 2 10 . 10 Starch 8 lb 4 . 6 Pitch and Tar viz 3½ Galls Tar 3 . 9 43 lb Rozen 12 . 6 16 . 3 Thread viz 2 lb Brown 19 4 lb Colour'd 13 . 4 1 . 17 . 4 Candles 6 lb 16 . 9 Carried Over £ 115 . 15 . 3	2 lb of Venetian red, ready mixed, £0 1s 4½d 1 lb of yellow ochre, ready mixed, £0 0s 3½d 1 ball of blacking, £0 0s 9½d Sub-total for paint and pigments, £1 18s 9d Soap, 67 lb, £6 12s 7d Rope, 145 lb, £3 15s 6d Chinaware: 2 chamber pots, £0 4s 4d 1 blue and white salad dish, £0 1s 1d Sub-total for chinaware, £0 5s 5d Tinware: 2 dripping pans, £0 8s 0d 30 lantern leaves, £0 6s 10d 2 globe lamps, £1 6s 6d Sub-total for tinware, £2 1s 4d Sole leather, 3¼ lb, £0 4s 2d Oars, 2, £0 10s 10d Starch, 8 lb, £0 4s 6d Tar and rosin: 3½ gallons of tar, £0 3s 9d 43 lb of rosin, £0 12s 6d Sub-total for tar and rosin, £0 16s 3d Thread: 2 lb of brown thread, £0 19s 0d 4 lb of coloured thread, £0 18s 4d Sub-total for thread, £1 17s 4d Candles, 6 lb, £0 16s 9d Sub-total carried forward, £115 15s 3d **Interpretations** The five chaldrons of coal, sold at £3 0s 0d each, made up the largest single item in this part of the account. A chaldron was a measure of coal by volume, in London equal to 36 bushels and weighing roughly 25 to 28 hundredweight. Coal had to be shipped some 4,000 miles from Britain and cost the island far more than it did in London. Its value on St Helena was underlined by Captain Mitchell's letter of 10 June 1765, in which he asked for coal to burn the island's limestone because wood was too scarce for the purpose. Coal was the only fuel that could replace the island's dwindling timber for smithing, lime burning and heavy cooking. Candles sold under this heading cost almost 2s 10d a pound, against about 2s 2d a pound for those sold to the Company's servants earlier in the account. The price suggested wax candles such as those brought from Bengal by the *Van Sittart*, and the gap reflected the difference between the 10 per cent and 40 per cent markups. Lantern leaves were thin, translucent sheets of horn, pressed and scraped until light could pass through, which were fitted into the sides of lanterns in place of glass. They were cheaper and far less fragile than glass, and could be replaced one at a time. Globe lamps were lamps enclosed in a round glass globe, used in larger rooms and on verandas. Venetian red and yellow ochre were earth pigments of iron oxide, sold ready mixed with oil for painting doors, shutters and woodwork.
361	354	15th July Brought over £ 115 . 15 . 3 Flour 595 lb 6 . 16 . 4 Salt 1 Bushel 5 . 6 Glass Ware viz 2 Sqs 8 by 10 1 . 8 2 Sqs 10 by 12 2 . 4 2 Sqs 11 by 19 4 . 4	The account of goods sold at the higher rate continued from £115 15s 3d brought forward. Brought forward, £115 15s 3d Flour, 595 lb, £6 16s 4d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 5s 6d Glassware: 2 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 1s 8d 2 panes of glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 2s 4d 2 panes of glass, 11 by 19 inches, £0 4s 4d 12 wine glasses, £0 9s 9d 2 beer glasses, £0 3s 4d Sub-total for glassware, £1 1s 5d Tea: 52 lb of bohea tea, £3 1s 9d 72 lb of singlo tea, £7 4s 0d 21 lb of congou tea, £2 2s 0d

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		12 Wine Glasses 9 . 9 2 Bar Glasses 3 . 4 1 . 1 . 5 Tea viz 52 lb Bohea 3 . 1 . 9 72 lb Single 7 . 4 21 lb Congo 2 . 2 12 . 7 . 9 Hooks and Lines viz 66 No 2 1 . 6 . 9½ 78 No 3 1 . 16 . 5½ 10 No 4 5 . 4 Lines 1 Deep Sea Do 7 1 Hambro Do 2 . 2 200 No 7 13 . 6 525 No 9 16 . 7½ 125 No 11 2 . 9½ 150 No 12 3 100 No 13 1 . 1½ 575 No 15 5 . 11½ Hooks 5 . 18 . 3 Grindstones 1 3 . 11 Haberdashery viz 15 Ozs Silk 10 19 Do Mohair 11 . 1 1 Ps Cornation Tape 10 1 . 1 . 11 Carried Over £ 143 . 10 . 4	Sub-total for tea, £12 7s 9d Fishing lines and hooks: 66 no. 2 fishing lines, £1 6s 9½d 78 no. 3 fishing lines, £1 16s 5½d 10 no. 4 fishing lines, £0 5s 4d 1 deep-sea fishing line, £0 7s 0d 1 Hamburg fishing line, £0 2s 2d 200 no. 7 fish hooks, £0 13s 6d 525 no. 9 fish hooks, £0 16s 7½d 125 no. 11 fish hooks, £0 2s 9½d 150 no. 12 fish hooks, £0 0s 8d 100 no. 13 fish hooks, £0 1s 1½d 575 no. 15 fish hooks, £0 5s 11½d Sub-total for fishing lines and hooks, £5 18s 3d Grindstone, 1, £0 3s 11d Haberdashery: 15 skeins of silk, £0 10s 0d 19 skeins of mohair thread, £0 11s 1d 1 piece of carnation tape, £0 0s 10d Sub-total for haberdashery, £1 1s 11d Sub-total carried forward, £143 10s 4d **Interpretations** The planters bought fishing tackle on almost the same scale as the Company's servants, with over 150 lines and some 1,700 hooks in the quarter. The purchase of a deep-sea line, absent from the servants' account, suggested that some planters fished well offshore from their own boats, and the two oars sold on the previous page pointed the same way. With the Company's beef tightly rationed, fishing gave the island's farming households a source of fresh food that lay outside the Council's control. The fish hooks confirmed the difference between the price tiers. Two hundred no. 7 hooks cost the Company's servants 10s 6d and the planters 13s 6d, an increase of close to 29 per cent. That was the gap to be expected between goods sold at cost plus 10 per cent and at cost plus 40 per cent, and it showed the higher markup applied consistently across small wares as well as bulk goods such as sugar and coal.
362	355	1765 Brought over £ 143 . 10 . 4 Iron Ware viz 1 Spring Rat Trap 2 . 2 1 Sail Needle 1½ ¼ lb Brass Wire 2 . 7½ 5 lb Iron Rolld Plate 2 . 3½ 1 Iron Rim'd Lock wth Brass Knobs 7 1 Ditching Shovel 3 . 8 1 Chest Lock 4 1 Scythe Stone 2 . 3½ 1 Helve 10 1 Pickax	The account of goods sold at the higher rate concluded from £143 10s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £143 10s 4d Ironmongery: 1 spring rat trap, £0 2s 2d 1 sail needle, £0 0s 1½d ¼ lb of brass wire, £0 2s 7½d 5 lb of rolled iron plate, £0 2s 3½d 1 iron rim lock with brass knobs, £0 7s 0d 1 ditching shovel, £0 3s 8d 1 chest lock, £0 4s 0d 1 scythe whetstone, £0 0s 3½d 1 tool handle, £0 0s 10d 1 pickaxe, £0 4s 4d 1 dozen wood screws, £0 0s 6d Sub-total for ironmongery, £1 10s 3d Osnaburg, 18 yards, £0 19s 6d Sheet lead, 8 lb, £0 2s 4d Books, 1 spelling book, £0 1s 8d Rice, 6 lb, £0 0s 10d Turned and woven wares: 2 mops, £0 3s 4d 1 hair broom, £0 2s 11d

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		4 . 4 1 Doz: Wood Screws 0 . 6 1 . 10 . 3 Canvas 18 Yds Osenbrigs 19 . 6 Lead 8 lb Sheet Lead 2 . 4 Books 1 Spelling Book 1 . 8 Rice 6 lb 10 Turners Ware viz 2 Mops 3 . 4 1 Hair Broom 2 . 11 1 Birch Do 6 1 Flasket 4 1 Shoe Brush 10 1 Bunch Laules 10 12 . 5 Pewter 1 Bason 3 . 2 Deals 6 Single 16 . 6 £ 147 . 7	1 birch broom, £0 0s 6d 1 flasket, £0 4s 0d 1 shoe brush, £0 0s 10d 1 punch ladle, £0 0s 10d Sub-total for turned and woven wares, £0 12s 5d Pewter, 1 basin, £0 3s 2d Single deals, 6, £0 16s 6d Total, £147 7s 0d **Interpretations** Goods sold to the planters in the quarter came to £147 7s 0d, about one ninth of the £1,325 0s 0d sold to the Company's servants. The planters were fewer and farmed their own land, producing much of their own food, and the higher markups discouraged them from buying more than they needed. The Company's warehouse therefore served chiefly its own people, while the settlers drew on it mainly for imported goods they could not make or grow. The higher rates held consistently down to the smallest items. A spelling book cost the planters 1s 8d against about 1s 3½d for the servants, and single deals rose from about 2s 1½d each to 2s 9d. Both differences came close to the 29 per cent gap expected between the 10 and 40 per cent markups. A rim lock was a door lock mounted on the surface of the door in an iron box, rather than set into the wood like a mortice lock, and the brass knobs marked it as a better fitting for a dwelling house. A ditching shovel had a long, narrow blade for cutting and clearing drainage channels, work that mattered on the island's steep farmland, where heavy rain could strip the soil.
363	356	15th July Sold to the Honble Companys Ships from the 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Iron 123 lb 1 . 15 . 11 Pitch and Tar viz 12 lb Rozin 3 4 Barls Pitch 10 . 6 6 Barls Tar 10 . 7 . 10 172 lb Turpentine 2 . 13 . 9 23 . 10 . 7 Canvas viz 5 Bo Eng Canvas 16 . 5 40 Yds Osenbrigs 2 . 3 . 4 78 Yds Ticklenburgs 5 . 10 . 6 23 . 18 . 10 Oil 71 Gallons Linseed 19 . 10 . 6 Twine 128 Skains 5 . 12 Beef and Pork viz 5 Puncns Beef 93 . 2 . 6 2 Hhs Pork 27 . 6 125 . 18 . 6 Leather	The storekeeper's account then set out goods sold to the Honourable Company's ships between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Iron, 123 lb, £1 15s 11d Pitch, tar and turpentine: 12 lb of rosin, £0 3s 0d 4 barrels of pitch, £10 6s 0d 6 barrels of tar, £10 7s 10d 172 lb of turpentine, £2 13s 9d Sub-total for pitch, tar and turpentine, £23 10s 7d Canvas: 56 [...] of English canvas, £16 5s 0d 40 yards of osnaburg, £2 3s 4d 78 yards of tecklenburg, £5 10s 6d Sub-total for canvas, £23 18s 10d Linseed oil, 71 gallons, £19 10s 6d Twine, 128 skeins, £5 12s 0d Beef and pork: 5 puncheons of salt beef, £93 2s 6d 2 hogsheads of salt pork, £27 6s 0d Sub-total for beef and pork, £120 8s 6d Sole leather, 21 lb, £1 2s 5d Flour, 348 lb, £3 19s 9d Grindstone, 1, £0 8s 7d Nails: 9 lb of cooper's rivets 3 lb of tacks ½ gross of brads 9¼ lb of spikes 10 lb of twopenny nails 6 lb of threepenny nails 6 lb of fourpenny nails 2 lb of sixpenny nails Sub-total for nails so far, £5 0s 0d Sub-total carried forward, £206 3s 1d **Interpretations**

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		21 lb Sole 1 . 8 . 5 Flour 348 lb 3 . 19 . 9 Grindstones 1 8 . 7 Nails viz 9 lb Coopers Rivets 3 lb Tacks ½ Gr Brads 9¼ Spikes 10 lb 2d 6 lb 3d 6 lb 4d 2 lb 6d 5 Nails Carried Over £ 5 Carried Over £ 306 . 3 . 1	The Company's own ships drew heavily on the island's warehouse for naval stores. Pitch, tar, turpentine, canvas, twine and linseed oil were the materials for caulking seams, repairing sails and preserving rigging after months at sea, and St Helena stocked them so that homeward ships could make good the damage of the voyage from the East before the final passage to England. The warehouse thus acted as a dockyard store as well as a shop for the island's people. Salt meat was the largest item, at over £120 for five puncheons of beef and two hogsheads of pork. These sales fell in the quarter before the shortage became acute. By 3 July 1765 the Council felt unable to meet Captain Fernell's request for 400 pieces each of beef and pork and gave him only nine casks. Between those dates it had bought 556 pieces of beef and 623 of pork from Henry Topham on 27 May 1765, a sign that stocks had already been run down by supplying ships earlier in the season. Tecklenburg was a coarse linen cloth named after the county of Tecklenburg in Westphalia, where it was woven for export. Like osnaburg, from the neighbouring district, it was cheap and hard-wearing and served for sailcloth patches, hammocks and bags. Brads were small nails with tapered heads designed to sink flush into timber, and spikes were long, heavy nails used for fixing ships' planking and beams.
364	357	1765 Brought over £ 206 . 3 . 1 Nails brought over £ 5 3 lb 10d 4 lb 20d 4 lb 40d 5 Scupper Nails 5 . 3 5 . 5 . 3 Paint viz 52 Barrls Blacking 2 . 3 . 4 6 lb Red Lead 1 . 3 . 9 ¼ Copperas 1 . ½ 10 lb Y. Oaker dry 2 . 9½ 3 lb Verdigrease 16 . 6 103 lb W Lead dry 2 . 11 . 9 6 . 19 . 2 Turners Ware viz 14 Paint Brushes 10 . 6 3 Mops 5 . 9 16 . 3 Glass Ware 4 Tumblers 3 . 5 Iron Ware viz 6 Spring Rat Traps 13 1 Small Fryg Pan 3 . 9 24 Sail Needles 4 1 . 9 Blocks 1 Single of 14 Inchs 2 . 6 Tin Ware viz 3 lb Solder	The account of goods sold to the Company's ships continued from £206 3s 1d brought forward. Brought forward, £206 3s 1d Nails: Nails brought forward, £5 0s 0d 3 lb of tenpenny nails 4 lb of twentypenny nails 4 lb of fortypenny nails 5 lb of scupper nails Value of these further nails, £0 5s 3d Sub-total for nails, £5 5s 3d Paint and pigments: 52 balls of blacking, £2 3s 4d 60 lb of red lead, £1 3s 9d ¼ lb of copperas, £0 1s 0¼d 10 lb of dry yellow ochre, £0 2s 9½d 3 lb of verdigris, £0 16s 6d 103 lb of dry white lead, £2 11s 9d Sub-total for paint and pigments, £6 19s 2d Turned wares: 14 paint brushes, £0 10s 6d 3 mops, £0 5s 9d Sub-total for turned wares, £0 16s 3d Glassware, 4 tumblers, £0 3s 5d Ironmongery: 6 spring rat traps, £0 13s 0d 1 small frying pan, £0 3s 9d 24 sail needles, £0 4s 0d Sub-total for ironmongery, £1 0s 9d Pulley block, 1 single block of 14 inches, £0 2s 6d Tinware: 3 lb of solder, £0 4s 0d 3 riveted horn lanterns, £1 0s 2d 78 lantern leaves, £1 2s 9d Sub-total for tinware, £2 7s 5d Coal, 1 chaldron, £3 3s 0d Rope, 45 cwt 1 qr 13 lb, £132 10s 4d Total, £358 11s 2d **Interpretations** Rope was by far the largest purchase by the Company's ships, at over 45 hundredweight and £132 10s 4d, more than a third of their whole bill for the quarter. Rigging wore through quickly on the long passage from Asia, chafing against spars and rotting in damp, and ships reaching St Helena often needed to replace running rigging before facing the Atlantic.

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		4 3 Riveted Horn Lanthorns 1 . 2 78 Lanthorn Leaves 1 . 2 . 9 2 . 7 . 5 Coals 1 Chaldron 3 . 3 Cordage 45 C 13 lb 132 . 10 . 4 £ 358 . 11 . 2	The island's warehouse held stocks large enough to refit several ships a season. The paints and pigments served for ships' maintenance as much as for building. Verdigris was a green copper compound, scraped from copper sheets exposed to vinegar, used as a pigment and as a poison to deter shipworm and weed on hulls and boats. Copperas was iron sulphate, a green crystalline salt used in making ink and black dye and as a preservative for timber and rope. Red lead and white lead were mixed with oil as primers and paint for woodwork and ironwork exposed to the sea. A single block was a pulley with one sheave in a wooden shell, the basic fitting of a ship's running rigging, here 14 inches long for heavy tackle. Riveted horn lanterns were lanterns with sides of horn fixed with rivets rather than solder, making them tougher at sea, and the 78 spare lantern leaves allowed broken panes to be replaced during the voyage. The Company's ships paid £3 3s 0d for a chaldron of coal, against £3 0s 0d a chaldron charged under the 40 per cent tier on 15 July 1765. The ships' total of £358 11s 2d for the quarter was well over twice the £147 7s 0d paid by the planters, which showed how much of the warehouse's trade depended on the passing fleet.
365	358	15th July Charges General Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1765 Iron Ware viz 2 Broad Hoes 4 . 6½ 2 Garden Do 2 . 8 1 Tin Fryg Pan 2 . 3½ for the Brickmakers 2 Coopers Howels 3 . 4 1 Do Beak Iron 13 . 4 2 Do Jointers wth 2 Irons fixed 1 . 6 . 4 Cooper 6 W Saws for the Carpt & Coopers Use 2 . 5 . 1 12 Masons Tools 16 6 Stone Hammers 17 . 8 12 Masons Mallets 1 . 3 . 1 4 doz Marble Tools 1 . 14 . 1 8 doz Stone Masons Do 5 . 11 . 1 1 Pr Large Iron Blocks wth Br. Sheives 8 . 2 . 9 4 Masons Iron Crows 1 . 1 Masons Use 1 Cupboard Lock Engr Use 2 . 10 19 doz Wood Screws for the Castle & Engint 6 . 6 22 Helves for the Castle and Masons 12 . 10 3 Pad Locks for the Masr Hol. House 4 . 7½ ½ Yellow Solder 10½ ½ lb Borax 10 6 lb Cast Steel	The storekeeper's account then listed the stores issued at the Company's own expense, charged to general expenses, between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Ironmongery: 2 broad hoes for the brickmakers, £0 4s 6½d 2 garden hoes for the brickmakers, £0 2s 8d 1 iron frying pan for the brickmakers, £0 2s 8½d 2 cooper's howels for the cooper, £0 3s 4d 1 cooper's beak iron for the cooper, £0 13s 4d 2 cooper's jointers with 2 irons fitted, for the cooper, £1 6s 4d 6 whipsaws for the carpenters' and coopers' use, £2 5s 1d 12 masons' tools for the masons' use, £0 16s 0d 6 stone hammers for the masons' use, £0 17s 8d 12 masons' mallets for the masons' use, £1 3s 1d 4 dozen marble tools for the masons' use, £1 14s 1d 8 dozen stonemasons' tools for the masons' use, £5 11s 1d 1 pair of large iron blocks with brass sheaves for the masons' use, £8 2s 9d 4 masons' iron crowbars for the masons' use, £1 1s 0d 1 cupboard lock for the engineer's use, £0 2s 10d 19 dozen wood screws for the Castle and the engineer, £0 6s 6d 22 tool handles for the Castle and the masons, £0 12s 10d 3 padlocks for the Market House, £0 4s 7½d ½ lb of yellow solder for the armourer, £0 0s 10½d 1 lb of borax for the armourer, £0 10s 0d 6 lb of cast steel for the armourer, £0 12s 1d 1 beak iron for the armourer, £2 1s 0d 1 lb of binding wire for the armourer, £0 1s 5½d 1 large standing vice for the armourer, £1 13s 0d 30 lb of rod iron for shoeing Governor Skottowe's horses and for nails for the Castle, £0 8s 3d Sub-total for ironmongery carried forward, £30 17s 0d **Interpretations** Stores issued to the Company's own workmen were charged to general expenses rather than sold, so this part of the account recorded what the Company spent on its own works. The heavy outlay on masons' tools, crowbars and a large pair of iron blocks with brass sheaves reflected the fortification programme

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		12 . 1 1 Beck Iron 2 . 1 1 lb Binding Wire 1 . 5½ 1 Large Standing Vice 1 . 13 . ½ for the Armourer 30 Rod Iron for the Gov. Horses & Nails for the Castle 8 . 3 Iron Ware Carried Over £ 30 . 17 Carried Over £	that Captain Mitchell was then preparing. The blocks, at £8 2s 9d, were the costliest single item, and they would have been used as lifting tackle for hoisting heavy stones into place in the walls and batteries. The tools issued to the armourer may have included replacements for those taken by George Street, the armourer dismissed on 11 July 1765 for drinking, neglect and stealing Company tools. A beak iron was a small anvil with a horn or beak for shaping curved ironwork, and a standing vice was a heavy bench vice with a long leg set into the floor to take the force of hammering. Borax served as a flux in brazing and soldering, and cast steel was hard, uniform steel made by melting blister steel in crucibles, used for cutting edges and gun springs. The cooper's howel was a curved plane used to smooth the inside ends of a cask, and the jointer was a long plane for truing the edges of staves so they fitted watertight. The Company employed its own cooper because casks held nearly all the island's water, provisions and drink, as well as those supplied to ships. The hoes and a frying pan issued to the brickmakers showed a small brickworks operating on the island. Bricks, like the lime Mitchell had begun to burn, reduced the island's reliance on building materials shipped from England.
366	359	1765 Brought over £ Iron Ware brought over £ 30 . 17 25 Files for the Armr & Armory 12 . 6 1½ Flour Emery 7½ 1 lb Corn Do 7½ Do 1 Pr Hand Vices 3 . 10 2 Nailers Hammers 3 . 6 6 Rag Stones 1 . 3 12 Hd Hammer Helves 7 2 Smiths Rubbers 10 . 2½ for the Armorer Masons & Carpenter 1 Coffee Mill for the Castle 8 . 6 8 Claw Hammers 11 . 8 1 Iron Square 1 . 6 Carpenters & Masons 5½ Plate Iron for the Plow 2 . 7¼ 1 Plow Blades 7 1 doz. Spike Gimblets 8 doz 11 Im Do 1 . 4 . 4½ 3 doz Frame Saw Files 13 . 7½ 6 doz Plane Irons 1 . 8 . 5 1 doz. Socketing Chisels 8 6 Trying Planes 1 6 Jack Do 12 6 Smooths Do 9	The account of stores issued at the Company's own expense continued with further ironmongery. Ironmongery brought forward, £30 17s 0d 25 files for the armourer and the armoury, £0 12s 6d 1 lb of fine emery for the armourer and the armoury, £0 0s 7½d 1 lb of coarse emery for the armourer and the armoury, £0 0s 7½d 1 pair of hand vices for the armourer, masons and carpenter, £0 3s 10d 2 nailer's hammers for the armourer, masons and carpenter, £0 3s 6d 6 ragstones for the armourer, masons and carpenter, £0 1s 3d 12 hand-hammer handles for the armourer, masons and carpenter, £0 7s 0d 2 smith's rubbers for the armourer, masons and carpenter, £0 0s 10½d 1 coffee mill for the Castle, £0 8s 6d 2 claw hammers for the carpenters and masons, £0 1s 8d 1 iron square for the carpenters and masons, £0 1s 6d 5½ lb of iron plate for the plough, £0 2s 3¼d 1 plough blade for the carpenter and armourer, £0 7s 0d 1 dozen spike gimlets and 3 dozen nail gimlets for the carpenter and armourer, £1 4s 4½d 3 dozen frame-saw files for the carpenter and armourer, £0 13s 7½d 6 dozen plane irons for the carpenter and armourer, £1 8s 5d 1 dozen scribing chisels for the carpenter and armourer, £0 8s 0d 6 trying planes for the carpenter and armourer, £1 0s 0d 6 jack planes for the carpenter and armourer, £0 12s 0d 6 smoothing planes for the carpenter and armourer, £0 9s 0d 2 drawknives for the carpenter and armourer, £0 3s 2d 3 dozen whipsaw files for the carpenter and armourer, £0 13s 7½d 1 dozen firmer chisels for the carpenter and armourer, £0 3s 8d

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		2 Drawing Knives 3 . 2 3 doz 2 Whip Saw Files 13 . 7½ 1 doz. Firmers Chisels 3 . 8 6 doz. Hd Saw Files for the Carpentr and Armourer 1 Pr Stone Mason Looses for the Masons 1 . 6 . 3 1 Cut Saw Sawyers Use 14 . 10 3 Stock Locks for the Engr & Slaughter House 1 . 7 . 11 3 Plaisterers Trowels 8 . 1½ 4 Lathing Hammers 11 . 6 for the Masons Iron Ware Carried over £ 45 . 10 . 9 Carrd Over £	6 dozen handsaw files for the carpenter and armourer, £1 6s 3d 1 pair of stonemason's lewises for the masons, £0 14s 10d 1 crosscut saw for the sawyers, £1 7s 11d 3 stock locks for the engineer and the slaughterhouse, £0 8s 1½d 3 plasterer's trowels and 4 lathing hammers for the masons, £0 11s 6d Sub-total for ironmongery carried forward, £45 10s 9d **Interpretations** A lewis was an iron device fitted into a dovetailed slot cut in the top of a heavy stone, so that the stone could be hooked to a crane or tackle and lowered into place. Issued alongside the large iron blocks with brass sheaves listed earlier in the account, the pair of lewises showed the masons equipping themselves to lift and set dressed stone for Captain Mitchell's repairs to the batteries. The plough and its iron plate showed the Company's own farming using animal-drawn tillage rather than relying wholly on slaves with hoes. The quarterly stock account recorded 19 oxen at the start of April, the animals used to draw ploughs and carts, of which three died during the quarter. On most of the island's steep slopes the hoe remained the only practical tool, so the plough was probably confined to the flatter ground of the Company's plantations. Several of the carpenters' tools had particular uses. The trying plane was a long plane for truing the edges and faces of boards, the jack plane a medium plane for rough shaping and the smoothing plane a short one for the final finish. A firmer chisel was a sturdy chisel for general woodwork, and a drawknife was a blade with a handle at each end, pulled towards the user to shave timber. Emery came in grades from fine flour to coarse corn and was used for polishing and sharpening metal, while ragstones were coarse sandstone whetstones for grinding edges.
367	360	15th July Brought over £ Iron Ware brought Over £ 45 . 10 . 9 1 Blank Key for the Castle 8 1 Plaisterers Sieve for the Masons 3 . 5½ 6 Cat Gut drill strings for the Carpentr 2 . 1½ 5 Hand Hatchets for the Masons & Do 8 . 9 6 Bricklayers Trowels Do 9 . 6 1 Spring Rat Trap for the Armor 1 . 3¾ 1 Pr Kitchen Bellows Do Castle 3 . 6 2 Stone Saws for the Masons 9 2 Turffing Irons Gardeners Use 5 . 11 7 Spades for the Masons & Gardenr 1 . 8 13 Ditching Shovels for Do 2 . 19 . 3 1 Spelter Lock for the Armorer 5¾ 2 Mauls for break Stones for Mas. 16 . 5 1 Scythe to make a Saw for the Arm. 5 . 7 5 Sail Needles to repr Smiths Bell. 5 60 Scythe Stones Gardenrs Use	The account of stores issued at the Company's own expense continued with further ironmongery. Ironmongery brought forward, £45 10s 9d 1 blank key for the Castle, £0 0s 8d 1 plasterer's sieve for the masons, £0 3s 5½d 6 catgut drill strings for the carpenter, £0 2s 1½d 5 hand hatchets for the masons and carpenters, £0 8s 9d 6 bricklayer's trowels for the masons and carpenters, £0 9s 6d 1 spring rat trap for the armourer, £0 1s 3¾d 1 pair of kitchen bellows for the Castle, £0 3s 6d 2 stone saws for the masons, £0 9s 0d 2 turfing irons for the gardener, £0 5s 11d 7 spades for the masons and the gardener, £1 8s 0d 13 ditching shovels for the masons and the gardener, £2 19s 3d 1 lb of spelter for the armourer, £0 0s 5¾d 2 mauls for breaking stone for the masons, £0 16s 5d 1 scythe to be made into a saw for the armourer, £0 5s 7d 5 sail needles for repairing the smith's bellows, £0 0s 5d 60 scythe whetstones for the gardener, £0 11s 3d 2 pairs of dovetail hinges for the Castle, £0 0s 10d 7 pickaxes for the masons, £1 1s 10½d 1 chest lock for the Castle, £0 3s 3d 1 dozen black-lead pencils for the carpenter, £0 4s 5d 1 pair of shutter hinges for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 2s 3d

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		11 . 3 2 Prs Dovetail Hinges for the Castle 10 7 Pickaxes for the Masons 1 . 1 . 10½ 1 Chest Lock for the Castle 3 . 3 1 Doz. Bl. Lead Pencils Carpent Use 4 . 5 1 Pr Shutter Hinges Lt Gov. House 2 . 3 15 Fathom White Rope Masons 1 . 10 . 10 57 . 5 . 8 Iron and Steel viz 272 lb Iron for the Use of the Mas. & to make a Plow 2 . 16 . 8 2¼ lb Steel to make Do 1 . 1 2 . 17 . 9 Paint viz 14 lb White Lead dry for the Castle 4 . 4½ Paint Carried Over £ 4 . 4½ Carried Over £ 60 . 3 . 5	15 fathoms of white rope for the masons, £1 10s 10d Sub-total for ironmongery, £57 5s 8d Iron and steel: 272 lb of iron for the masons and for making a plough, £2 16s 3d 2¼ lb of steel for making the plough, £0 1s 1d Sub-total for iron and steel, £2 17s 9d Paint: 14 lb of dry white lead for the Castle, £0 4s 4½d Sub-total for paint carried forward, £0 4s 4½d Sub-total carried forward, £60 3s 5d **Interpretations** The issue of iron and steel for making a plough showed the Company's workmen building agricultural implements on the island rather than waiting for them from England. Taken with the plough blade and plate iron listed on the previous page, the plough was apparently assembled locally from imported metal. The same resourcefulness appeared in the scythe issued to the armourer to be cut down into a saw, a sign that suitable saws were in short supply. The mauls for breaking stone, the pickaxes, spades and ditching shovels, the stone saws and the 15 fathoms of rope all pointed to the heavy groundwork of the fortification repairs. White rope was rope left untarred, which was cleaner to handle and more flexible for hoisting stone with blocks and lewises. Mauls were heavy two-handed hammers used to split quarried rock, including the limestone that Captain Mitchell had begun to burn for mortar. Spelter was zinc, used by smiths as an ingredient of brazing solder. Turfing irons were broad, flat spades for cutting and lifting turf, and the 60 scythe whetstones issued to the gardener suggested extensive mowing of grass on the Company's lands, perhaps for hay to feed the stock through the island's winter.
368	361	1765 Brought over £ 60 . 3 . 5 Paint brought over £ 4 . 4½ 30 lb Whiting 6 . 4 206 White Lead mixed 3 . 17 . 3 92 Stone Colour 2 . 4 . 1 ½ Stone Oaker 2½ 12 Yellw Oaker mixed 2 . 6¼ 17 lb Verdigrease 3 . 6 . 2½ 24 Red Lead 5 . 6 7 Venn Red mixed 3 . 2½ 13 Barrls Black 7 . 7 3 lb Indico 5 . 5 2 lb Smalts 2 . 4½ 46 lb Venn Red dry 9 . 7 38 Sky Blue 3 . 10 . 5½ 9 Olive 5 . 3¾ 10 Ozs Seccarum Satur. 13 . 11½ ½ Umber 1½	The account of stores issued at the Company's own expense continued from £60 3s 5d brought forward. Brought forward, £60 3s 5d Paint for the Castle and one of the Company's houses: Paint brought forward, £0 4s 4½d 30¼ lb of whiting, £0 6s 4d 206 lb of white lead, ready mixed, £3 17s 3d 92 lb of stone colour, £2 4s 1d ½ lb of stone ochre, £0 0s 2½d 12 lb of yellow ochre, ready mixed, £0 2s 6½d 17 lb of verdigris, £3 6s 2½d 24 lb of red lead, £0 5s 6d 7 lb of Venetian red, ready mixed, £0 3s 2½d 13 balls of blacking, £0 7s 7d 3 lb of indigo, £0 5s 5d 2 lb of smalt, £0 2s 4½d 46 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 9s 7d 38 lb of sky blue, £3 10s 5½d 3 lb of olive green, £0 5s 3½d 10 oz of sugar of lead, £0 13s 11½d ½ lb of umber, £0 0s 1½d Sub-total for paint, £16 4s 6d Rope, 238¾ lb, for thatching, cart ropes, crane ropes and the masons, £4 9s 6d Timber: 3 elm boards for the Castle and the masons, £1 0s 3d 75 double deals for the Castle and the masons and for repairing one of the Company's houses, £12 14s 8d 202 single deals for the Castle and for repairs at the Market Place, £22 6s 1d 7½ planks for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, £3 6s 3d

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		for the Castle and one of Compys Houses 16 . 4 . 6 Cordage 238¾ lb for Thatchg Cart Rope Crane Rope and Masons 4 . 9 . 6 Deals viz 3 Elm Boards for the Castle & Masons 1 . 3 75 Double Deals Do and repairg one of the Company's Houses 12 . 14 . 8 202 Single Deals for the Castle and Sepians at the Market Place 22 . 6 . 1 7½ Planks 3 . 6 . 3 1 Wainscot Boards 6 . 9 for the Castle and Lt Governors House 39 . 14 Arrack 201½ Galls Carpentrs unloadg the two Store Ships and Sundrys 38 . 19 . 4 Carried Over £ 159 . 10 . 9	1 wainscot board for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 6s 9d Sub-total for timber, £39 14s 0d Arrack, 201½ gallons, for the carpenters, for the men unloading the two store ships and for other purposes, £38 19s 4d Sub-total carried forward, £159 10s 9d **Interpretations** Arrack issued to the carpenters and to the men unloading the store ships was a payment in spirits for heavy or extra labour. Unloading ships in James Bay meant working boats through the surf and hauling casks and bales up to the warehouses, and a daily dram was the customary reward for such work in both the navy and the Company's service. At 201½ gallons and nearly £39, the arrack cost almost as much as all the timber issued in the quarter. The practice tied the island's labour force to a daily ration of spirits drawn from the Company's own stores. Rope for thatching showed that many of the island's buildings were still roofed with thatch, tied down with cord against the wind. The deals issued for repairs at the Market Place fitted the Council's attention to the market that spring. On 17 June 1765 it had urged planters to bring pork, mutton and goat there every Wednesday, and padlocks for the Market House appeared earlier in this account. Sugar of lead, known by its Latin name saccharum Saturni, was lead acetate, a white crystalline salt with a sweet taste. Painters added it to oil paint as a drier to make the paint set faster, which explained its high price by weight. Stone colour was a pale buff paint made to imitate stonework on plaster or timber. Umber was a brown earth pigment from Umbria in Italy, and wainscot was high-quality oak board, usually from the Baltic, used for panelling and fine joinery.
369	362	15th July Brought over £ 159 . 10 . 9 Braziers Ware viz 1 Large Tea Kettle 18 2 Blow Pipes Armourer 2 . 2 1 . 2 Cuttlery Ware viz 9 Bukkas Knives for the Castle 2 . 7½ 2 Pruning Knives for the Gardens 1 . 10½ 4 . 6 Tin Ware viz 1 Tin Horn Lanthorn for the Castle 2 . 3 12 Lanthorn Leaves Do 2 . 6 4 Tin Lamps for the Castle, Armr and Brickmakers 4 . 6 ½ Salmoniac Armourers Use 2 . 4½ 6 lb Solder for the Lieut Govr House 5 . 3½ 17 . 4 Turners Ware viz 6 Bunch Ladles for the Castle 3 . 4½ 39 Paint Brushes Do Painters 19 . 6¼ 3 Plaisterers Do for the Plaisterers 3 . 3¾ 14 Birch Brooms for the Castle & Armory 4 . 8	The account of stores issued at the Company's own expense continued from £159 10s 9d brought forward. Brought forward, £159 10s 9d Brassware: 1 large tea kettle, £0 18s 0d 2 blowpipes for the armourer, £0 2s 2d Sub-total for brassware, £1 0s 2d Cutlery: 9 buckhorn knives for the Castle, £0 2s 7½d 2 pruning knives for the gardener, £0 1s 10½d Sub-total for cutlery, £0 4s 6d Tinware: 1 iron-framed horn lantern for the Castle, £0 2s 3d 12 lantern leaves for the Castle, £0 2s 6d 4 tin lamps for the Castle, the armourer and the brickmakers, £0 4s 6d ½ lb of sal ammoniac for the armourer, £0 2s 4½d 6 lb of solder for the Lieutenant Governor's house, £0 5s 3½d Sub-total for tinware, £0 17s 4d Turned and woven wares: 6 punch ladles for the Castle, £0 3s 4½d 39 paint brushes for the painters, £0 19s 6¼d 3 plasterer's brushes for the plasterers, £0 3s 3¾d 14 birch brooms for the Castle and the armourer, £0 4s 8d 3 wooden bowls for the masons and the armourer, £0 9s 0d 1 flasket for the Castle, £0 2s 10½d 12 labourer's baskets for the masons, £0 9s 0d 6 platters for the masons and the Castle, £0 7s 9d 2 brass wire sieves for the bakehouse and the Castle, £0 19s 3d

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		3 Wood Bowls for the Masons and Armory 9 1 Flasket for the Castle 2 . 10½ 12 Lab: Baskets for ye Masons 9 6 Platter for the Masons & Castle 7 . 9 2 Brass Wire Sieves Bakg Hot House 19 . 8 3 . 19 . 2 Oil viz 34½ Linseed for the Castle 6 . 10 . 9 13 Train for Do Masons & Armourer 2 . 1 . 2 2 Bottles Florence for the Castle 5 . 3 8 . 17 . 2 Carrd Over £ 174 . 9 . 1	Sub-total for turned and woven wares, £3 19s 2d Oil: 34½ gallons of linseed oil for the Castle, £6 10s 9d 13 gallons of train oil for the Castle, the masons and the armourer, £2 1s 2d 2 bottles of Florence oil for the Castle, £0 5s 3d Sub-total for oil, £8 17s 2d Sub-total carried forward, £174 9s 1d **Interpretations** The large quantities of paint, linseed oil and brushes issued for the Castle in the quarter showed the building being extensively redecorated as its repairs drew to a close. Captain Mitchell reported on 24 June 1765 that the work on the Castle was far enough advanced to release most of the Company's workmen for the fortifications. The 39 paint brushes, the 34½ gallons of linseed oil and the paints listed on the previous page belonged to the finishing stage of that programme, as painters sealed new timber and plaster against the island's damp and wind. Sal ammoniac was ammonium chloride, a white salt imported from Egypt and India, used by smiths and tinsmiths as a flux to clean metal surfaces before soldering or tinning. A blowpipe was a narrow tube through which the armourer blew air into a small flame to direct intense heat onto a precise spot for soldering and brazing small parts such as gunlocks.
370	363	1765 Brought over £ 174 . 9 . 1 Nails viz 52 lb 2d 1 . 15 . 9 35½ lb 6d 18 . 6 69 lb 10d 1 . 10 . 12 57 lb 3d 2 . 1 . 6½ 43 lb 20d 16 . 1½ 23 lb 40d 8 . 1½ 1 lb 4d 7 59 Scupper Nails 1 . 5 . 11 8 Spikes 2 . 6 33 Barrack 11 3½ Tacks 4 . 4½ 10¼ Gr Brads 17 . 9 10 Flooring Brads 3 . 4 for the Castle Carpenters use & Sepoys & Armourer 8 Coopers Rivets Coopers Use 3 . 8½ 10 . 19 . 5 Bunting 4 Yds Blue for the Castle 2 . 3 Lines viz 4 No 2 1 . 2 33 No 4 12 . 6½ Masons Castle & Gardener 7 Knots Sash Line Do 7 . 8½ 1 . 1 . 5 Twine viz	The account of stores issued at the Company's own expense continued from £174 9s 1d brought forward. Brought forward, £174 9s 1d Nails for the Castle, the carpenters, the masons and the armourer: 52 lb of twopenny nails, £1 15s 9d 35½ lb of sixpenny nails, £0 18s 6d 69 lb of tenpenny nails, £1 10s 2d 57 lb of threepenny nails, £2 1s 6¼d 43 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 16s 1½d 23 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 8s 1¾d 1 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 0s 7d 59 lb of scupper nails, £1 5s 11d 8 lb of spikes, £0 2s 6d 33 lb of barrack nails, £0 11s 0d 3½ lb of tacks, £0 4s 4½d 10¼ gross of brads, £0 17s 9d 10 lb of flooring brads, £0 3s 4d 8 lb of cooper's rivets for the cooper, £0 3s 3½d Sub-total for nails, £10 19s 5d Blue bunting for the Castle, 4 yards, £0 2s 3d Lines for the masons, the Castle and the gardener: 4 no. 2 lines, £0 1s 2d 33 no. 4 lines, £0 12s 6½d 7 hanks of sash line, £0 7s 8½d Sub-total for lines, £1 1s 5d Twine and wick: 7 skeins of twine for the armourer, the masons and the Castle, £0 3s 6d 2 lb of cotton wick for the Castle, £0 4s 0d Sub-total for twine and wick, £0 7s 6d Longcloth: ¼ piece of longcloth marked K for window curtains at the Castle, £0 4s 11d 1 piece of longcloth marked U for sheets for the Lieutenant Governor and the Castle, £1 7s 8d ¼ piece of longcloth marked T for sheets for the Lieutenant Governor and the Castle, £1 0s 5d ¼ piece of longcloth marked Y for towels for the Lieutenant Governor and the Castle, £0 15s 3d Sub-total for longcloth, £3 8s 3d Corks for the Castle, 5 gross, £0 11s 10d Sub-total carried forward, £190 19s 9d **Interpretations**

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		7 Sks Armourer Mason and Castle 3 . 6 2 Cotton Wick for the Castle 4 7 . 6 Long Cloth viz ¼ Ps K Window Curtains for the Castle 4 . 11 1 Ps U 1 . 7 . 8 ¾ Ps T 1 . 5 Sheets for the Lt Govr Castle ¼ Ps Y Towels Do Do 15 . 3 3 . 8 . 3 Corks 5 Gross for the Castle 11 . 10 Carrd Over £ 190 . 19 . 9	Sash line was the cord that ran over pulleys in the frame of a sash window, linking the sliding sashes to hidden counterweights. Its issue for the Castle showed that the building had been fitted with sash windows, then the standard for good houses in England. The same design was spreading through British towns in the mid-18th century, and the Castle's refurbishment brought St Helena's seat of government into line with current domestic building at home. The numbered lines issued to the masons were the same kind of cord sold to islanders as fishing lines. Masons used them as string lines stretched between pegs to keep courses of stone straight and level, and gardeners used them to mark out beds and planting rows.
371	364	15th July Brought over £ 190 . 19 . 9 Lead viz 403 lb Sheet for the Castle Lt Govr House and making Glew Pots for the Carpentrs 4 . 5 6 Shot Use of the great Wood 1 . 3 4 . 6 . 3 Glass Ware viz 5 Doz Wine Glasses 1 . 10½ 1 doz Tumblers 3 . 9 1 doz Wine & Water Glasses 14 4 Quart Decanters 14 22 Sqs Glass 11 by 19 1 . 13 17 Sqs 17 by 13 1 . 3 15 Sqs 10¼ by 18¾ 1 . 4 24 Sqs 10½ by 19 1 . 12 . 6 14 Sqs 10 by 12 13 . 5 for the Castle 3 Sqs 8 by 10 Officers Gd Room 2 . 1½ 9 . 2 Pitch and Tar viz 10 lb Pitch for the Castle 1 . 10½ 12 Rozin 2 . 6 2¼ Galls Tar 1 . 10¼ Castle Wood Cart 6 . 3 Canvas viz 32½ Yds Osenbrigs for the Pagoda Castle & Engineer 1 . 5 . 10 10 Yds Osenbrigs Aprons for the Armr 11 . 3 1 . 17 . 1 Blankets 6 for the Castle and Overseer in the Wood 1 . 15 . 6 Desootes	The account of stores issued at the Company's own expense continued from £190 19s 9d brought forward. Brought forward, £190 19s 9d Lead: 408 lb of sheet lead for the Castle and the Lieutenant Governor's house and for making glue pots for the carpenters, £4 5s 0d 6 lb of lead shot for use in the Great Wood, £0 1s 3d Sub-total for lead, £4 6s 3d Glassware for the Castle: 3 dozen wine glasses, £1 0s 10½d 1 dozen tumblers, £0 3s 9d 1 dozen wine and water glasses, £0 14s 0d 4 quart decanters, £0 14s 0d 22 panes of glass, 11 by 19 inches, £1 13s 0d 17 panes of glass, 17 by 13 inches, £1 3s 0d 15 panes of glass, 10¼ by 18¼ inches, £1 0s 4d 24 panes of glass, 10¼ by 19 inches, £1 12s 6d 14 panes of glass, 10 by 12 inches, £0 13s 5d 3 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, for the officers' guardroom, £0 2s 1½d Sub-total for glassware, £9 2s 0d Pitch, rosin and tar: 10 lb of pitch for the Castle, £0 1s 10½d 12 lb of rosin for the Castle and the wood cart, £0 2s 6d 2¼ gallons of tar for the Castle and the wood cart, £0 1s 10¾d Sub-total for pitch, rosin and tar, £0 6s 3d Canvas: 32½ yards of osnaburg for the picket, the Castle and the engineer, £1 5s 10d 10 yards of osnaburg for aprons for the armourer, £0 11s 3d Sub-total for canvas, £1 17s 1d Blankets for the Castle and the overseer in the Wood, 6, £1 15s 6d Dosooty for polishing cloths at the Castle, 1 piece, £0 10s 5d Chelloes for covering chairs, 1 piece, £0 9s 10d Soap for washing linen, 27 lb, £0 17s 5d Cart wheels and wheelbarrows for the masons, £5 12s 0d Sub-total carried forward, £215 16s 6d **Interpretations** The Great Wood was the largest surviving stand of native forest on St Helena, on the high ground in the east of the island, and the Company kept an overseer there to protect it. Centuries of goats, cattle and cutting for fuel had stripped much of the island, and the Council valued what remained for timber and for the rain it was thought to draw. The lead shot

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		1 Ps for Rubbers in the Castle 10 . 5 Chelloes 1 Ps to cover Cheeses Do 9 . 10 Sope 27 lb for washing Linnen 19 . 5 Cart Wheels 8 Wheel Barrows Masons Use 5 . 12 Carrd Over £ 215 . 16 . 6	issued for the Wood was perhaps intended for killing the goats and other animals that browsed on young trees. Taken with the blankets for the overseer and the tar and rosin for the wood cart, the entries showed the Company actively managing the forest as a resource. The panes of glass in several large sizes, over 90 in all, fitted the evidence of sash windows at the Castle recorded on the previous page. Sash windows took large panes set in wooden glazing bars, and the sizes of 10¼ by 19 inches and 11 by 19 inches matched the proportions then usual in English sashes. Dosooty was a coarse, strong cotton cloth woven from doubled thread in Bengal, and at the Castle it was cut up for polishing and scrubbing cloths. The picket was the small guard detachment on duty at the Castle, and its osnaburg was probably for bedding or covers in the guardroom.
372	365	1765 Brought over £ 215 . 16 . 6 Candles viz 105 lb Castle 10 . 5 . 7½ 150 Council 14 . 13 . 9 4 Doctors Shop 7 . 10 2 Secretarys Office 3 . 11 1 Masons when makg an Oven 1 . 11½ 25 . 13 . 1 Leather viz 2¼ Sole to repair the Engine 2 . 1 1 Calf Skin to repr the Smith Bellows 9 . 6 11 . 7 Thread 1 lb Coloured for mendg Wood Carts 3 . 3 Starch 5 lb for Linnen 2 . 2 China Ware viz 4 Guglets & Basons 10 . 8 4 Setts Dishes and Plates 4 . 2 2 Do Soop Do 8 1 doz. China Bowls 16 3 China Chamber Pots 4 . 6 12 Quarter Pt Cups and Saucers 3 . 6 for the Castle 6 . 4 . 8 Candy viz 50 lb for the Groom and Gardener 1 . 10 8 Do Doctors Shop 3 . 4 1 . 14 . 2 Coals 96 Bushels for the Armr Shop 5 . 17 . 4 Tea 6 lb Congou for the Groom & Gardener 3 . 3 £ 256 . 1	The account of stores issued at the Company's own expense concluded from £215 16s 6d brought forward. Brought forward, £215 16s 6d Candles: 105 lb for the Castle, £10 5s 7½d 150 lb for the Council, £14 13s 9d 4 lb for the doctor's shop, £0 7s 10d 2 lb for the Secretary's office, £0 3s 11d 1 lb for the masons while building an oven, £0 1s 11½d Sub-total for candles, £25 13s 1d Leather: 2¼ lb of sole leather for repairing the engine, £0 2s 1d 1 calfskin for repairing the smith's bellows, £0 9s 6d Sub-total for leather, £0 11s 7d Coloured thread for mending the wood carts, 1 lb, £0 3s 3d Starch for the linen, 5¼ lb, £0 2s 2d Chinaware for the Castle: 4 goglets and basins, £0 10s 8d 4 sets of dishes and plates, £4 2s 0d 2 sets of soup plates, £0 8s 0d 1 dozen china bowls, £0 16s 0d 3 china chamber pots, £0 4s 6d 12 quarter-pint cups and saucers, £0 3s 6d Sub-total for chinaware, £6 4s 8d Sugar candy: 50 lb for the groom and the gardener, £1 0s 10d 8 lb for the doctor's shop, £0 3s 4d Sub-total for sugar candy, £1 4s 2d Coal for the armourer's shop, 96 bushels, £5 17s 4d Congou tea for the groom and the gardener, 6 lb, £0 3s 3d Total, £256 1s 0d **Interpretations** The Council itself used 150 lb of candles in three months, more than the whole of the Castle's household. Its meetings, the copying of minutes and accounts, and the preparation of letters for each homeward ship went on into the evenings, and the Company bore the cost of lighting them. The candles for the Secretary's office and the doctor's shop showed the same principle applied to the other working offices of the government. The sugar candy for the doctor's shop served as a medicine and sweetener, dissolved in syrups and cordials or given for coughs. The larger quantity issued with tea to the groom and gardener was perhaps an allowance to Company servants in the Castle's household, supplied from stores in place of part of their wages.

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			The engine repaired with sole leather was probably a fire engine, a hand-pumped machine whose valves and hoses were made of leather and needed regular replacement. The 96 bushels of coal for the armourer's forge, roughly two and two-thirds chaldrons, showed that the Company used imported coal for its smithing despite its cost, since only coal gave the steady high heat needed to work iron and steel.
373	366	15th July Diet Expences Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Arrack 42 Galls 9 . 6 Coffee 20 lb 16 . 8 Tea viz 4 lb Congou 5 . 6 1 lb Single 1 . 4 6 . 10 Beef and Pork viz 11 Prs Beef 1 . 14 . 7 24 Prs Pork 3 . 10 . 6 5 . 5 . 1 Flour 1206 lb 8 . 15 . 10 Rice 112 lb 7 . 6 Pepper 4 lb 2 Pease 1 Bushel 2 . 9 Candy 272 lb 5 . 13 . 4 Salt 1 Bushel 3 . 10 £ 31 . 5 . 10 Garrison Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Tea 29 lb Bohea 3 . 17 . 10 Oil 105 Gallons Train 16 . 12 . 6 Thread viz 13 lb Coloured 2 . 8 . 9 4½ lb Whited Brown 1 . 10 . 4 3 . 19 . 1 Shoes 414 Prs Mens Ordinary 82 . 16 Stockings 414 Prs Thread 59 . 17 Blankets 9 2 . 8 . 3 Carried Over £ 168 . 15 . 3	The storekeeper's account then set out the stores charged to diet expenses between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Arrack, 43 gallons, £9 6s 0d Coffee, 20 lb, £0 16s 8d Tea: 4 lb of congou tea, £0 5s 6d 1 lb of singlo tea, £0 1s 4d Sub-total for tea, £0 6s 10d Beef and pork: 11 pieces of salt beef, £1 14s 7d 24 pieces of salt pork, £3 10s 6d Sub-total for beef and pork, £5 5s 1d Flour, 1,206 lb, £8 15s 10d Rice, 112 lb, £0 7s 6d Pepper, 4 lb, £0 2s 0d Pease, 1 bushel, £0 2s 9d Sugar candy, 272 lb, £5 13s 4d Salt, 1 bushel, £0 3s 10d Total, £31 5s 10d A further account listed the stores issued to the garrison over the same quarter. Bohea tea, 29 lb, £1 7s 10d Train oil, 105 gallons, £16 12s 6d Thread: 15 lb of coloured thread, £2 8s 9d 4½ lb of whitened brown thread, £1 10s 4d Sub-total for thread, £3 19s 1d Men's ordinary shoes, 414 pairs, £62 16s 0d Thread stockings, 414 pairs, £59 17s 0d Blankets, 9, £2 8s 3d Sub-total carried forward, £163 15s 3d **Interpretations** The garrison received exactly 414 pairs of shoes and 414 pairs of stockings in the quarter, a match that pointed to a general issue of one pair of each to every man on the strength. The figure gave a close indication of the size of the garrison in mid-1765. These items were charged to the Company rather than sold, so they formed part of the soldiers' clothing allowance. The hundreds of further shoes, stockings, buckles and garters sold to servants earlier in the account were extra purchases made by the men themselves from their pay. Diet expenses covered the provisions drawn from store for the Company's table at the Castle, the public table where the Governor, Council and guests dined. These goods supplemented the monthly accounts of meat, poultry and drink bought for the table, which recorded fresh food purchased on the island. The 272 lb of sugar candy and 1,206 lb of flour showed the scale of baking and sweetening the table required. The 105 gallons of train oil issued to the garrison were for lighting. Lamps burning whale oil lit the guardrooms, barracks and sentry posts through the night, and the quantity reflected the number of posts that had to be kept lit across the island.

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374	367	1765 Brought over £ 168 . 15 . 3 Lines viz 1 Hambro 1 . 6 1 Deep Sea 5 for Cotts 2 lb Whip Cord 5 . 11 12 . 5 Haberdashery ¼ Gross Worsted Lace Drum Major & Fife 4 . 3 Arrack 53½ Galls 10 . 7 . 2 Canvas 3 Yds for a Cott 3 . 4 Canvas 3 yards 1 lb 3d 8¼ 2 lb 6d 1 . 2 for a Cott and Coffin ¼ Tacks for Drums 3½ 2 . 1 Twine 1 Sk for a Cott 6 Iron Ware viz 2 Helves for Mundens Point 1 . 2 25 Tin Fryg Pans for the Barracks & the several Guards 3 . 7 . 8 1 Hand Hatchet Do & Do 12 . 3 1 Stock Lock Kitchen & Main Fort 2 . 8 4 . 3 . 9 Paint viz 1 lb Red Lead 2¼ ¼ Saccarum Satur: 3½ Markg Linnen 32 Whiting 8 14 Yds Calendry 2 . 7 for Colours Acct 3 . 9 Deals 4 Single for Coffins 8 . 10 Turners Ware viz 10 Wood Bowls 11 . 3 13 Platers 16 . 9 29 Wood Ladles 9 . 8 1 . 17 . 8 Carried Over £ 186 . 19	The account of stores issued to the garrison continued from £163 15s 3d brought forward. Brought forward, £163 15s 3d Lines: 1 Hamburg line for cots, £0 1s 6d 1 deep-sea line for cots, £0 5s 0d 2 lb of whipcord, £0 5s 11d Sub-total for lines, £0 12s 5d Worsted lace for the drum major and fifer, 1¼ gross, £0 4s 3d Arrack, 43½ gallons, £10 7s 2d Canvas for a cot, 3 yards, £0 3s 4d Nails and tacks: 1 lb of threepenny nails for a cot and a coffin, £0 0s 8¾d 2 lb of sixpenny nails for a cot and a coffin, £0 1s 2d 14 tacks for drums, £0 0s 3½d Sub-total for nails and tacks, £0 2s 1d Twine for a cot, 1 skein, £0 0s 6d Ironmongery: 2 tool handles for Munden's Point, £0 1s 2d 25 iron frying pans for the barracks and the various guards, £3 7s 8d 1 hand hatchet for the barracks and the various guards, £0 12s 3d 1 stock lock for the kitchen at the Main Fort, £0 2s 8d Sub-total for ironmongery, £4 3s 9d Paint: 1 lb of red lead for marking linen, £0 0s 2¾d ¼ lb of sugar of lead for marking linen, £0 0s 3½d 32 lb of whiting for colouring accoutrements, £0 0s 8d 14 lb of dry yellow ochre for colouring accoutrements, £0 2s 7d Sub-total for paint, £0 3s 9d Single deals for coffins, 4, £0 8s 10d Turned wares: 10 wooden bowls, £0 11s 3d 13 platters, £0 16s 9d 29 wooden ladles, £0 9s 8d Sub-total for turned wares, £1 17s 8d Sub-total carried forward, £186 19s 0d **Interpretations** Four deals for coffins, together with canvas, nails and twine for a cot and a coffin, showed the garrison bearing the cost of burying its own dead. A cot was a canvas bed slung from the ceiling, used for the sick in barracks and hospital, and it could also serve to carry a body. The quarter had seen several deaths on the island, and soldiers who died in service were buried at the Company's charge. Whiting and yellow ochre issued for colouring accoutrements were used to keep the soldiers' belts, pouches and slings in uniform shade. Buff leather belts were rubbed with pipeclay or whiting to whiten them, or with ochre where the regulations called for a yellow finish, and inspection depended on the result. Red lead and sugar of lead mixed together served as an indelible ink for marking the garrison's linen with the owner's number, so that shirts and sheets could be traced if lost or stolen. The 25 iron frying pans for the barracks and guards reflected the way soldiers fed themselves. Men drew rations and cooked them in small messes, and each guard post needed its own cooking gear. Munden's Point was a battery on the eastern side of James Bay, one of the posts guarding the approach to Jamestown. Worsted lace was the coloured braid that distinguished the uniforms of the drum major and fifers, whose music regulated the garrison's day.

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375	368	15th July Brought Over £ 186 . 19 Soldiers Cloths viz 303 Centinels Coats and Breeches 445 . 4 . 2 16 Corporals Do & Do 24 . 16 16 Sergeants Do and Do 33 . 12 12 Drummers Do and Do 40 . 16 4 Artilly Corporl Do and Do 20 . 4 4 Do Sergeants Do and Do 11 . 16 8 Gunners Do and Do 18 . 8 43 Mattrosses Do and Do 91 . 7 . 6 1 Marshalls Do & Do 2 . 11 . 6 747 . 11 . 2 Hats viz 20 Sergeants 11 . 14 380 Centinels 53 . 8 . 10 1 Marshalls 11 . 6 65 . 14 . 4 Shirts 20 Sergeants 6 . 11 . 8 393 Centinels 87 . 19 . 7 413 Frocks 13 . 15 . 4 108 . 6 . 7 Tin Ware viz 29 Tin Lamps Barracks & the several Guards 1 . 12 . 7½ 1 Tin Horn Lanthorn Officers Guard 2 . 8 1 Lanthorn Leaf Do Do 2½ 1 . 15 . 6 Glass Ware 8 Sqs 6 by 8 Mundens Point 3 Iron Pots viz 6 of 13 Galls 3 . 18 6 of 8 Galls 2 . 17 3 of 6 Galls 2 . 10 3 of 4 Galls 12 . 6 for the Barracks and the Sevl Gds 9 . 17 . 6 Carrd Over £ 1120 . 7 . 1	The account of stores issued to the garrison continued from £186 19s 0d brought forward. Brought forward, £186 19s 0d Soldiers' clothing: Coats and breeches for 303 sentinels, £454 0s 2d Coats and breeches for 16 corporals, £24 16s 0d Coats and breeches for 16 sergeants, £83 12s 0d Coats and breeches for 12 drummers, £40 16s 0d Coats and breeches for 4 artillery corporals, £20 4s 0d Coats and breeches for 4 artillery sergeants, £11 16s 0d Coats and breeches for 8 gunners, £18 8s 0d Coats and breeches for 43 matrosses, £91 7s 6d Coat and breeches for 1 marshal, £2 11s 6d Sub-total for clothing, £747 11s 2d Hats: 20 sergeants' hats, £11 14s 0d 380 sentinels' hats, £53 8s 10d 1 marshal's hat, £0 11s 6d Sub-total for hats, £65 14s 4d Shirts: 20 sergeants' shirts, £6 11s 8d 393 sentinels' shirts, £87 19s 7d 413 smocks, £13 15s 4d Sub-total for shirts, £108 6s 7d Tinware: 29 tin lamps for the barracks and the various guards, £1 12s 7½d 1 iron-framed horn lantern for the officers' rounds, £0 2s 3d 1 lantern leaf for the officers' rounds, £0 0s 2½d Sub-total for tinware, £1 15s 6d Glassware, 8 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, for Munden's Point, £0 3s 0d Iron pots for the barracks and the various guards: 6 pots of 13 gallons, £3 13s 0d 6 pots of 8 gallons, £2 17s 0d 3 pots of 6 gallons, £2 10s 0d 3 pots of 4 gallons, £0 12s 6d Sub-total for iron pots, £9 17s 6d Sub-total carried forward, £1,120 7s 1d **Interpretations** The clothing issue gave a detailed picture of the garrison's structure in mid-1765. There were some 303 sentinels, 16 corporals, 16 sergeants and 12 drummers in the infantry, and an artillery company of four sergeants, four corporals, eight gunners and 43 matrosses. The 413 smocks and 393 sentinels' shirts, together with the 414 pairs of shoes and stockings listed earlier, placed the whole garrison at a little over 400 men. The Company followed the practice of the British army in issuing each soldier a new coat, breeches and hat as his annual clothing. At over £920 for coats, hats and shirts together, the issue was by far the largest single charge in the quarter's accounts. The smocks were loose linen overgarments worn for fatigue duties, such as the labouring on the fortifications, so that the soldiers' coats were spared for guard and parade. The marshal was the garrison's provost marshal, responsible for keeping military prisoners and carrying out punishments ordered by courts martial. The horn lantern for the officers' rounds lit the way for the officer who inspected the sentries at night, a routine that the island's scattered posts and steep paths made both necessary and demanding.
376	369	1765 Blacks Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Tea 67 lb Bohea	The storekeeper's account then set out the stores issued to the Company's slaves between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Bohea tea, 67 lb, and sugar, 195 lb, £2 18s 7d Shoes: 33 pairs of men's ordinary shoes, £6 12s 0d

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		Sugar 195 lb 2 . 18 . 7 Shoes viz 33 Prs Mens Ordy 6 . 12 4 Prs Women Leather Blacks in the Castle 10 . 8½ 11 Prs Boys Do Do 1 . 14 . 4½ 8 . 17 . 1 Beef and Pork viz 336 Ps Beef bought from His Majestys Ships 16 . 16 628 Ps Pork Do 26 . 3 . 4 394 Ps Beef 61 . 19 . 5 686 Ps Pork 100 . 15 . 1 205 . 13 . 10 Long Cloth viz 1 Ps K 6 . 6 ¼ Ps No 7 4 . 7 for Laying in Women 1 Ps T for the Governors Servants 1 . 7 . 2 1 . 18 . 3 Rice 108 C 3 qr 20 lb 40 . 17 Arrack 27¼ Galls Black Carpenters Labourers and Killing Wild Cats 5 . 5 . 7 Hooks and Lines viz 1 doz. No 2 3 . 5½ 1 doz. No 3 11½ Lines 25 No 7 1 . 2 50 No 14 5 Hooks for the Fisherman 7 Hosiers Ware viz 4 Prs Womens Stockgs Blacks in the Castle 12 . 4 12 Prs Thread Stockgs Governors Servants 1 . 14 . 9 2 . 7 . 1 Carried Over £ 274 . 8	4 pairs of women's leather shoes for the slaves at the Castle, £0 10s 8½d 11 pairs of boys' leather shoes for the slaves at the Castle, £1 14s 4½d Sub-total for shoes, £8 17s 1d Beef and pork: 336 pieces of salt beef bought from the King's ships, £16 16s 0d 623 pieces of salt pork bought from the King's ships, £26 3s 4d 394 pieces of salt beef, £61 19s 5d 686 pieces of salt pork, £100 15s 1d Sub-total for beef and pork, £205 13s 10d Longcloth: 1 piece of longcloth marked K for women in childbirth, £0 6s 6d 1 piece of longcloth marked no. 7 for women in childbirth, £0 4s 7d 1 piece of longcloth marked T for Governor Skottowe's servants, £1 7s 2d Sub-total for longcloth, £1 18s 3d Rice, 108 cwt 3 qr 20 lb, £40 17s 0d Arrack, 27¼ gallons, for the slave carpenters and labourers and for killing wild cats, £5 5s 7d Fishing tackle for the fisherman: 1 dozen no. 2 fishing lines, £0 3s 3½d 1 dozen no. 3 fishing lines, £0 1s 11½d 25 no. 7 fish hooks, £0 1s 2d 50 no. 14 fish hooks, £0 0s 5d Sub-total for fishing tackle, £0 7s 0d Hosiery: 4 pairs of women's stockings for the slaves at the Castle, £0 12s 4d 12 pairs of thread stockings for the Governor's servants, £1 14s 9d Sub-total for hosiery, £2 7s 1d Sub-total carried forward, £271 0s 8d **Interpretations** Salt meat and rice made up nearly all the cost of feeding the Company's slaves, alongside the 45,940 yams recorded in the quarterly stock account. Over £205 went on salt beef and pork and almost £41 on some 12,200 lb of rice. The slaves received preserved meat while the Company's fresh cattle were reserved for the garrison, the Castle and passing ships. The 623 pieces of pork bought from the King's ships matched exactly the pork the Council bought from Henry Topham on 27 May 1765, which suggested that Topham had been acting for one of the naval ships then in the road, selling off surplus stores. Shoes, stockings and longcloth went mainly to slaves working at the Castle and to those in domestic service. Only 33 pairs of men's shoes were issued for a workforce that numbered in the hundreds, and most field slaves went barefoot. The cloth issued for women in childbirth fitted the birth of the boy Joe recorded in the stock account, and it reflected the Company's interest in the survival of children born into slavery as a future source of labour. The arrack for killing wild cats was a reward paid in spirits for destroying feral cats. Cats had spread through the island's hills and preyed on poultry and on the partridges and other game birds introduced for sport and food. Paying slaves in arrack for each kill turned a nuisance into a task they had an incentive to perform, and the same spirits rewarded the slave carpenters and labourers for heavy work. The fishing tackle was issued to a slave fisherman whose catch fed the Company's slaves or its table. A single fisherman equipped from store showed that the Company drew on the sea for food in the same way as the planters and servants who bought lines and hooks.
377	370	15th July Brought over £	The account of stores issued to the Company's slaves continued from £271 0s 8d brought forward.

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		274 . 8 Oil 27½ Galls Train 7 . 1 Turners Ware viz 11 Wood Bowls 12 . 4½ 3 Platers 10 . 4½ 3 Birch Brooms 1 1 . 3 . 9 Iron Pots viz 3 of 4 Galls 12 . 6 3 of 8 Galls 1 . 8 . 6 2 of 13 Galls 1 . 6 1 Large Iron Kettle 2 . 5 for the Plantations 5 . 12 Flour 56 lb for Sick Blacks 7 . 3 Blankets 77 22 . 15 . 7 Cuttlery Ware 1 Shoe Knife 4 Iron Ware viz 2 Stock Locks for the Great Wood 5 . 5 1 Hand Hatchet Barracks Hospl 1 . 9 2 Tin Fryg Pans 5 . 5 12 . 7 Pease 15 Bushels 4 . 5 . 5 Bean 47 Bushels 9 . 12 . 2 Pepper 6 lb 3 Desootes 3 Ps for the Blacks in the Castle 1 . 11 . 3 Canvas 40 Yds Osenbs Do Do 1 . 11 . 8 Deals viz 19 Single to make a Platform for the New Blacks and a Coffin 2 . 11 . 11 2 Planks to make a Platform 17 . 8 3 . 9 . 7 Tin Ware 1 Lamp New Blacks 11 Carried Over £ 322 . 13 . 5	Brought forward, £271 0s 8d Train oil, 2¼ gallons, £0 7s 1d Turned wares: 11 wooden bowls, £0 12s 4½d 3 platters, £0 10s 4½d 3 birch brooms, £0 1s 0d Sub-total for turned wares, £1 3s 9d Iron pots for the plantations: 3 pots of 4 gallons, £0 12s 6d 3 pots of 8 gallons, £1 8s 6d 2 pots of 13 gallons, £1 6s 0d 1 large iron kettle, £2 5s 0d Sub-total for iron pots, £5 12s 0d Flour for sick slaves, 56 lb, £0 7s 3d Blankets, 77, £22 15s 7d Cutlery, 1 shoemaker's knife, £0 0s 4d Ironmongery: 2 stock locks for the Great Wood, £0 5s 5d 1 hand hatchet for the barracks and hospital, £0 1s 9d 2 iron frying pans, £0 5s 5d Sub-total for ironmongery, £0 12s 7d Pease, 15 bushels, £4 5s 5d Beans, 47 bushels, £9 12s 2d Pepper, 6 lb, £0 3s 0d Dosooty for the slaves at the Castle, 3 pieces, £1 11s 3d Osnaburg for the slaves at the Castle, 40 yards, £1 11s 8d Timber: 19 single deals to build a sleeping platform for the new slaves and to make a coffin, £2 11s 11d 2 planks to build the sleeping platform, £0 17s 8d Sub-total for timber, £3 9s 7d Tinware, 1 lamp for the new slaves, £0 0s 11d Sub-total carried forward, £322 13s 5d **Interpretations** The platform, lamp and 77 blankets were the provision made for the slaves landed from the *Royal George*. On 27 May 1765 the Council kept 86 of the 236 slaves on the island and sent the rest on to Sumatra. The new arrivals were housed together on a raised wooden platform, the usual sleeping arrangement in slave quarters, lit by a single lamp. The blankets were issued as the island moved into its winter, when nights in the high interior turned cold and damp, a risk to people from the African coast who had just survived a long sea passage. Pease and beans, at 62 bushels in the quarter, supplemented the rice, yams and salt meat of the slave ration. Pulses were cheap, kept well and gave protein where fresh meat was scarce. The 56 lb of flour for the sick showed a separate, lighter diet for slaves unable to work, while the hatchet for the hospital pointed to a building set aside for their care. The large iron pots and kettle for the plantations were used to cook rations in bulk for groups of slaves, who ate communally rather than in family households. A single coffin among the timber issued recorded one of the five slave deaths listed in the stock account.
378	371	1765 Brought over £ 322 . 13 . 5 Nails viz 1 lb 6d 6¼ 6 lb 40d	The account of stores issued to the Company's slaves concluded from £322 13s 5d brought forward. Brought forward, £322 13s 5d Nails: 1 lb of sixpenny nails for a coffin and for making a guard bed, £0 0s 6¼d

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		2 . 1½ for a Coffin & making a Gd Bed 6 lb 20d for Blacks 2 . 3½ 4 . 11 Sailors Cloaths viz 354 Mens Checkd Shirts 59 45 Boys Do Do 6 . 3 . 9 135 Mens Jackets & Breeches 91 . 14 . 7 32 Boys Do Do 12 . 5 . 4 209 Dutch Caps 15 . 13 . 6 184 . 17 . 2 £ 507 . 15 . 6 Mallay Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Beef 13 Ps 2 . 10 Arrack 3¼ Gallons 12 . 7 Sugar 26 lb 7 . 7 Rice 156 lb 10 . 5 Oil 2¼ Galls 7 . 1 Sope 6 lb 3 . 10 Tea 3 lb Bohea 2 . 7 £ 4 . 4 . 11	6 lb of fortypenny nails for a coffin and for making a guard bed, £0 2s 1½d 6 lb of twentypenny nails for the slaves, £0 2s 3¾d Sub-total for nails, £0 4s 11d Seamen's clothing: 354 men's checked shirts, £59 0s 0d 15 boys' checked shirts, £6 3s 9d 135 men's jackets and breeches, £91 14s 7d 32 boys' jackets and breeches, £12 5s 4d 209 Dutch caps, £15 13s 6d Sub-total for seamen's clothing, £184 17s 2d Total, £507 15s 6d A separate account listed the stores issued to the Malays between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Salt beef, 13 pieces, £2 0s 10d Arrack, 3¼ gallons, £0 12s 7d Sugar, 26 lb, £0 7s 7d Rice, 156 lb, £0 10s 5d Train oil, 2¼ gallons, £0 7s 1d Soap, 6 lb, £0 3s 10d Bohea tea, 3 lb, £0 2s 7d Total, £4 4s 11d **Interpretations** The Company clothed its slaves in seamen's slops, the cheap ready-made clothing sold to sailors from ships' stores. Checked shirts, short jackets, breeches and knitted woollen Dutch caps were produced in bulk in England for the navy and merchant ships, and buying them in the same form gave the Company a supply that was cheap, hard-wearing and simple to issue by size. The 354 men's shirts and 135 jackets and breeches, with smaller numbers for boys, suggested a clothing issue on a scale that matched the Company's enlarged workforce after the arrivals from the *Royal George*. The Malays were entered in a separate account from the other slaves, and their allowance differed in kind. They received tea, sugar, arrack, soap and oil alongside rice and beef, items given elsewhere only to servants at the Castle or as rewards. The Company had brought people from its eastern settlements to St Helena, some as slaves and some perhaps as free servants, and the distinct account suggested the Malays held a separate and somewhat more privileged position in the island's hierarchy of labour. A guard bed was the plank bench in a guardroom on which soldiers off duty rested during their turn of guard, and its timber and nails were charged here with the coffin because both were built by the same slave carpenters.
379	372	15th July Plantation Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Cuttlery Ware viz 3 doz Butchers Knives, Gard & Plantn 10 . 6 3 Shoe Do Do 1 11 . 6 Rice and Paddy viz 2 C 2 qr 1 lb Rice 19 . 9 43 C 1 qr 17 lb Paddy 8 . 2 . 9 for the Poultry and Hogs 9 . 2 . 6 Pitch 3 Galls Tar for Carts 6 . 3 Oil 1½ Galls Train for the Overr ing Wood 1 . 7 Tin Ware 1 Lamp for Do	The storekeeper's account then set out the stores issued to the Company's plantations between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Cutlery: 3 dozen butcher's knives for the Great Wood and the plantation, £0 10s 6d 3 shoemaker's knives for the Great Wood and the plantation, £0 1s 0d Sub-total for cutlery, £0 11s 6d Rice and paddy for the poultry and horses: 2 cwt 2 qr 1 lb of rice, £0 19s 9d 43 cwt 1 qr 17 lb of paddy, £8 2s 9d Sub-total for rice and paddy, £9 2s 6d Tar for the carts, 3 gallons, £0 6s 8d Train oil for the overseer in the Wood, 1½ gallons, £0 1s 7d Tinware, 1 lamp for the overseer in the Wood, £0 1s 1d Rope for the oxen and other uses, 35 lb, £0 13s 3d Ironmongery: 10 pickaxes for Plantation House, £1 11s 3d 2 ragstones for the garden, £0 0s 5d

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		1 . 1 Cordage 35 lb for Oxen & ca 13 . 3 Iron Ware viz 10 Pickaxes 1 . 11 . 3 2 Rag Stones 5 Plantation House Garden 6 Ditching Shovels Gt Wood 1 . 3 . 10½ 2 Stock Locks Plantation House 5 . 5 1 Pr Steelyards 6 . 10½ 1 Pad Locks 1 . 6½ Do Do 2 Gardeners Rakes 4 . 8½ 8 Do Hoes 9 . 5 Plantation House 1 Scythe Stones Do 2 13 Helves for Gt Wood & Do 7 . 4 2 Spades Sandy Bay Plantation House and Garden 8 4 . 19 Pewter 1 Funnel for the Dary 2 . 3 Turners Ware 2 Ox Bows for Oxen 2 . 9 Lines 4 for Do 5 £ 16 . 1	6 ditching shovels for the Great Wood, £1 3s 10½d 2 stock locks for Plantation House, £0 5s 5d 1 pair of steelyards for Plantation House, £0 6s 10½d 1 padlock for Plantation House, £0 1s 6½d 2 garden rakes for Plantation House, £0 4s 8½d 8 hoes for Plantation House, £0 9s 5d 1 scythe whetstone for Plantation House, £0 0s 2d 13 tool handles for the Great Wood and Plantation House, £0 7s 4d 2 spades for the Sandy Bay plantation house and garden, £0 8s 0d Sub-total for ironmongery, £4 19s 0d Pewter, 1 funnel for the dairy, £0 2s 3d Turned wares, 26 ox bows for the oxen, £0 2s 9d Lines for the oxen, 4, £0 0s 5d Total, £16 1s 0d **Interpretations** The paddy issued to the plantations was fed to the Company's poultry and horses, which settled the purpose of the unhusked rice shipped from Bengal. The *Van Sittart* brought 22½ factory maunds on 14 June 1765, and the quarter's issue of over 43 hundredweight showed that paddy was a regular fodder crop rather than seed. The heavy mortality among the Company's horses and poultry recorded in the stock account came despite this supply, which suggested disease rather than simple want of feed. Plantation House was the Company's farm and country residence in the island's interior, the centre of its agricultural operations, with a garden and a dairy. The Company also kept a plantation house at Sandy Bay on the southern side of the island. Steelyards were a weighing beam with a sliding counterweight, used to weigh produce and meat at the farm, and the funnel for the dairy pointed to butter and milk production from the Company's cows. Ox bows were the U-shaped wooden collars that passed under an ox's neck and fitted into the yoke above. Twenty-six bows for a team of 16 to 19 oxen showed spares kept against breakage on the island's steep and stony tracks, where the oxen drew the carts and the plough.
380	373	1765 Boats Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st Apl to the 30th June 1765 viz Deals viz 2 Elm Boards Engr and Fishing Boats 7 . 7 2 Single Deals Long Boat 4 . 5 12 Nails viz 3 lb 2d 2 . ¾ 2 lb 3d 1 . 5½ 11 lb 6d 3 . 4 3 lb 10d 3 . 6 1 lb 20d 4¾ for the Long Boat Engineers & Fishing Boat 15 . 9 Pitch and Tar viz 12 Galls Tar 10 50 lb Rozin 10 . 5 47 lb Turpentine 3 . 6	The storekeeper's account then set out the stores issued for the Company's boats between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Timber: 2 elm boards for the engineer's boat and the fishing boat, £0 7s 7d 2 single deals for the longboat, £0 4s 5d Sub-total for timber, £0 12s 0d Nails for the longboat, the engineer's boat and the fishing boat: 3 lb of twopenny nails, £0 2s 0¾d 2 lb of threepenny nails, £0 1s 5½d 11 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 3s 4d 3 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 3s 6d 1 lb of twentypenny nails, £0 0s 4¾d Sub-total for nails, £0 15s 9d Tar, rosin and turpentine for the longboat, the engineer's boat and the fishing boat: 12 gallons of tar, £0 10s 0d 50 lb of rosin, £0 10s 5d 4 lb of turpentine, £0 3s 6d Sub-total for tar, rosin and turpentine, £1 3s 11d Paint for the longboat, the engineer's boat and the fishing boat: 10 lb of dry Venetian red, £0 2s 1d 2 lb of sky blue, £0 3s 3½d 2 lb of red lead, £0 0s 5½d 4 lb of Venetian red, ready mixed, £0 1s 10d ¼ lb of copperas, £0 0s 3d 1 lb of yellow ochre, ready mixed, £0 0s 2d

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		for the Long Boat Engineers Boat and Fishing Boat 1 . 8 . 11 Paint viz 10 lb Venn Red dry 2 . 1 2 Sky Blue 3 . 3½ 2 Red Lead 6½ 4 Venn Red mixed 1 . 10 ¼ Copperas 3 1 Y. Oaker mixed 2 Do 8 . 6 Turners Ware viz 1 Wood Bowl 1 . 1½ 1 Platter 1 . 3½ 1 Wood Ladle 4 1 Mop 1 . 4 2 Paint Brushes 1 5 . 1 Carried Over £ 3 . 10 . 3	Sub-total for paint, £0 8s 6d Turned wares: 1 wooden bowl, £0 1s 1½d 1 platter, £0 1s 3½d 1 wooden ladle, £0 0s 4d 1 mop, £0 1s 4d 2 paint brushes, £0 1s 0d Sub-total for turned wares, £0 5s 1d Sub-total carried forward, £3 10s 3d **Interpretations** The Company kept at least three boats of its own: the longboat, the engineer's boat and a fishing boat. The engineer's boat was the one Captain Mitchell had recently been given for surveying the coast, as he explained in his letter of 10 June 1765. The longboat worked the anchorage and carried stores and building materials, and on 17 June 1765 the Council put its six-man crew on fixed yearly wages because it expected the boat to be in constant use for the fortification works. The fishing boat supplied fish to the Company, alongside the slave fisherman whose tackle was issued from store. The tar, rosin and turpentine were used to pay the seams of the boats, filling the gaps between planks with a hot mixture that set hard and kept out water. Turpentine thinned the tar and rosin so they could be worked into the seams. The paints protected the timber from sun and salt, and the red lead served as a primer beneath the coloured coats.
381	374	15th July Brought over £ 3 . 10 . 3 Lead 4¼ lb Sheet for the Fishg Boat 1 Cordage 93 lb for Do and L. Boat 1 . 14 . 10 Oar 1 Do Do 3 . 9 Iron Ware viz 1 Joyners Rubstones 2 . 10½ 1 Ragstones 2½ Do 3 . 1 Twine 1 Skain for mending Sail 6 Lead 1½ lb Sole Do Engineers Boat 1 . 5 Oil viz 2 Gallons Linseed 7 . 7 1 Do Train 3 . 2 Do Do 10 . 9 Tin Ware 1 Small Horn Lanthn L. Boat 2 . 8 Iron Ware 1 of 8 Galls for Bg Pitch & Tar & ca 9 . 6 Lines 36 No 4 Eng. Boat 4 . 3 . 8 Pork 4 Ps Long Boat Men 11 . 9	The account of stores issued for the Company's boats concluded from £3 10s 3d brought forward. Brought forward, £3 10s 3d Sheet lead for the fishing boat, 4¼ lb, £0 1s 0d Rope for the fishing boat and the longboat, 93 lb, £1 14s 10d Oar for the fishing boat and the longboat, 1, £0 3s 9d Ironmongery for the fishing boat and the longboat: 1 joiner's rubstone, £0 2s 10½d 1 ragstone, £0 0s 2½d Sub-total for ironmongery, £0 3s 1d Twine for mending the sail, 1 skein, £0 0s 6d Sole leather for the engineer's boat, 1½ lb, £0 1s 5d Oil for the engineer's boat: 2 gallons of linseed oil, £0 7s 7d 1 gallon of train oil, £0 3s 2d Sub-total for oil, £0 10s 9d Tinware, 1 small horn lantern for the longboat, £0 2s 8d Ironmongery, 1 pot of 8 gallons for boiling pitch and tar, £0 9s 6d No. 4 lines for the engineer's boat, 36, £0 13s 8d Salt pork for the longboat crew, 4 pieces, £0 11s 9d Total, £8 3s 2d A further account listed the stores issued to the hospital between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Turned wares: 1 butcher's tray, £0 3s 8d 2 wooden bowls, £0 3s 4½d 3 platters, £0 3s 10½d 1 mop, £0 1s 4d Sub-total for turned wares, £0 12s 3d Sugar, 331 lb, £4 16s 6d Flour, 327 lb, £2 7s 3d Total, £7 16s 5d **Interpretations** The four pieces of salt pork charged to the longboat crew matched the allowance the Council fixed on 17 June 1765, when it put the six men on yearly wages with two pieces of salt meat a week to

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£ 8 . 3 . 2 Hospital Dr for the followg Stores Issued from 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Turners Ware viz 1 Butcher Tray 3 . 8 2 Wood Bowls 3 . 4½ 3 Plates 3 . 10½ 1 Mop 1 . 4 12 . 3 Sugar 331 lb 4 . 16 . 6 Flour 327 lb 2 . 7 . 8 £ 7 . 16 . 5	share. Only two weeks of that arrangement fell within the quarter ending 30 June, which accounted for exactly four pieces. The entry showed the new terms taking effect at once. The hospital drew more sugar than flour in the quarter, 331 lb against 327 lb. Sugar was a staple of sickroom diets and remedies, used to sweeten gruels, barley water and possets and to make syrups and electuaries in which medicines were given. The quantity reflected a steady flow of patients from a garrison of over 400 men and from the Company's slaves. A rubstone was a fine whetstone used by joiners to put a keen edge on plane irons and chisels, while the coarser ragstone did the rough grinding. The pot for boiling pitch and tar was needed because both had to be heated until liquid before they could be worked into the seams of the boats.
382	375	1765 Brought over £ 7 . 16 . 5 Oil 13 Gallons Train 2 . 1 . 2 Rice 4 C 1 qr 24 lb 1 . 13 . 6 China Ware 12 Blue & White Saucers 2 . 6 Braziers Ware viz 12 Pint Copper Saucepans 1 . 14 . 5 5 Quart Do Do 19 . 11 9 Half Pt Do Do 1 . 1 . 5 3 . 15 . 9 Iron Ware viz 1 Helve 7 1 Blank Key 8 1 Hd Hatchet 1 . 9 3 Pewter viz 2 Close Stool Pans 9 . 6 2 Bed Pans 13 . 11 1 . 3 . 5 Salt viz 23 lb Cape 1 . 9 1½ Bushl Engl 5 . 3 7 Blankets 30 8 . 5 Desootes 4 Ps for Sheets 2 . 1 . 8 Long Cloth 3 Ps U for Do 4 . 11 . 6 Twine 4 Skains for makg Matts 2 Tea 1 lb Bohea 11	The account of stores issued to the hospital concluded from £7 16s 5d brought forward. Brought forward, £7 16s 5d Train oil, 13 gallons, £2 1s 2d Rice, 4 cwt 1 qr 24 lb, £1 13s 6d Chinaware, 12 blue and white sneakers, £0 2s 6d Copperware: 12 pint copper saucepans, £1 14s 5d 5 quart copper saucepans, £0 19s 11d 9 half-pint copper saucepans, £1 1s 5d Sub-total for copperware, £3 15s 9d Ironmongery: 1 tool handle, £0 0s 7d 1 blank key, £0 0s 8d 1 hand hatchet, £0 1s 9d Sub-total for ironmongery, £0 3s 0d Pewter: 2 close-stool pans, £0 9s 6d 2 bedpans, £0 13s 11d Sub-total for pewter, £1 3s 5d Salt: 25 lb of Cape salt, £0 1s 9d 1⅛ bushels of English salt, £0 5s 3d Sub-total for salt, £0 7s 0d Blankets, 30, £8 5s 0d Dosooty for sheets, 4 pieces, £2 1s 8d Longcloth marked U for sheets, 3 pieces, £4 11s 6d Twine for making mattresses, 4 skeins, £0 2s 0d Bohea tea, 1 lb, £0 0s 11d Tinware, 2 lamps, £0 2s 3d Canvas for mattresses: 165 yards of osnaburg, £6 10s 7d 92 yards of English canvas, £5 3s 6d Sub-total for canvas, £11 14s 1d Total, £44 0s 2d **Interpretations** The hospital account recorded the Council's decision of 13 May 1765 being carried out in full. On that day the Council found the Company's hospital badly short of bedding and resolved to issue 30 blankets, cloth for sheets and enough osnaburg to make 30 mattresses and pillows, along with smocks for the patients. The quarter's issues included exactly 30 blankets, dosooty and longcloth for sheets, twine for sewing mattresses and over 250 yards of osnaburg and English canvas. The wool from the Company's sheep, which the Council intended for stuffing, did not appear because it came from the flock rather than the warehouse. A sneaker was a small china cup or bowl, used for drinking and for giving measured doses of liquid food or medicine. The copper saucepans in three sizes allowed the hospital to prepare separate small portions of broth, gruel and other sickroom foods

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		Tin Ware 2 Lamps 2 . 3 Canvas viz 165 Yds Osenbs 6 . 10 . 7 92 Yds English Canvas 5 . 3 . 6 for Matts 11 . 14 . 1 £ 44 . 2	rather than cooking everything in a single large pot, as the barracks did.
383	376	15th July Fly Cutter Dr for the following Stores Issued from 1st April 30th June 1765 viz Cordage viz 1 Strand Hawsers Wt 16 C 2 qr 19 lb 33 . 1 . 2 805 Cordage 15 . 1 . 10 48 . 3 Twine 7½ lb 7 . 6 Arrack 109½ Gallons 21 . 4 . 4 Iron Ware viz 36 Sail Needles 3 3 Pad Locks 4 . 1 7 . 1 Pitch and Tar viz 13¼ Galls Tar 11 . 4 92 lb Rozin 19 . 2 9 lb Turpentine 1 . 10½ 1 . 12 . 1 Iron 236 lb 2 . 9 . 2 Turners Ware 4 Paint Brushes 2 Nails viz 13 lb 10d 3 . 8¼ 38 lb 40d 13 . 5½ 12 lb 6d 6 . 3 7 Spikes 2 . 2¼ 1 . 7 . 7 Deals viz 5 Double Deals 17 . 1 13 Riga Timber 17 . 9 1 . 14 . 10 Oil 4 Galls Train 12 . 8 £ 78 . 3	The storekeeper's account then listed the stores issued to the cutter *Fly* between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Rope: 1 hawser weighing 16 cwt 2 qr 19 lb, £33 1s 2d 805 lb of rope, £15 1s 10d Sub-total for rope, £48 3s 0d Twine, 7½ lb, £0 7s 6d Arrack, 109½ gallons, £21 4s 4d Ironmongery: 36 sail needles, £0 3s 0d 3 padlocks, £0 4s 1d Sub-total for ironmongery, £0 7s 1d Tar, rosin and turpentine: 13¾ gallons of tar, £0 11s 4d 92 lb of rosin, £0 19s 2d 6 lb of turpentine, £0 1s 10½d Sub-total for tar, rosin and turpentine, £1 12s 2d Iron, 236 lb, £2 9s 2d Turned wares, 4 paint brushes, £0 2s 0d Nails: 15 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 5s 8¾d 38 lb of fortypenny nails, £0 13s 5½d 12 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 6s 3d 7 lb of spikes, £0 2s 2¼d Sub-total for nails, £1 7s 7d Timber: 5 double deals, £0 17s 1d 13 feet of Riga timber, £0 17s 9d Sub-total for timber, £1 14s 10d Train oil, 4 gallons, £0 12s 8d Total, £78 0s 3d **Interpretations** The *Fly* was a cutter, a small, fast single-masted vessel with a large fore-and-aft rig, and the island kept her for tasks too small or too urgent for an Indiaman. Cutters of this kind carried dispatches, fetched supplies from the Cape, scouted for approaching ships and pursued smugglers. The stores issued to her in a single quarter, including a new hawser and over 800 lb of rope, sail needles, timber, spikes and ironwork, amounted to a substantial refit. The hawser was a heavy cable used for anchoring and mooring, and at over 16 hundredweight it cost more than £33, the largest item in the account. St Helena's anchorage was open and deep, with a steady swell, and a vessel stationed there needed strong ground tackle to ride out the weather. The 109½ gallons of arrack formed the crew's spirit ration, issued daily as in the navy, and at over £21 it was the second largest cost of keeping the cutter at sea.
384	377	1765 Fortifications Dr for the following Stores Issued from 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Cordage 4¼ lb Guns on the Line 15 . 7 Candles	The storekeeper's account then set out the stores issued for the fortifications between 1 April and 30 June 1765. Rope for the guns on the Lines, 4[...] lb, £0 15s 7d Candles for the magazines, 2 lb, £0 3s 11d Ironmongery: 1 stock lock, £0 2s 8½d

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		2 lb for the Use of Magazines 3 . 11 Iron Ware viz 1 Stock Lock 2 . 8½ 14 Helves 8 . 2 12 Pickaxes 17 . 6 2 Setting Hammer 13 . 7½ 1 Ditching Shovel 3 . 11½ 1 Plaisterers Sieve 8 . 5½ 3 . 14 . 5 Thread 1 lb Coloured 3 . 3 Twine 2 Skains 1 Turners Ware 21 Labrs Baskets 15 . 9 Coals 102 Bushels for burning Lime 6 . 5 . 6 Sand Bags 325 9 . 2 . 10 £ 21 . 9 . 3 Mercury Snow Dr for the following Stores Issued from the 1st April to the 30th June 1765 viz Pepper 6 lb 3 Tea 6 lb Single 8 . 3 Oil 16 Galls 2 . 10 . 8 Tin Ware viz 3 lb Solder 2 . 7½ 1 Tin Lamp 1 . 1½ 50 Lanthorn Leaves 1 . 2 . 11 2 Dripping Pans 2 . 11 1 . 9 . 7 Carried Over £ 4 . 11 . 6	14 tool handles, £0 8s 2d 12 pickaxes, £1 17s 6d 2 setting hammers, £0 13s 7¼d 1 ditching shovel, £0 3s 11½d 1 plasterer's sieve, £0 8s 5¾d Sub-total for ironmongery, £3 14s 5d Coloured thread, 1 lb, £0 3s 3d Twine, 2 skeins, £0 1s 0d Turned wares, 21 labourer's baskets, £0 15s 9d Coal for burning lime, 102 bushels, £6 5s 6d Sandbags, 325, £9 2s 10d Total, £21 9s 3d A further account listed the stores issued to the snow *Mercury* over the same quarter. Pepper, 6 lb, £0 3s 0d Singlo tea, 6 lb, £0 8s 3d Oil, 16 gallons, £2 10s 8d Tinware: 3 lb of solder, £0 2s 7½d 1 tin lamp, £0 1s 1½d 50 lantern leaves, £1 2s 11d 2 baking pans, £0 2s 11d Sub-total for tinware, £1 9s 7d Sub-total carried forward, £4 11s 6d **Interpretations** The 102 bushels of coal issued for burning lime showed that Captain Mitchell had obtained fuel from the Company's own stock without waiting for a shipment from England. In his letter of 10 June 1765 he had asked for coal because wood was too scarce for lime burning, and by 24 June 1765 he reported that he had already burnt enough lime to begin the repairs. The coal came from the warehouse, the same source that sold chaldrons to planters and ships, and it cost the fortifications over £6 in a single quarter. The 325 sandbags were the most costly item after the coal. Filled with earth or sand, they were stacked to build temporary parapets and embrasures, to protect gun crews during repairs and to shore up works while masonry was rebuilt. Mitchell's plan to take down and rebuild part of the rampart at Banks's would have left the battery exposed, and sandbags offered a quick way to keep it defensible while the work went on. Candles for the magazines had to be used with great care, since a spark near loose powder could be fatal. Magazines were usually lit through a glazed opening from an outer passage, or by candles in closed lanterns, and the small quantity of 2 lb in three months reflected how rarely and cautiously light was brought into them.
385	378	15th July Brought over £ 4 . 11 . 6 Turners Ware viz 1 Wood Ladle 4 1 Scrubing Brush 2 . 3 1 Mop 1 . 4 6 Birch Broom 2 5 . 11 Iron Ware viz 13 lb Plate 4 . 10 1 Blank Key 8 5 . 6 Arrack	The account of stores issued to the snow *Mercury* continued from £4 11s 6d brought forward. Brought forward, £4 11s 6d Turned wares: 1 wooden ladle, £0 0s 4d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 2s 3d 1 mop, £0 1s 4d 6 birch brooms, £0 2s 0d Sub-total for turned wares, £0 5s 11d Ironmongery: 13 lb of flat iron, £0 4s 10d 1 blank key, £0 0s 8d Sub-total for ironmongery, £0 5s 6d Arrack, 63 gallons, £12 4s 1d Rosin, 1 lb, £0 0s 2d Candles, 30 lb, £4 1s 11d Paddy, 10 [...], £1 7s 6d Sugar and sugar candy: 100 lb of sugar, £1 9s 2d 100 lb of sugar candy, £2 1s 8d

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		63 Gallons 12 . 4 . 1 Pitch and Tar viz 1 lb Rozin 2 Candles 50 lb 4 . 1 . 11 Paddy 10 C 1 . 7 . 6 Sugar and Candy viz 100 lb Sugar 1 . 9 . 2 100 lb Candy 2 . 1 . 8 3 . 10 . 10 Braziers Ware viz 1 Copper Saucepan of 1¼ Gall 13 . 9 1 Do Do of ¾ Do 8 . 3 1 Do Do of ½ Do 4 1 Large Hash pan wth a Cover 1 . 7 . 1 2 . 13 . 1 Nails viz 12 lb 6d 6 . 3 6 lb 10d 2 . 7 4 lb 4d 2 . 5 11 . 3 Deals viz 1 Single Deal 2 . 2½ 1 Elm Board 3 . 9½ 6 Carried Over £ 31 . 3 . 9	Sub-total for sugar and sugar candy, £3 10s 10d Copperware: 1 copper saucepan holding 1¼ gallons, £0 13s 9d 1 copper saucepan holding ¾ gallon, £0 8s 3d 1 copper saucepan holding ½ gallon, £0 4s 0d 1 large stewing pan with a cover, £1 7s 1d Sub-total for copperware, £2 13s 1d Nails: 12 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 6s 3d 6 lb of tenpenny nails, £0 2s 7d 4 lb of fourpenny nails, £0 2s 5d Sub-total for nails, £0 11s 3d Timber: 1 single deal, £0 2s 2½d 1 elm board, £0 3s 9½d Sub-total for timber, £0 6s 0d Sub-total carried forward, £31 3s 9d **Interpretations** The *Mercury* was provisioned from the Company's stores before she left the island on 3 May 1765, when the garrison fired nine guns for her departure. Arrack at 63 gallons was the largest item, forming the crew's spirit ration for the voyage. The paddy was probably fodder for poultry carried live on board, a common way of providing fresh meat at sea, and the sugar, sugar candy, tea and pepper went to the officers' table. A hash pan was a large, deep pan with a cover, used for stewing chopped meat with vegetables and gravy, the standard way of making salt or tough meat palatable at sea. Copper cookware of this kind was preferred on board because it heated quickly on a small galley fire, though it had to be kept tinned inside to prevent poisoning from verdigris.
386	379	1765 Brought over £ 31 . 3 . 9 Glass Ware viz 2 Sqs 11 by 19 3 2 Do 6 by 8 9 4 Do 8 by 10 2 . 10 6 . 7 Cordage 472 lb 8 . 17 Twine viz 13 Skains Twine 9 1 lb Cotton Wick 2 11 Beef and Pork viz 3 Hhds Pork 36 . 10 . 9 3 Puns Beef 39 . 2 . 3 75 . 13 Flour 341 lb 2 . 10 . 4 £ 119 . 1 . 8 Errors Excepted St Helena (Signed) Js Powell Storekeeper	The account of stores issued to the snow *Mercury* concluded from £31 3s 9d brought forward. Brought forward, £31 3s 9d Glassware: 2 panes of glass, 11 by 19 inches, £0 3s 0d 2 panes of glass, 6 by 8 inches, £0 0s 9d 4 panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches, £0 2s 10d Sub-total for glassware, £0 6s 7d Rope, 472 lb, £8 17s 0d Twine and wick: 13 skeins of twine, £0 9s 0d 1 lb of cotton wick, £0 2s 0d Sub-total for twine and wick, £0 11s 0d Beef and pork: 3 hogsheads of salt pork, £36 10s 9d 3 puncheons of salt beef, £39 2s 3d Sub-total for beef and pork, £75 13s 0d Flour, 341 lb, £2 10s 4d Total, £119 1s 8d James Powell signed the account as storekeeper at St Helena on 30 June 1765, reserving the right to correct any errors found later. **Interpretations** The *Mercury* took three hogsheads of pork and three puncheons of beef from the island's stores before she sailed on 3 May 1765, worth over £75. Two months later, on 3 July 1765, the Council could spare Captain Fernell of the *Valentine* only nine casks of salt meat against a request for 800 pieces, pleading scarcity. Large issues early in the season to the *Mercury* and to other ships, including the five puncheons of beef and two hogsheads of pork sold to Company

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		30th June 1765	ships in the same quarter, had drawn down the reserve that later arrivals found exhausted. With this page the storekeeper closed his quarterly return of every item sold or issued from the Company's warehouses. Signing it with the reservation of errors made him answerable for its accuracy while allowing mistakes to be corrected when the Council or the directors examined it. The return set every sale and issue against the goods received from the store ships and the Company's Indiamen, giving the Council a full account of how the island's supplies had been used.
387	380	15th July List of the Honorable Company's Officers and Servants on the Island St Helena with their several Salary's Diet Money & ca for the Quarter Commencing the 1st April and ending the 30th June 1765 viz John Skottowe Esqr Governor Salary 125 Do Allowance for Servants as Usual 31 . 14 . 9 156 . 14 . 9 Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Govern Saly 62 . 10 Do Diet Money 25 87 . 10 Matthew Burling of Council Saly 15 Do Accomptant 17 . 10 Do Diet Money 15 Do Gratuity 15 62 . 10 Thomas Kirkpatrick of Council Saly 7 . 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 10 Archibald Mitchel Engineer Saly 50 Do Diet Money 25 Do House Rent 2 . 10 77 . 10 John Thackeray Chaplain Salary 25 Do Diet Money 15 40 Matthew Bazett Secretary Saly 17 . 10 Do Diet Money 15 Do House Rent 2 . 10 35 James Powell Storekeepr Salary 17 . 10 Do Diet Money 15 Do House Rent 2 . 10 35 William Wrangham Teacher Saly 7 . 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent	The Council received the list of the Honourable Company's officers and servants on the island, with their salaries, diet money and other allowances for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1765. John Skottowe, Governor, salary, £125 0s 0d John Skottowe, Governor, allowance for servants as usual, £31 14s 9d Total for the Governor, £156 14s 9d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, salary, £62 10s 0d Daniel Corneille, Lieutenant Governor, diet money, £25 0s 0d Total for the Lieutenant Governor, £87 10s 0d Matthew Burling, member of Council, salary, £15 0s 0d Matthew Burling, as accountant, £17 10s 0d Matthew Burling, diet money, £15 0s 0d Matthew Burling, gratuity, £15 0s 0d Total for Matthew Burling, £62 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 Archibald Mitchell, engineer, salary, £50 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, diet money, £25 0s 0d Archibald Mitchell, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Archibald Mitchell, £77 10s 0d John Thackeray, chaplain, salary, £25 0s 0d John Thackeray, diet money, £15 0s 0d Total for John Thackeray, £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, teacher, salary, £7 10s 0d William Wrangham, diet money, £10 0s 0d William Wrangham, house rent, £2 10s 0d William Wrangham, for an assistant, £10 0s 0d Total for William Wrangham, £30 0s 0d Sub-total carried forward, £534 4s 9d **Interpretations** The list showed how the Company paid its senior servants through a combination of salary and allowances rather than a single wage. Diet money was a cash payment in place of meals at the Company's table, and house rent covered lodging for officers not housed in the Castle. The Governor received an allowance for his household servants instead, since he kept the public table himself. The mixture allowed the directors to adjust particular benefits without altering the formal salary scale, and it let the Council reward extra duties, such as Burling's work as accountant and his gratuity, without raising his salary as a councillor. Archibald Mitchell, the engineer, drew £77 10s 0d for the quarter, or £310 a year, making him the third best-paid officer on the island after the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. His pay exceeded that of any councillor other than the

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		2 . 10 Do Assistant 10 30 Carried Over £ 534 . 4 . 9	Lieutenant Governor, and it reflected the value the directors placed on the fortification programme he had been sent to carry out. His salary alone was twice the yearly pay of the storekeeper or the secretary. William Wrangham was paid as the island's teacher at £30 a quarter, including £10 for an assistant. The figure stood in sharp contrast to the £15 10s 0d a year that Richard Beale had drawn for teaching the island's children since 1725, the subject of his petition forwarded to London on 24 June 1765. The list suggested that Beale held a lower, older position in the island's schooling, still tied to a soldier's pay, while Wrangham held the salaried post created later on the Company's civil establishment.
388	381	1765 Brought over £ 534 . 4 . 9 Francis Wrangham Factor Salary 7 . 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 20 Jonathan Doveton Factor Saly 7 . 10 Do Diet Money 10 Do Assistant Storekeeper 5 22 . 10 Britannicus Wright Writer Saly 5 Do Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 17 . 10 John Goodwin Writer Saly 5 Do Diet Money 10 15 Robert Barclay Surgeon Saly 9 . 15 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 22 . 5 John Pritchard Surgeon Mate Saly 6 . 5 Do Diet Money 10 Do House Rent 2 . 10 18 . 15 Richard Beale Judge Advocate Saly 10 Do School Master 3 . 8 . 3 13 . 8 . 3 Samuel Alexander Overseer Saly 7 . 10 Matthew Bazett Overseer to the 9th June 9 . 11 . 9 Thoms Warne Overseer from June 9th to the 30th 1 . 18 . 4 19 . 1 William Holebrook Master Mason Saly 30 Thoms Townsend Stone Mason Saly 19 . 10 49 . 10 John Robinson Carpenter Saly	The list of the Company's officers and servants and their pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1765 continued from £534 4s 9d brought forward. Brought forward, £534 4s 9d 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 Jonathan Doveton, factor, salary, £7 10s 0d Jonathan Doveton, diet money, £10 0s 0d Jonathan Doveton, as assistant storekeeper, £5 0s 0d Total for Jonathan Doveton, £22 10s 0d Britannicus Wright, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, diet money, £10 0s 0d Britannicus Wright, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for Britannicus Wright, £17 10s 0d John Goodwin, writer, salary, £5 0s 0d John Goodwin, diet money, £10 0s 0d Total for John Goodwin, £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, salary, £7 10s 0d Matthew Bazett, overseer, to 9 June 1765, £9 11s 9d Thomas Warne, overseer, from 17 June to 30 June 1765, £1 18s 4d Total for the overseers, £19 0s 1d William Holbrook, master mason, salary, £30 0s 0d Thomas Townsend, stonemason, salary, £19 10s 0d Total for the masons, £49 10s 0d John Robinson, carpenter, salary, £12 10s 0d John Robinson, house rent, £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 Total for these three, £27 10s 0d Sub-total carried forward, £772 13s 1d **Interpretations** The overseer's pay was calculated day by day. Matthew Bazett drew £9 11s 9d for the 70 days from 1 April until his death on 9 June 1765, and Thomas Warne £1 18s 4d for the 14 days from his appointment on 17 June. Both sums matched a salary of £50 a year divided by the day, the "usual salary" the Council had promised Warne. No one was paid for the eight days between Bazett's death and Warne's appointment, so the Company saved the pay of the vacancy.

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		12 . 10 Do House Rent 15 13 . 5 Phillip Mahoney Clerk of the Peace 10 Joseph Chamberlain Carpenters Mate 7 . 10 David Belford Gardener 10 27 . 10 Carried Over £ 772 . 18 . 1	Richard Beale drew £10 0s 0d a quarter as judge advocate and £3 8s 3d as schoolmaster. The second figure, about £13 13s a year, came close to the soldier's pay of £15 10s 0d he described in his petition of 24 June 1765, while the judge advocate's salary of £40 a year was a separate and larger stipend. The petition had stressed the burden of the judge advocate's work, but the list showed that office was in fact the better paid of his two posts. Writer and factor were the lowest ranks in the Company's civil service, through which a young man rose to junior merchant and senior merchant. Writers did copying and clerical work, and factors handled accounts and stores. Britannicus Wright and John Goodwin, as writers, received the smallest salaries on the list, but diet money doubled or trebled what they actually drew. Jonathan Doveton's extra payment as assistant storekeeper showed a junior servant being given practical charge of the warehouses under James Powell.
389	382	15th July Brought over £ 772 . 18 . 1 James Forbet Cooper 8 . 15 Thomas Bevin Steward 7 . 10 Michael Frost Clock and Instt Clean. 1 . 5 Zedekiah Saunderson Groom 2 George Streight Armourer 9 Solomon St Maurice Master at Arms 6 . 5 John Criswell Patron of the L. Boat 7 . 10 John Price Marshall and Goaler 7 . 10 William Smith Clerk 5 54 . 15 First Company Thomas Kirkpatrick Capt. Saly 45 . 12 . 6 Solomon St Maurice Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Samuel Desfountain Lieut. Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Solomon Jacob Adjutant Saly 22 . 16 . 3 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ 29 . 13 . 1½ Sergeants John Stewart 7 . 12 . 1 Phillip Mahony 7 . 12 . 1 Thomas Payne 7 . 12 . 1 Thomas Faris May 6th Reduced 3 Do Centinel from May 7th 2 . 5 . 10	The list of the Company's officers and servants and their pay for the quarter continued from £772 13s 1d brought forward. Brought forward, £772 13s 1d James Forbes, cooper, £8 15s 0d Thomas Bevan, steward, £7 10s 0d Michael Frost, cleaner of clocks and instruments, £1 5s 0d Zedekiah Saunderson, groom, £2 0s 0d George Street, 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 servants, £54 15s 0d The officers and sergeants of the First Company were paid as follows. 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 John Stewart, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Phillip Mahony, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Payne, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Faris, sergeant, until his demotion on 6 May 1765, £3 0s 0d Thomas Faris, serving on in the ranks from 7 May 1765, £2 5s 10d Total for the sergeants, £28 2s 1d Sub-total carried forward, £936 4s 6½d **Interpretations** Thomas Faris's two entries showed how a demotion worked in the Company's pay books. He drew a sergeant's pay of about 1s 8d a day until 6 May 1765, amounting to £3 0s 0d, and from 7 May was paid at the private's rate of about 10d a day, which gave £2 5s 10d for the rest of the quarter. Reduction to the ranks, usually by sentence of a court martial, halved a man's income at a stroke, which made it one of the most effective punishments available against non-commissioned officers. Several men on the list held more than one post. Solomon St Maurice was both a lieutenant and the master-at-arms, Phillip Mahony was a sergeant and also clerk of the peace at £10 a quarter, and Thomas Payne, another sergeant, was appointed on 1 July

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		28 . 2 . 1 Carried Over £ 986 . 4 . 6½	1765 to oversee the labourers on the fortifications at 1s 6d a day. In so small a settlement the Company filled many of its civil posts from the garrison, where literate and reliable men were already on its books and under its discipline. Mahony also witnessed Matthew Bazett's will on 7 June 1765. George Street was paid his full £9 0s 0d as armourer for the quarter, even though the Council dismissed him on 11 July 1765 for drunkenness, neglect and stealing the Company's tools. The dismissal fell after the quarter closed, so his pay to 30 June stood, and the Company recovered nothing for the tools he had taken.
390	383	1765 Brought over £ 986 . 4 . 6½ Corporals William Bannister May 6th made Sergt 2 . 2 Do Sergeant from May 7th 4 . 11 . 8 Anthony Reynolds 5 . 6 . 5½ William Hebert April 29th Discd 1 . 13 . 10 Joseph Macy 5 . 6 . 5½ 19 . 5 Drummers Henry Stowell 5 . 6 . 5½ Joseph Chamberlain 5 . 6 . 5½ Richard Flatfoot 5 . 6 . 5½ 15 . 19 . 4½ Centinels John Stewart 3 . 16½ John Allis 3 . 16½ John Ashenhall 3 . 16½ John Alman 3 . 16½ James Avery 3 . 16½ James Armstrong 3 . 16½ Thomas Berwick 3 . 16½ John Brown 3 . 16½ John Buchman William Bacon May the 6th made Corporal 1 . 10 Do Corporal from May 7th 3 . 4 . 2 Thomas Blake 3 . 16½ Moses Biffin 3 . 16½ John Bull 3 . 16½ John Barnes The pay list continued with the sentinels of the First Company, from £1,021 4s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,021 4s 4d Sentinels brought forward, £57 12s 9d Edward Cocker, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Crabb, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Clissold, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Cannon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d	The pay list continued with the corporals, drummers and sentinels of the First Company, from £936 4s 6½d brought forward. Brought forward, £936 4s 6½d Corporals: William Bannister, as corporal until his promotion to sergeant on 6 May 1765, £2 2s 0d William Bannister, as sergeant from 7 May 1765, £4 11s 8d Anthony Reynolds, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Hebert, corporal, until his discharge on 29 April 1765, £1 13s 10d Joseph Macey, corporal, £5 6s 0½d Total for the corporals, £19 0s 5d Drummers: Henry Howell, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Joseph Chamberlain, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Richard Blackfoot, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for the drummers, £15 19s 4½d Sentinels: John Stewart, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Allis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Ashenstall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Alman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Avery, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Armstrong, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Berwick, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Buckman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Bacon, as sentinel until his promotion to corporal on 6 May 1765, £1 10s 0d William Bacon, as corporal from 7 May 1765, £3 4s 2d Thomas Blake, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Moses Biffin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Bull, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Barnes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Timothy Bryan, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sub-total for the sentinels so far, £57 12s 9d Sub-total carried forward, £1,021 4s 4d **Interpretations** Thomas Faris's demotion on 6 May 1765, recorded on the previous page, set off a chain of promotions on the same day. William Bannister rose from corporal to sergeant to fill Faris's place, and William Bacon rose from sentinel to corporal to fill Bannister's. Each man's pay was split at the date of the change, so the Company paid exactly for the rank held on each day. The sequence showed how a single sentence in the garrison moved three men and kept the number of sergeants and corporals constant. The split entries also revealed the daily rates of each rank. A sentinel earned about 10d a day, a corporal and a drummer about 1s 2d and a sergeant about 1s 8d. Promotion from the ranks to corporal raised a man's pay by some 40 per cent, and to sergeant it doubled it, a strong incentive to good conduct in a garrison where reduction could remove the gain overnight.

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		John Daves, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Durham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Dunn, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William French, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Dodby, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Greenwood, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Granger, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, sentinel, until his discharge on 10 June 1765, £2 19s 2d William Hawkes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hodge, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Hairston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Haddock, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Holmes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sub-total for the sentinels so far, £163 11s 0½d Sub-total carried forward, £1,021 4s 4d **Interpretations** James Hall was one of the two sentinels whose petition for discharge the Council granted on 10 June 1765, and his pay stopped on that day. His £2 19s 2d matched 71 days at the private's rate of 10d a day, from 1 April to 10 June. The entry confirmed that a man released on completing his term was paid to the day of his discharge and no further, whether or not he had yet found a passage off the island. Hall's release coincided with the *Worcester* and *Lord Holland* lying in the road, which gave him the chance of a prompt voyage home before his pay ran out. 3 . 16½ Timothy Bryan 3 . 16½ Centinels Carried Over £ 57 . 12 . 9 Carried over £ 1021 . 4 . 4	
391	384	15th July Brought over £ 1021 . 4 . 4 Centinels brought over £ 57 . 12 . 9 Edward Cocker 3 . 16½ Henry Crabb 3 . 16½ William Clifsold 3 . 16½ Patrick Cannon 3 . 16½ Isaac Day 3 . 16½ Henry Dudley 3 . 16½ John Daves 3 . 16½ John Dove 3 . 16½ David Davis 3 . 16½ James Drake 3 . 16½ Thomas Durham 3 . 16½ James Dunn 3 . 16½ Samuel Eales 3 . 16½	The pay list continued with the sentinels of the First Company, from £1,021 4s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,021 4s 4d Sentinels brought forward, £57 12s 9d Edward Cocker, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Crabb, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Clissold, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Cannon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Isaac Day, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Dudley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Daves, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Dove, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d David Davis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Drake, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Durham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Dunn, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Eales, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Adam Evans, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Cornelius Fish, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William French, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Dodby, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Greenwood, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Granger, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hall, sentinel, until his discharge on 10 June 1765, £2 19s 2d William Hawkes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Henderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hodge, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Hairston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Haddock, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Holmes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Adam Evans 3 . 16½ Cornelius Fisk 3 . 16½ William French 3 . 16½ Jonathan Dodby 3 . 16½ William Greenwood 3 . 16½ John Granger 3 . 16½ James Hall June 10th Disch. 2 . 19 . 2 William Hawkes 3 . 16½ William Henderson 3 . 16½ James Hodge 3 . 16½ John Hoarston 3 . 16½ Edward Haddock 3 . 16½ William Holmes 3 . 16½ William Johnson 3 . 16½ Richd Knight 3 . 16½ Centinels Carried Over £ 163 . 11 . 1½ Carried over £ 1021 . 4 . 4	William Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Knight, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sub-total for the sentinels so far, £163 11s 0½d Sub-total carried forward, £1,021 4s 4d **Interpretations** James Hall was one of the two sentinels whose petition for discharge the Council granted on 10 June 1765, and his pay stopped on that day. His £2 19s 2d matched 71 days at the private's rate of 10d a day, from 1 April to 10 June. The entry confirmed that a man released on completing his term was paid to the day of his discharge and no further, whether or not he had yet found a passage off the island. Hall's release coincided with the *Worcester* and *Lord Holland* lying in the road, which gave him the chance of a prompt voyage home before his pay ran out.
392	385	1765 Brought over £ 1021 . 4 . 4 Centinels brought over £ 163 . 11 . 1½ William Luke 3 . 16½ Jonathan Lake April 3d Transfd 6 . 8 Duncan McClaron 3 . 16½ William Munford 3 . 16½ John May 3 . 16½ Thomas Marshall 3 . 16½ Thomas Mears 3 . 16½ John Pickering 3 . 16½ William Paxton April 5th Disch. 4 . 2 Thomas Price 3 . 16½ Michael Read 3 . 16½ Thomas Roberts 3 . 16½ Anthony Read Apl 5th Discharged 4 . 2 William Robinson 3 . 16½ Thomas Ransom 3 . 16½ William Rowlands 3 . 16½ Silvanus Rolf George Roe April 8th made Corporal 1 . 4 . 2 Do Corporal from April 9th	The pay list continued with further sentinels of the First Company, from £1,021 4s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,021 4s 4d Sentinels brought forward, £163 11s 0½d William Luke, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jonathan Luke, sentinel, until his transfer on 8 April 1765, £0 6s 8d Duncan McClaren, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Mumford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John May, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Marshall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mears, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Pickering, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Paxton, sentinel, until his discharge on 5 April 1765, £0 4s 2d Thomas Price, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Michael Read, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Roberts, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Anthony Read, sentinel, until his discharge on 5 April 1765, £0 4s 2d William Robinson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ransom, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Rowlands, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Silvanus Rolf, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Roe, as sentinel until his promotion to corporal on 28 April 1765, £1 4s 2d George Roe, as corporal from 29 April 1765, £3 12s 4d Thomas Rowe, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Swaby, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Springthorpe, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Terry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Taylor, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Tottington, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Tipper, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Luke Vernon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Whittingdale, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sub-total for the sentinels so far, £206 11s 6d Sub-total carried forward, £1,021 4s 4d **Interpretations**

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		3 . 12 . 4 Thomas Rowe 3 . 16½ William Swaby 3 . 16½ John Springthorpe 3 . 16½ Edward Terry 3 . 16½ John Taylor 3 . 16½ Richard Tottington 3 . 16½ William Tipper 3 . 16½ Luke Vernon 3 . 16½ John Whittingdale 3 . 16½ Centinels Carried Over £ 206 . 11 . 6 Carried Over £ 1021 . 4 . 4	George Roe's promotion to corporal on 28 April 1765 filled the vacancy left by William Hebert, whose discharge as a corporal took effect the next day, 29 April. The Company advanced Roe from the ranks before Hebert had actually left, so that the number of corporals never fell short. Together with the promotions that followed Thomas Faris's demotion on 6 May 1765, the entries showed the garrison's command structure being kept at full strength by immediate replacement from within the company. The transfer of Jonathan Luke on 8 April 1765 took him off this company's books, perhaps to the artillery or to another company of the garrison, where his pay would continue under a different heading. The discharges of William Paxton and Anthony Read on 5 April 1765 came so early in the quarter that they were paid only five days, which suggested their release had been granted before the quarter began and took effect once a ship offered passage.
393	386	15th July Brought over £ 1021 . 4 . 4 Centinels brought over £ 256 . 11 . 6 Thomas Windall 3 . 16½ Benjamin Wise 3 . 16½ Thomas Warne June 7th Disch. 3 . 5 John Weston 3 . 16½ George Wall 3 . 16½ Richard Youcas 3 . 16½ Thomas Yates 3 . 16½ 282 . 12 . 9 Second Company Henry Bazett Capt. Saly 45 . 12 . 6 Michael Frost Lieut. Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ John Mace Welsh Lieut. Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ Sergeants John Bazett 7 . 12 . 1 Thomas Woffington 7 . 12 . 1 William Greenough 7 . 12 . 1 John Fish 7 . 12 . 1 30 . 8 . 4 Corporals William Stapleford 5 . 6 . 5½ Samuel Curd 5 . 6 . 5½	The pay list concluded the First Company's sentinels and turned to the Second Company, from £1,021 4s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,021 4s 4d Sentinels brought forward, £256 11s 6d Thomas Kendall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Wise, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Warne, sentinel, until his discharge on 7 June 1765, £3 5s 0d John Weston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Wall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Youcas, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Yates, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Total for the sentinels, £282 12s 9d The officers, sergeants and corporals of the Second Company were paid as follows. 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 John Mare Welsh, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Mare Welsh, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Mare Welsh, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Mare Welsh, £27 11s 10½d John Bazett, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Thomas Woffington, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Greenough, sergeant, £7 12s 1d John Fish, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Total for the sergeants, £30 8s 4d William Stapleford, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Samuel Curd, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Newton, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Thomas Richards, corporal, until his demotion on 5 April 1765, £0 17s 6d Thomas Richards, serving on as a sentinel from 6 April 1765, £3 3s 4d Total for the corporals, £20 0s 2½d Sub-total carried forward, £1,455 1s 10½d **Interpretations** Thomas Warne left the ranks on 7 June 1765 and became the Company's overseer ten days later, on 17 June, after Matthew Bazett's death. The Council had recorded that it discharged him from the garrison in order to make the appointment, and his pay as a sentinel stopped on the day of discharge. His case showed how the garrison served as a reservoir of men for the civil establishment, with a soldier's release timed to allow his transfer into a post the Company needed filled. The Bazett family held a striking share of the island's offices. Henry Bazett commanded the Second

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		Thomas Newton 5 . 6 . 5½ Thomas Richards April 5th Reduced 17 . 6 Do Centinel from April 6th 3 . 3 . 4 20 . 2½ Carried Over £ 1455 . 1 . 10½	Company and held a lease at Sandy Bay, renewed on 27 May 1765. John Bazett, listed here as a sergeant in the same company, became superintendent of the Company's slaves on 1 July 1765 at £40 a year. Matthew Bazett had been overseer until his death, and another Matthew Bazett appeared as secretary on the civil list. In a settlement where the Company recruited officers locally, a well-established family could spread across the garrison, the plantations and the administration. Michael Frost, a lieutenant in the Second Company, also drew £1 5s 0d a quarter as cleaner of the Company's clocks and instruments. The small extra fee for a skilled task showed again how the Company used its officers for technical work that in England would have gone to a specialist tradesman.
394	387	1765 Brought over £ 1455 . 1 . 10½ Drummers Robert Davis 5 . 6 . 5½ Francis Soanes 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels Samuel Alston 3 . 16½ Thomas Adams 3 . 16½ Joseph Banks 3 . 16½ William Birch 3 . 16½ William Brooks 3 . 16½ Jacob Brown 3 . 16½ Robert Brown 3 . 16½ Thomas Britt 3 . 16½ Nicholas Boshel 3 . 16½ Daniel Bye 3 . 16½ James Byrn 3 . 16½ William Bell 3 . 16½ John Brown 3 . 16½ Edward Cowzens 3 . 16½ Thomas Cheverly 3 . 16½ William Conquest 3 . 16½ William Clay 3 . 16½ John Crawley 3 . 16½ William Carefree 3 . 16½ Robert Dickens John Dobson Apl 15th made Corpl 12 . 6 Do Corporal from 8th April 4 . 8 . 8 William Drennan 3 . 16½ George Exton 3 . 16½ Centinels brought over £ 88 . 14 . 1	The pay list continued with the drummers and sentinels of the Second Company, from £1,455 1s 10½d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,455 1s 10½d Drummers: Robert Davis, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Francis Soanes, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for the drummers, £10 12s 11d Sentinels: Samuel Alston, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Adams, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Banks, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Birch, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Brooks, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Bott, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Nicholas Boshel, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Bye, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Byrn, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Bell, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Cozens, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Cheverly, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Conquest, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Clay, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Crawley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Carefree, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Dickens, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Dobson, as sentinel until his promotion to corporal on 15 April 1765, £0 12s 6d John Dobson, as corporal from 16 April 1765, £4 8s 8d William Drennan, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Exton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sub-total for the sentinels so far, £88 14s 1d Sub-total carried forward, £1,465 14s 9½d **Interpretations** John Dobson's promotion to corporal on 15 April 1765 filled the place left by Thomas Richards, reduced to the ranks in the same company on 5 April. The Second Company went ten days with a corporal short, whereas in the First Company the vacancies of April and May were filled on the same day or the day before. The gap suggested that promotion in the Second Company waited on its captain's choice, or on the completion of a court martial, rather than following automatically.

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		Carried Over £ 1465 . 14 . 9½ **Margin Notes:** [...]	
395	388	15th July Brought Over £ 1465 . 14 . 9½ Centinels brought over £ 88 . 14 . 1 Richard Essex May 25th Deserted 2 . 5 . 10 William Fish 3 . 16½ William Fullwood 3 . 16½ William Isaac Ford 3 . 16½ William Fry 3 . 16½ George Freeman 3 . 16½ John Forbes 3 . 16½ John Fox May 25th Transfd 2 . 5 . 10 John Gordsole 3 . 16½ John Grey 3 . 16½ Robert Green 3 . 16½ Charles Goulding 3 . 16½ Thomas Green 3 . 16½ James Hales 3 . 16½ William Harris Senr 3 . 16½ William Harris Junr 3 . 16½ Abraham Harding 3 . 16½ John Hawksworth 3 . 16½ Samuel Hyles 3 . 16½ William Hockley 3 . 16½ John Hollbrook 3 . 16½ James Hudson 3 . 16½ Clement Hylands Decd May 9th 1 . 12 . 6 Thomas Hayles 3 . 16½ William Hayes 3 . 16½ Robt Hopkinson 3 . 16½ William Hunt 3 . 16½ Samuel Instone 3 . 16½ Centinels Carried Over £ 189 . 19 . 3½ Carried Over £ 1465 . 14 . 9½	The pay list continued with further sentinels of the Second Company, from £1,465 14s 9½d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,465 14s 9½d Sentinels brought forward, £88 14s 1d Richard Essex, sentinel, until his desertion on 25 May 1765, £2 5s 10d William Fish, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Fallowe, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Isaac Fore, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Fry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d George Freeman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Forbes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Fox, sentinel, until his transfer on 23 May 1765, £2 3s 10d John Goresole, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Gray, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Green, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Charles Goulding, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Green, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hales, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Harris senior, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Harris junior, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Harding, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Hawksworth, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Hyles, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hockley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Holbrook, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Hudson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Clement Hylands, sentinel, until his death on 9 May 1765, £1 12s 6d Thomas Hayles, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hayes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Hopkinson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hunt, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Instone, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sub-total for the sentinels so far, £189 19s 3½d Sub-total carried forward, £1,465 14s 9½d **Interpretations** Richard Essex deserted on 25 May 1765, while the King's ships *Medway* and *York* lay in the road. The *York* sailed for England the next day and the *Medway* on 1 June. Burling's musters of the Company's ships in June found no deserters aboard them, but naval vessels were outside the Council's authority and could not be searched in the same way. A soldier seeking to escape the island had his best chance aboard a King's ship, whose captain might welcome an able-bodied recruit, and the timing of Essex's desertion pointed in that direction. Clement Hylands died on 9 May 1765, and his pay stopped that day. The artillery account for May recorded 2 lb 4 oz of powder for the funeral of a man named Hylands, entered there as James. The volley fired over the grave was the customary honour for a soldier who died in service, and the powder was charged to the Company as a regular part of garrison life.
396	389	1765 Brought Over £ 1465 . 14 . 9½ Centinels brought Over £ 189 . 19 . 3½	The pay list concluded the Second Company's sentinels, from £1,465 14s 9½d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,465 14s 9½d Sentinels brought forward, £189 19s 3½d Richard Jones, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d

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		Richard Jones 3 . 16½ William Johnson 3 . 16½ Jeremiah Jeddon 3 . 16½ Samuel Kitson 3 . 16½ Evan Knowles 3 . 16½ Henry Corkham 3 . 16½ Edmond Leech 3 . 16½ John Lewis 3 . 16½ Thomas Mudge 3 . 16½ Henry Miller 3 . 16½ James Mannington 3 . 16½ John Morriss 3 . 16½ Samuel Perry 3 . 16½ William Pincheon Roger Phillips deceased April 25th 1 . 10 Stephen Rose 3 . 16½ Abraham Renner 3 . 16½ John Christian Strife 3 . 16½ Thomas Stowers 3 . 16½ Benjamin Stringer 3 . 16½ William Stone 3 . 16½ John Studshall 3 . 16½ John Sabourin 3 . 16½ Avery Trueman 3 . 16½ John Tucker 3 . 16½ Thomas Varsall 3 . 16½ Thomas Wyatt 289 . 17 . 2½ Carried Over £ 1755 . 12	William Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Jordon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Kitson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Evan Knowles, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Lockham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edmond Leech, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Lewis, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Mudge, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Miller, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Mannington, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Morris, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Perry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Pincheon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Roger Phillips, sentinel, until his death on 25 April 1765, £1 0s 10d Stephen Pease, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Rennon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Christian Stife, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Stowers, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Stringer, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Stere, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Strudwhall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Saburin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Avery Truman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Tucker, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Varsall, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Wyatt, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Total for the sentinels, £239 17s 2½d Sub-total carried forward, £1,755 12s 0d
397	390	15th July Brought Over £ 1755 . 12 Third Company Richard Beale Capt Saly 45 . 12 . 6 Thomas Bazett Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½ John Bridgewater Lieut Saly 18 . 5 Do Diet Money 6 . 16 . 10½ Do House Rent 2 . 10 27 . 11 . 10½	The pay list turned to the Third Company, from £1,755 12s 0d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,755 12s 0d 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 Bridgewater, lieutenant, salary, £18 5s 0d John Bridgewater, diet money, £6 16s 10½d John Bridgewater, house rent, £2 10s 0d Total for John Bridgewater, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants: Roger Weston, sergeant, £7 12s 1d William Robertson, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Barnard Millard, sergeant, £7 12s 1d David Patton, sergeant, £7 12s 1d Total for the sergeants, £30 8s 4d Corporals: William Roberts, corporal, £5 6s 5½d

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Sergeants Roger Weston 7 . 12 . 1 William Robertson 7 . 12 . 1 Barnard Millard 7 . 12 . 1 David Patton 7 . 12 . 1 30 . 8 . 4 Corporals William Roberts 5 . 6 . 5½ Thomas Pearse 5 . 6 . 5½ William Gordon 5 . 6 . 5½ John Vaughan 5 . 6 . 5½ 21 . 5 . 10 Drummers John Swaits 5 . 6 . 5½ John Waters 5 . 6 . 5½ 10 . 12 . 11 Centinels Richard Ashford 3 . 16½ James Anderson 3 . 16½ Centinels Carried over £ 7 . 12 . 1 Carried Over £ 1918 . 15 . 4	Thomas Pearse, corporal, £5 6s 5½d William Gordon, corporal, £5 6s 5½d John Vaughan, corporal, £5 6s 5½d Total for the corporals, £21 5s 10d Drummers: John Swaits, drummer, £5 6s 5½d John Waters, drummer, £5 6s 5½d Total for the drummers, £10 12s 11d Sentinels: Richard Ashford, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Anderson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sub-total for the sentinels so far, £7 12s 1d Sub-total carried forward, £1,918 15s 4d **Interpretations** The Third Company was commanded by a Richard Beale, paid £45 12s 6d a quarter as captain. The Richard Beale who petitioned the Council on 24 June 1765 for a rise in his salary as schoolmaster and judge advocate described himself as having served the Company for about 40 years and as advanced in age. Whether the captain was the same man or a younger relative, the list could not show, but a captain's pay of over £180 a year would have made the petitioner's plea of hardship difficult to sustain, which suggests two men of the same name. Thomas Bazett, a lieutenant in this company, was probably the Thomas Bazett whom Matthew Bazett named as supervisor of his will on 7 June 1765. With Henry Bazett commanding the Second Company, John Bazett a sergeant in it and Thomas Bazett a lieutenant here, members of the family held commissions or rank in two of the garrison's three infantry companies.
398	391	1765 Brought Over £ 1918 . 15 . 4 Centinels brought over £ 7 . 12 . 1 Charles Abraham 3 . 16½ Henry Brown 3 . 16½ Jacob Bull 3 . 16½ Mark Botts 3 . 16½ Benjamin Bennett 3 . 16½ John Blinhorne 3 . 16½ Frederick William Beard 3 . 16½ William Caleb Balwind 3 . 16½ Richard Broom Entd 11th April 3 . 7 . 6 John Cork 3 . 16½ Joseph Chamberlain 3 . 16½ William Clufflon 3 . 16½ William Carr 3 . 16½ Francis Clancey 3 . 16½ John Chapman 3 . 16½ Michael Downey 3 . 16½ Robert Daws 3 . 16½ Baren Delose June 10th Disch.	The pay list continued with the Third Company's sentinels, from £1,918 15s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,918 15s 4d Sentinels brought forward, £7 12s 1d Charles Abraham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Henry Brown, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Jacob Bull, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Mark Botts, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Benjamin Bennett, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Blinhorne, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Frederick William Beard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Caleb Baldwin, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Broom, sentinel, from his enlistment on 11 April 1765, £3 7s 6d John Cork, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Chamberlain, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Clifton, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Carr, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Francis Clancy, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Chapman, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Michael Downey, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Daves, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Baron Delose, sentinel, until his discharge on 10 June 1765, £2 19s 2d Edward Dudley, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Charles Edgels, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Foster, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Foxon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Alexander Gray, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Fisher Gambles, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Archibald Graham, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Garrol, sentinel, until his transfer on 23 May 1765, £2 8s 4d Richard Gregory, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Felix Hyder, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sub-total for the sentinels so far, £111 8s 1½d Sub-total carried forward, £1,918 15s 4d **Interpretations** Richard Broom joined the garrison on 11 April 1765 and was paid from that day. The Company's

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 . 19 . 2 Edward Dudley 3 . 16½ Charles Edgels 3 . 16½ William Foster 3 . 16½ John Foxon 3 . 16½ Alexander Gray 3 . 16½ Fisher Gambles 3 . 16½ Archibald Graham Thomas Garrol May 23d Transfd 2 . 8 . 4 Richard Gregory 3 . 16½ Felix Hyder 3 . 16½ Centinels Carried Over £ 111 . 3 . 1½ Carried Over £ 1918 . 15 . 4	garrison was usually recruited in England and sent out on the store ships, so an enlistment on the island in mid-quarter was probably a seaman or passenger from a visiting vessel who chose to stay. Such local recruiting helped make good the losses from deaths, discharges and desertions recorded elsewhere in the list. Baron Delose was the second of the two sentinels whose discharge the Council granted on 10 June 1765, alongside James Hall of the First Company. Both were paid exactly £2 19s 2d, 71 days at 10d a day, which confirmed that discharges granted by the Council took effect on the day of the meeting.
399	392	15th July Brought over £ 1918 . 15 . 4 Centinels brought over £ 111 . 8 . 1½ John Hilliard 3 . 16½ John Herring 3 . 16½ William Hill 3 . 16½ William Hopkins 3 . 16½ Thomas Johnes 3 . 16½ Josiah Johnson 3 . 16½ Robert Johnson 3 . 16½ Samuel Johnson 3 . 16½ Richd Johnson 3 . 16½ Willm Jenkins May 23d Transfd 2 . 8 . 4 James Kemp 3 . 16½ Richard Linney 3 . 16½ James Lee 3 . 16½ John Long 3 . 16½ John Langridge 3 . 16½ Edward Lambourn 3 . 16½ Bryan Lynch 3 . 16½ John Lemmon 3 . 16½ Charles Mountague 3 . 16½ Richard Moyce 3 . 16½ Thomas Maurice 3 . 16½ Thomas Matthews 3 . 16½ John Miller 3 . 16½	The pay list continued with further sentinels of the Third Company, from £1,918 15s 4d brought forward. Brought forward, £1,918 15s 4d Sentinels brought forward, £111 8s 1½d John Hilliard, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Herring, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hill, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Hopkins, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Johnes, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Robert Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Ralph Johnson, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d William Jenkins, sentinel, until his transfer on 23 May 1765, £2 8s 4d James Kemp, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Linney, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Lee, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Long, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Langridge, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Edward Lamburn, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Bryan Lynch, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Lemmon, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Charles Mountague, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moyce, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Maurice, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Matthews, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Miller, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Moyce, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Abraham Major, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d John Passwater, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Perry, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d James Proctor, sentinel, £3 16s 0½d Sub-total for the sentinels so far, £216 9s 7½d Sub-total carried forward, £1,918 15s 4d **Interpretations** William Jenkins was the third infantryman transferred out of his company on 23 May 1765, together with John Fox of the Second Company and Thomas Garrol of this one. Four days later, on 27 May, the Council discharged the matrosses Nathaniel Young and William Johnson from the artillery on completion of their terms. The transfers were perhaps made to the artillery company in anticipation of those departures, so that the gun crews stayed at full strength when two trained men left.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		James Moyce 3 . 16½ Abraham Major 3 . 16½ John Passwater 3 . 16½ Thomas Berry 3 . 16½ James Proctor 3 . 16½ Centinels Carried Over £ 216 . 9 . 7½ Carried Over £ 1918 . 15 . 4	
400	393	1765 Brought Over£ 1918 15 4 Centinels brought over £ 216 9 7 Henry Pincheon 3 16 ½ William Berhiss 3 16 ½ John Robinson 3 16 ½ Robert Stack 3 16 ½ Adam Scott 3 16 ½ David Scott 3 16 ½ John Smith 3 16 ½ John Ireland 3 16 ½ Gregory Southerwood May the 7. Transf 1 5 10 John Scotchen 3 16 ½ Henry Sandford 3 16 ½ Samuel Spencer 10th April Transf 2 4 John Thompson 3 16 ½ Thomas Taylor 3 16 ½ Joseph Upson 3 16 ½ Richard Vincent 3 16 ½ George Varney 3 16 ½ John Wyburd 3 16 ½ Thomas Ward 3 16 ½ Edward Walsh 3 16 ½ John Ward 3 16 ½ James York 294 4 7 Fourth Company 45 12 6 John Howard Captain Salary Henry De Laune Lieut. Salary 18 5 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Carried Over £ 2286 4 3½	The pay list for 1765 opened with £1,918 15s 4d carried forward from the previous page. Balance carried forward, £1,918 15s 4d Privates' pay carried forward, £216 9s 7d Henry Pincheon, £3 16s 0½d William Berkiss, £3 16s 0½d John Robinson, £3 16s 0½d Robert Stack, £3 16s 0½d Adam Scott, £3 16s 0½d David Scott, £3 16s 0½d John Smith, £3 16s 0½d John Sherland, £3 16s 0½d Gregory Southerwood, moved to another posting on 7 May, £1 5s 10d John Scotchen, £3 16s 0½d Henry Sandford, £3 16s 0½d Samuel Spencer, moved to another posting on 10 April, £0 2s 4d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Taylor, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Upson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Vincent, £3 16s 0½d George Varney, £3 16s 0½d John Wyburd, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Ward, £3 16s 0½d Edward Walsh, £3 16s 0½d John Ward, £3 16s 0½d James York, £0 0s 0d Total for the privates, £294 4s 7d Fourth Company John Howard, captain's salary, £45 12s 6d Henry De Laune, lieutenant's salary, £18 5s 0d Henry De Laune, allowance for meals, £6 16s 10½d Henry De Laune, allowance for lodging, £2 10s 0d Total for Henry De Laune, £27 11s 10½d Balance carried to the next page, £2,286 4s 3½d **Interpretations** Each figure was a quarter's pay reckoned from a daily rate across a quarter of 91¼ days. A private at 10d a day earned 912½d, which explains the stray halfpenny of £3 16s 0½d. The same arithmetic gave the captain 10s a day and the lieutenant 4s a day, with a further 1s 6d a day for meals and £10 a year for lodging. The garrison was therefore paid on fixed daily rates, with the odd halfpennies arising simply from dividing the year into four equal parts. The lieutenant's allowances for meals and lodging were cash payments made instead of feeding and housing him at the Company's expense. Setting them out as separate lines let the accountant charge each cost to its own head, whereas the captain's pay appeared as a single sum. Gregory Southerwood's £1 5s 10d matched 31 days at the private's rate of 10d. His pay therefore probably stopped on the day of his transfer, and the next unit to receive him took on the charge from that date.

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			James York's line carried no figure. He probably drew no pay in this quarter, perhaps because he joined, died or was discharged outside the period. The consolidated reference file was not among the uploads, so none of these names or sums could be checked against it.
401	394	15th July Brought Over£ 2286 4 3½ Thomas Lambert Lieut. Saly 18 5 - Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 27 11 10½ Sergeants John Flemming 7 12 1 Richard Wright April 8th Discharged 13 4 John Baley 7 12 1 John Simcox 7 12 1 23 9 7 Corporals Daniel Armin Entd 8. Apl made Sgt 9 4 Do Sergeant from April 9th 6 18 4 John Stevans 5 6 5½ William Steadman 5 6 5½ Thomas James 5 6 5½ Jonathan Lake Entd 9. Apl made Corpl 4 16 10 28 3 10½ Drummers John Martin 5 6 5½ George Wills 5 6 5½ John Slade 5 6 5½ 15 19 4½ Centinels John Allen 3 16 ½ Robert Allum 3 16 ½ William Allen 3 16 ½ George Bennett 3 16 ½ John Blackwell 3 16 ½ Centl Carried Over£ 19 - 2½ Carried Over£ 2381 9 - -	The garrison pay list dated 15 July continued with £2,286 4s 3½d carried forward from the previous page. Balance carried forward, £2,286 4s 3½d Thomas Lambert, lieutenant's salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Lambert, allowance for meals, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Lambert, allowance for lodging, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Lambert, £27 11s 10½d Sergeants John Flemming, £7 12s 1d Richard Wright, discharged on 8 April, £0 13s 4d John Daley, £7 12s 1d John Simcox, £7 12s 1d Total for the sergeants, £23 9s 7d Corporals Daniel Armin, paid as corporal until 8 April and then promoted, £0 9s 4d Daniel Armin, paid as sergeant from 9 April, £6 18s 4d John Shears, £5 6s 5½d William Steadman, £5 6s 5½d Thomas James, £5 6s 5½d Jonathan Lake, promoted corporal on 9 April, £4 16s 10d Total for the corporals, £28 3s 10½d Drummers John Martin, £5 6s 5½d George Wills, £5 6s 5½d John Slade, £5 6s 5½d Total for the drummers, £15 19s 4½d Privates John Allen, £3 16s 0½d Robert Allum, £3 16s 0½d William Allen, £3 16s 0½d George Bennett, £3 16s 0½d John Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d Privates' pay carried to the next page, £19 0s 2½d Balance carried to the next page, £2,381 9s 0d **Interpretations** The broken sums show that this was pay for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June, settled on 15 July. Sergeants drew 20d a day and corporals and drummers 14d. Richard Wright's £0 13s 4d covered eight days at the sergeant's rate. Daniel Armin's two lines split the same 91 days into eight as a corporal and 83 as a sergeant. Richard Wright's discharge on 8 April set off a chain of promotions within the company. Daniel Armin stepped up to sergeant the next day. Jonathan Lake filled the corporal's place Armin had left, and his £4 16s 10d matched exactly 83 days at 14d. The garrison therefore kept its establishment of non-commissioned officers intact by promoting from the ranks within a day, rather than leaving the post empty until recruits arrived by sea. Drummers received the same 14d a day as corporals. This set them well above the private's 10d, a reflection of their role in passing signals and orders by drum.
402	395	1765 Brought over£ 2381 9 - Centinels brought over £ 19 - 2½ Joseph Blackwell 3 16 ½	The 1765 pay list continued with the privates of the Fourth Company, carrying forward the same overall balance of £2,381 9s 0d. Balance carried forward, £2,381 9s 0d Privates' pay carried forward, £19 0s 2½d Joseph Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d

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		John Brooker 3 16 ½ Richard Bickerstaff 3 16 ½ Robert Bovey 3 16 ½ William Blackwell 3 16 ½ James Bu[...]tt 3 16 ½ John Bowler 3 16 ½ John Beacham 3 16 ½ James Cartwright 3 16 ½ George Capeling 3 16 ½ William Cooksay 3 16 ½ Duncan Cameron 3 16 ½ James Culshaw 3 16 ½ John Cunningham 3 16 ½ John Cary + 3 16 ½ Richard Clove 3 16 ½ Josiah Cumming 3 16 ½ John Campen 3 16 ½ John Carford 3 16 ½ Henry Daviss 3 16 ½ Edward Davis 3 16 ½ John Dexter 3 16 ½ John Easton 3 16 ½ George Green 3 16 ½ Richard Gidding 3 16 ½ John Gillmore 3 16 ½ Edward Gamain 3 16 ½ Joseph Good Centinels Carried Over£ 123 9 4½ Carried Over2381 9 -	John Brooker, £3 16s 0½d Richard Bickerstaff, £3 16s 0½d Robert Bowly, £3 16s 0½d William Blackwell, £3 16s 0½d James Bulliott, £3 16s 0½d John Bowler, £3 16s 0½d John Beacham, £3 16s 0½d James Cartwright, £3 16s 0½d George Capeling, £3 16s 0½d William Colsay, £3 16s 0½d Duncan Cameron, £3 16s 0½d James Culshaw, £3 16s 0½d John Cunningham, £3 16s 0½d John Cary, £3 16s 0½d Richard Clove, £3 16s 0½d Josiah Cumming, £3 16s 0½d John Campen, £3 16s 0½d John Carford, £3 16s 0½d Henry Davies, £3 16s 0½d Edward Davis, £3 16s 0½d John Doxey, £3 16s 0½d John Easton, £3 16s 0½d George Green, £3 16s 0½d Richard Golding, £3 16s 0½d John Gillman, £3 16s 0½d Edward Germain, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Good, £3 16s 0½d Privates' pay carried to the next page, £125 9s 4½d Balance carried to the next page, £2,381 9s 0d **Interpretations** The overall balance stood unchanged at £2,381 9s 0d because the privates' pay built up in a separate running column. That column was only added to the main balance once the company's full roll of privates was complete. This kept the long list of identical entries apart from the officers' and non-commissioned officers' totals, and so reduced the chance of error in the main account. A cross stood beside John Cary's name, with the number 100 written in the margin next to it. Nothing on the page explains either mark. The mark probably referred to a stoppage, a transfer or an entry elsewhere in the Company's books.
403	396	15th July Brought over£ 2381 9 - Centinels brought over £ 125 9 4½ James Goudy 3 16 ½ Joseph Gilder April 8th Discd 6 2 Henry Harrenbruge 3 16 ½ James Henry 3 16 ½ Thomas Hilliard 3 16 ½ Stephen John 3 16 ½ Christian Johnson 3 16 ½ Richard Thompson Jany 23d Entd 1 10 10	Pay for the Fourth Company's privates, recorded on 15 July, continued with the overall balance still standing at £2,381 9s 0d. Balance carried forward, £2,381 9s 0d Privates' pay carried forward, £125 9s 4½d James Goudy, £3 16s 0½d Joseph Gilder, discharged on 8 April, £0 6s 2d Henry Harrenbruge, £3 16s 0½d James Henry, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Hilliard, £3 16s 0½d Stephen John, £3 16s 0½d Christian Johnson, £3 16s 0½d Richard Thompson, joined on 23 January, £1 10s 10d William Lamton, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lee, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Lyne, £3 16s 0½d John Lawrence, £3 16s 0½d Richard Moulton, £3 16s 0½d Simon Mason, £3 16s 0½d

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		William Lamton 3 16 ½ Thomas Lee 3 16 ½ Thomas Lyne 3 16 ½ John Lawrence 3 16 ½ Richard Moulton 3 16 ½ Simon Mason 3 16 ½ Murdock McCloud 3 16 ½ John McAllester 3 16 ½ William Mitchell 3 16 ½ Johnathan Mellett 3 16 ½ John Moore 3 16 ½ John Newton 3 16 ½ Austin Newman 3 16 ½ John Oswald 3 16 ½ John Pluck 3 16 ½ Daniel Patrick 3 16 ½ Stephen Papps 3 16 ½ William Parker 3 16 ½ Francis Powell 3 16 ½ Centinels Carried Over£ 266 3 11½ Carried Over£ 2381 9 -	Murdock McCloud, £3 16s 0½d John McAllester, £3 16s 0½d William Mitchell, £3 16s 0½d Johnathan Mellett, £3 16s 0½d John Moore, £3 16s 0½d John Newton, £3 16s 0½d Austin Newman, £3 16s 0½d John Oswald, £3 16s 0½d John Pluck, £3 16s 0½d Daniel Patrick, £3 16s 0½d Stephen Papps, £3 16s 0½d William Parker, £3 16s 0½d Francis Powell, £3 16s 0½d Privates' pay carried to the next page, £266 3s 11½d Balance carried to the next page, £2,381 9s 0d **Interpretations** Joseph Gilder left the Company's service on 8 April, the same day as Sergeant Richard Wright on the previous page of this roll. Two discharges on a single day suggest that both men probably left the island together on a ship sailing for England. In each case the pay stopped on the day of discharge rather than running to the end of the quarter. Richard Thompson's entry posed a puzzle. His joining date of 23 January fell well before this quarter began, which should have entitled him to the full £3 16s 0½d. Instead he received £1 10s 10d, exactly 37 days at the private's 10d a day. He was therefore paid for only part of the quarter. Perhaps he spent the rest of it off the pay list, in hospital or detached from the company, or perhaps the balance was held back to meet a debt or a stoppage recorded in another book.
404	397	1765 Brought over£ 2381 9 - Centinels brought over £ 266 3 11½ James Richardson 3 16 ½ Patrick Ryley 3 16 ½ Thomas Rutherford 3 16 ½ John Shaw 3 16 ½ John Scotcher 3 16 ½ William Seahman 3 16 ½ John Swendall 3 16 ½ Rhoderick Shaffer 3 16 ½ Zedekiah Saunderson 3 16 ½ John Thompson 3 16 ½ Thomas Tuffnell 3 16 ½ Jeremiah Wherrill 3 16 ½ William Waites 3 16 ½ John Woods 3 16 ½ Thomas Williams 3 16 ½ Thomas Watts	The 1765 pay list completed the privates of the Fourth Company and moved on to the officers of the Artillery Company. Balance carried forward, £2,381 9s 0d Privates' pay carried forward, £266 3s 11½d James Richardson, £3 16s 0½d Patrick Ryley, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Rutherford, £3 16s 0½d John Shaw, £3 16s 0½d John Scotcher, £3 16s 0½d William Seaman, £3 16s 0½d John Swindall, £3 16s 0½d Rhoderick Shaffer, £3 16s 0½d Zedekiah Saunderson, £3 16s 0½d John Thompson, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Tuffnell, £3 16s 0½d Jeremiah Wherrill, £3 16s 0½d William Waites, £3 16s 0½d John Woods, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Williams, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Watts, £3 16s 0½d Thomas Pollock, £3 16s 0½d Total for the privates, £287 0s 7½d Artillery Company Archibald Mitchell, captain's salary, £45 12s 6d Nathan Sample, lieutenant's salary, £18 5s 0d Nathan Sample, allowance for meals, £6 16s 10½d Nathan Sample, allowance for lodging, £2 10s 0d Total for Nathan Sample, £27 11s 10½d Thomas Leech, lieutenant's salary, £18 5s 0d Thomas Leech, allowance for meals, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Leech, allowance for lodging, £2 10s 0d Total for Thomas Leech, £27 11s 10½d

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		3 16 ½ Thomas Pollock 3 16 ½ 237 . 7½ Artillery Company 55 12 6 Archibald Mitchell Captain Saly Nathan Sample Lieut. Saly 18 5 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Thomas Leech Lieut Saly 18 5 Do Diet Money 6 16 10½ Do House Rent 2 10 - 27 11 10½ Carried Over£ 2769 5 10½	Balance carried to the next page, £2,769 5s 10½d **Interpretations** The Artillery Company's officers drew exactly the same pay and allowances as the officers of the Fourth Company. Archibald Mitchell's £45 12s 6d matched John Howard's, and each lieutenant received the same salary, meal money and lodging allowance as Henry De Laune and Thomas Lambert. The garrison therefore paid its officers by rank alone, with no extra reward for the technical skill that gunnery demanded. That uniform scale kept the quarterly accounts simple, and it meant that officers could move between the infantry and the guns without any change in their pay.
405	398	15th July Brought Over£ 2769 5 10½ Sergeants John Whitchurch 9 2 6 Adam Watson 9 2 6 John Shelley 9 2 6 Richard Waterhouse 9 2 6 36 10 - Corporals James Long 6 16 10½ Robert Cunningham 6 16 10½ John Cox 6 16 10½ Thomas Collier 6 16 10½ 27 7 6 Bombardiers Andrew Boston 6 16 10½ John Grainger 6 16 10½ Nicholas Houghton 6 16 10½ Robert Gibson 6 16 10½ 27 7 6 Gunners William Fletcher 6 1 8 John Jack 6 1 8 Eustace White 6 1 8 John Turner 6 1 8 James Proffitt 6 1 8 Thomas Jones 6 1 8 John Martin 6 1 8 William Brown 6 1 8 48 13 4 Drummers George Garrard 5 6 5½	Pay for the Artillery Company, recorded on 15 July, continued with its non-commissioned officers, gunners and drummers. Balance carried forward, £2,769 5s 10½d Sergeants John Whitchurch, £9 2s 6d Adam Watson, £9 2s 6d John Shelley, £9 2s 6d Richard Waterhouse, £9 2s 6d Total for the sergeants, £36 10s 0d Corporals James Long, £6 16s 10½d Robert Cunningham, £6 16s 10½d John Cox, £6 16s 10½d Thomas Collier, £6 16s 10½d Total for the corporals, £27 7s 6d Bombardiers Andrew Barton, £6 16s 10½d John Grainger, £6 16s 10½d Nicholas Houghton, £6 16s 10½d Robert Gibson, £6 16s 10½d Total for the bombardiers, £27 7s 6d Gunners William Fletcher, £6 1s 8d John Jack, £6 1s 8d Eustace White, £6 1s 8d John Turner, £6 1s 8d James Profitt, £6 1s 8d Thomas Jones, £6 1s 8d John Martin, £6 1s 8d William Brown, £6 1s 8d Total for the gunners, £48 13s 4d Drummers George Garrard, £5 6s 5½d Benjamin Barton, £5 6s 5½d Total for the drummers, £10 12s 11d Balance carried to the next page, £2,919 17s 1½d **Interpretations** The artillery's extra pay went to its men rather than its officers. Artillery sergeants received 2s a day against the infantry sergeant's 20d. Corporals and bombardiers drew 18d against the infantry corporal's 14d. A gunner's 16d a day was more than half as much again as a private soldier's 10d. The officers' pay was identical across both companies, so the premium for gunnery was paid to the men who actually loaded, aimed and served the guns. The island relied on its batteries to defend the landing places, and it had every reason to keep trained gunners from drifting back into the cheaper infantry ranks. Bombardiers stood level with corporals in pay. They were junior non-commissioned officers of the

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		Benjamin Buxton 5 6 5½ 10 12 11 Carried over£ 2919 17 1½	artillery, originally responsible for mortars and the shells fired from them. Drummers were the only men whose pay was the same in both companies, at 14d a day.
406	399	1765 Brought over£ 2919 17 1½ Matrosses William Benson 4 11 3 Benjamin Burton 4 11 3 Isaac Birch 4 11 3 John Bower 4 11 3 James Bottomley 4 11 3 Richard Broom Apl 10th Transfd 10 - John Cope 4 11 3 Thomas Clark 4 11 3 John Cresswell 4 11 3 Edward Connor 4 11 3 Adam Crichton 4 11 3 John Doode 4 11 3 Davis Dennis 4 11 3 Daniel Finn 4 11 3 Thomas McFarling 4 11 3 Joseph Fellows 4 11 3 Robert Frankish 1 16 - John Fox Entd 26th May 4 11 3 Christian Greenawald 1 13 - Thomas Garrott Entered 29th May 4 11 3 Laurence Hall 4 11 3 William Hones 2 17 - William Johnson May 27 Cdth 4 11 3 John Jacks 1 13 - William Jennings Entd 29th May 2 16 Richd Thompson May 24th Transfd 4 11 3 Daniel Maloney 4 11 3 George Marshall Matrosses Carried Over£ 111 10 6 Carried Over£ 2919 17 1½	The 1765 pay list continued with the matrosses of the Artillery Company, carrying forward a balance of £2,919 17s 1½d. Balance carried forward, £2,919 17s 1½d Matrosses William Benson, £4 11s 3d Benjamin Burton, £4 11s 3d Isaac Buck, £4 11s 3d John Bowes, £4 11s 3d James Bottomley, £4 11s 3d Richard Broom, moved to another posting on 10 April, £0 10s 0d John Cope, £4 11s 3d Thomas Clark, £4 11s 3d John Cresswell, £4 11s 3d Edward Connor, £4 11s 3d Adam Crichton, £4 11s 3d John Doode, £4 11s 3d David Dennis, £4 11s 3d Daniel Finn, £4 11s 3d Thomas McFarling, £4 11s 3d Joseph Fellows, £4 11s 3d Robert Frankish, £4 11s 3d John Fox, joined on 26 May, £1 16s 0d Christian Greenawald, £4 11s 3d Thomas Garrott, joined on 29 May, £1 13s 0d Laurence Hall, £4 11s 3d William Hayes, £4 11s 3d William Johnson, [...] on 27 May, £2 17s 0d John Jacks, £4 11s 3d William Jennings, joined on 29 May, £1 13s 0d Richard Thompson, moved to another posting on 24 May, £2 14s 0d Daniel Maloney, £4 11s 3d George Marshall, £4 11s 3d Matrosses' pay carried to the next page, £111 10s 6d Balance carried to the next page, £2,919 17s 1½d **Interpretations** Matrosses were the artillery's private soldiers. They hauled, sponged and loaded the guns under the direction of the gunners and learned the trade in the process. Their pay of 1s a day placed them between the infantry private's 10d and the gunner's 16d. This graded scale gave a soldier a clear ladder to climb within the artillery. Richard Thompson's transfer on 24 May explains the short pay he drew in the Fourth Company on the roll of 15 July. He earned 54 days here as a matross and 37 days there as a private, which together made up the full quarter of 91 days. His joining date of 23 January recorded his original enlistment, and the move to the infantry cost him 2d a day. Whether the transfer came at his own request or as a demotion, the page does not say. Three new men joined the matrosses within four days, John Fox on 26 May and Thomas Garrott and William Jennings on 29 May. Each was paid only from his joining date. Such a cluster of arrivals suggests that recruits had perhaps landed from a ship calling at the island in late May. The note of William Johnson's departure on 27 May cannot be read beyond its opening letter, so the reason he left is lost. His £2 17s 0d covered exactly 57 days at 1s a day, from the start of the quarter to that date. A figure 10 in the margin beside John Fox's name is left unexplained, as was the 100 beside John Cary on an earlier page of the roll.

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407	400	15th July Brought over£ 2919 17 1½ Matrosses brought over £ 111 10 6 Esau Rowland 4 11 3 Thomas Nimble 4 11 3 George Nelson 4 11 3 John Ostorn 4 11 3 William Phillips 4 11 3 William Poulton 4 11 3 Christopher Reynolds Apl 29th Dischd 1 9 - Samuel Smith 4 11 3 Godfry Smith 4 11 3 John Smith 4 11 3 William Snelson 4 11 3 Samuel Spencer Entd 11th April 4 1 Gregory Southerwood Enterd 2d May 3 - - Thomas Taylor 4 11 3 Danl Tongue 4 11 3 Thomas Watts 4 11 3 John Webbley 4 11 3 Richard Welman 4 11 3 Nathaniel Young May 27th Dischd 2 17 - 191 6 3 £ 3111 3 4½	The 1765 pay list, dated 15 July, completed the roll of matrosses and closed the quarter's account for the whole garrison. Balance carried forward, £2,919 17s 1½d Matrosses' pay carried forward, £111 10s 6d Esau Howland, £4 11s 3d Thomas Kimble, £4 11s 3d George Nelson, £4 11s 3d John Osborn, £4 11s 3d William Phillips, £4 11s 3d William Poulton, £4 11s 3d Christopher Reynolds, discharged on 29 April, £1 9s 0d Samuel Smith, £4 11s 3d Godfry Smith, £4 11s 3d John Smith, £4 11s 3d William Snelson, £4 11s 3d Samuel Spencer, joined on 11 April, £4 1s 0d Gregory Southerwood, joined on 2 May, £3 0s 0d Thomas Taylor, £4 11s 3d Daniel Tongue, £4 11s 3d Thomas Watts, £4 11s 3d John Webbley, £4 11s 3d Richard Welman, £4 11s 3d Nathaniel Young, discharged on 27 May, £2 17s 0d Total for the matrosses, £191 6s 3d Total pay for the garrison this quarter, £3,111 3s 4½d **Interpretations** The artillery filled its vacancies by drawing men from the infantry rather than waiting for recruits from England. Richard Broom left the matrosses on 10 April, and Samuel Spencer came across from the Fourth Company the very next day. Christopher Reynolds was discharged on 29 April, and Gregory Southerwood moved over from the same company on 2 May. Both men had appeared on the Fourth Company's roll of 15 July with short pay marking their departure. For an infantry private the move meant a rise from 10d to 1s a day, and for the artillery it meant a trained soldier ready for the guns. The cost was a gap in the infantry ranks, which the Company evidently judged the easier loss to bear. Nathaniel Young was discharged on 27 May, the same day on which William Johnson left the matrosses on the previous page. Johnson's reason for leaving could not be read, but the matching date suggests that he too was discharged. The same pattern appeared on 8 April, when Sergeant Richard Wright and Joseph Gilder both left the Fourth Company. Discharges on the island tended to fall in pairs or groups on one day. This was probably because men could only leave when a homeward ship was in the road to carry them. The quarter's pay for the whole garrison came to £3,111 3s 4½d, all reckoned from fixed daily rates by rank and arm. A mark of 2d in the margin beside Nathaniel Young's name carried no explanation. It perhaps recorded a small stoppage or an adjustment entered elsewhere in the Company's books.
408	401	Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr To Cash received£ 4363 17 7¼ Carried over 4363 17 7¼ Per Contra Cr 1765 June 30th By Cash paid Peter Clason Seaman of the Fly Cutter the Balance of his Wages, he being discharged April 23. 1765 19 4 -	Thomas Kirkpatrick's cash account for 1765 set the money he received against the payments he made from it. Money received Cash received, £4,368 17s 7¼d Balance carried to the next page, £4,368 17s 7¼d Money paid out, 30 June 1765 Peter Clason, seaman of the *Fly* cutter, for the wages still owed him on his discharge on 23 April 1765, £19 4s 0d William Wilson, for the wages still owed him on his discharge on 24 April 1765, reckoned at £1 3s 0d a month, £7 10s 1¾d

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		By Cash paid William Wilson the Balance of Wages he being discharged the 24th April 1765 @ £1. 3 p Month 7 10 1¾ By Cash paid Julio Fabiano Carpenter of Do the Balance of his Wages he being discharged April 30th 1765 34 14 6 By Cash paid the Officers and Men of Do & Ms Wages as pr their general Receipt dated the 30th April 1765 96 2 - By Cash paid Mr Thomas Greentree Disbursments by the late Capt Handle on Account of the Snow Mercury and Fly Cutter at this Island and the Cape as p Account Delivered 00 1 5 By Cash paid Do for the Allowance to the said Capt Handle from the 17th May 1764 to the 30th November being 197 days at 150 £ pr Annum 20 19 2 By Cash paid Do for Commission to the deceasd Capt Handle for 13 Slaves brought for the use of the Honble Compy at 20/ each 13 - - Carried Over£ 339 11 2¾	Julio Fabiano, carpenter of the *Fly* cutter, for the wages still owed him on his discharge on 30 April 1765, £34 14s 6d The officers and men of the *Fly* cutter, for their wages under the joint receipt they signed on 30 April 1765, £96 2s 0d Thomas Greentree, for money spent by the late Captain Handle on the *Mercury* snow and the *Fly* cutter at St Helena and the Cape, under the account submitted, £88 1s 5d Thomas Greentree, for Captain Handle's allowance of £150 a year for the 197 days from 17 May 1764 to 30 November 1764, £80 19s 2d Thomas Greentree, for the commission due to the dead Captain Handle on 13 slaves bought for the Company at 20s each, £13 0s 0d Balance carried to the next page, £339 11s 2¾d **Interpretations** The page was a personal account in the double-entry form. Kirkpatrick was charged on the left with every sum he received and credited on the right with every payment he could prove. Whatever balance remained was money he personally owed the Company until he produced it or showed where it went. Each payment therefore rested on a receipt, such as the joint receipt the cutter's crew signed on 30 April 1765, since without one Kirkpatrick would have to meet the sum himself. The *Fly* was a cutter, a small, fast single-masted vessel suited to carrying messages, chasing and running short errands. The *Mercury* was a snow, a two-masted merchant vessel much like a brig, carrying an extra light mast behind the mainmast to take a large sail. Both appear to have worked for the island under Captain Handle, including voyages to the Cape. His death was followed by the discharge of the cutter's crew over one week in late April 1765. This suggests that the Council laid the cutter up or disposed of her instead of appointing a new commander. Captain Handle earned a commission of 20s for every slave he bought for the Company, on top of his allowance of £150 a year. The payment of £13 for 13 slaves showed that the Company used its own vessels and officers to supply labour for its works and plantations on the island. The commission gave the captain a direct personal interest in the number of people he brought back. Because he had died, these sums went to Thomas Greentree, who evidently acted for his estate. William Wilson's pay of £1 3s 0d a month was an ordinary seaman's rate. His balance included a fraction of a penny because the wages were reckoned to the exact day of his discharge.
409	402	15th July Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr brought over £ 4363 17 7¼ Carried Over £ 4363 17 7¼	The receipts side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's cash account, dated 15 July, recorded no new money and passed the existing total straight on to the next page. Money received Balance carried forward, £4,368 17s 7¼d Balance carried to the next page, £4,368 17s 7¼d **Interpretations** The receipts side held no new entries because the payments on the facing page still ran on. The clerk ruled a long diagonal line through the empty space between the two totals. This was a standard safeguard in ledger keeping, since it stopped anyone from slipping a fictitious receipt or payment into a blank page after the account had been checked. On an account where the keeper answered personally for every penny, the line protected the Company against fraud and protected Kirkpatrick against any later claim that the page had been altered.

Film No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
410	403	1765 Per Contra Cr 1765 June 30th Brought over£ 339 11 2¾ By Cash paid Capt Merryweather for his Table Allowance from the 30th November 1765 to the 30th April 1765 151 Days 62 3 11¼ By Cash paid Do for Commission on 13 Slaves at 6/3 each 4 6 3 By Cash paid Do for Balance of a Bill drawn on the Honorable Company at the Cape 2 13 - By Cash paid Thomas Hammilton Surgeon of the Snow Mercury for his care of 18 Slaves on their passage from Mada gascar to St Helena @ 5/each 4 10 - By Cash paid Adam Swans for covering 6 Chaises in the Castle 4 - By Cash paid Do Coloured & repairing 10 Do [...] in [...] Do 17 6 By Cash paid Capt Fea his Table Allowance from the 17th May 1764 to ye 30th April 1765 Inclusive 95 6 10½ By Cash paid Do for the Commission upon 5 Slaves from Madagascar at £1 - each 5 - - By Cash paid Mr Adam Sheriff for a Commission on 5 Slaves at 6/3 p S 1 13 4 By Cash paid Mr Isaac Cowelon for Varnish for a Large Boat Brought for the use of the Engineer 12 - - By Cash paid Mr Solomon St Maurice for a Horse Brought of him for the use of the Lieut Governor there being none of the Honble Company's fit to carry that can be spared 18 - - By Cash paid Capt Hooke for the Passage of Sarah Donghlass 5 - - By Cash paid Thomas Hammilton for his care and Attendance of the Fly Cutters Company as a gratuity during their Voyage to Madagascar and Back to St Helena 12 - - By Cash paid Duncan Cameron for Enlisting to serve the Honorable Company five Years longer as a Soldier 10 - - Carried Over£ 573 6 6¾	Thomas Kirkpatrick's payments dated 30 June 1765 continued with further sums spent on shipping, slaves, furnishings and the garrison. Money paid out, 30 June 1765 Balance carried forward, £339 11s 2¾d Captain Merryweather, for his table allowance for the 151 days from 30 November 1764 to 30 April 1765, £62 3s 11¼d Captain Merryweather, for his commission on 13 slaves at 6s 8d each, £4 6s 8d Captain Merryweather, for the balance of a bill drawn on the Company at the Cape, £2 13s 0d Thomas Hammilton, surgeon of the *Mercury* snow, for looking after 18 slaves on the voyage from Madagascar to St Helena at 5s a head, £4 10s 0d Adam Evans, for covering 6 chairs in the castle, £0 4s 0d Adam Evans, for colouring and mending 18 chairs in the castle, £0 17s 6d Captain Fea, for his table allowance from 17 May 1764 to 30 April 1765 inclusive, £95 6s 10½d Captain Fea, for his commission on 5 slaves from Madagascar at £1 each, £5 0s 0d Adam Sheriff, for his commission on 5 slaves at 6s 8d each, £1 13s 4d Isaac Crowlon, for [...] for a large boat bought for the Engineer's use, £12 0s 0d Solomon St Maurice, for a horse bought from him for the Lieutenant Governor, since the Company had no horse fit to carry him that could be spared, £18 0s 0d Captain Hooke, for Sarah Douglass's passage, £5 0s 0d Thomas Hammilton, as a reward for looking after the crew of the *Fly* cutter on their voyage to Madagascar and back to St Helena, £12 0s 0d Duncan Cameron, for signing on to serve the Company as a soldier for five more years, £10 0s 0d Balance carried to the next page, £573 6s 2¾d **Interpretations** The page traced a slaving voyage to Madagascar made on the Company's behalf by the *Mercury* snow and the *Fly* cutter. Captain Fea's table allowance began on 17 May 1764, the same day as the late Captain Handle's allowance recorded on the facing account of 30 June 1765. That date probably marked the vessels' departure. Handle's allowance stopped on 30 November 1764, and Captain Merryweather's began that same day, so Merryweather evidently took over the command when Handle died. Each commander drew a table allowance to feed himself and his officers at sea. Every man involved in the voyage had a direct cash interest in the number of people it delivered. Fea took £1 a head, while Merryweather and Adam Sheriff took 6s 8d each. Handle's estate received 20s a head on 13 slaves, the same number on which Merryweather was paid, so that batch probably carried commissions for both the dead commander and his successor. The surgeon was paid 5s for each of the 18 slaves in his care on the passage, a fee that rewarded him for keeping them alive to reach the island. The Company thus spread the incentive for delivery across the whole command, from captain to surgeon. The Company bought a horse from Solomon St Maurice for the Lieutenant Governor instead of mounting him from its own stables. The entry itself gave the reason, since none of the Company's horses was both strong enough to carry him and free from other work. The outlay of £18 was preferred to taking an animal away from haulage or other duties on an island where every working beast was needed. Duncan Cameron, a private on the Fourth Company's pay roll of 15 July, received £10 to sign on for five more years. That bounty was worth more

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			than 2 years of his basic pay at 10d a day. Keeping a trained soldier already on the island clearly cost the Company less than bringing out, clothing and training a recruit from England.
411	404	15th July Thomas Kirkpatrick Cr Brought over £ 4363 17 7¼ Carried over £ 4363 17 7¼	The receipts total of Thomas Kirkpatrick's cash account, dated 15 July, passed across a further page with no new entries under a heading for money paid out. Balance carried forward, £4,368 17s 7¼d Balance carried to the next page, £4,368 17s 7¼d
412	405	1765 Per Contra Cr 1765 June 30th Brought over£ 573 6 6¾ By Cash paid William Mirch for relisting to serve the Honorable Company five Years Longer as a Soldier 10 - - By Cash paid for 18 yds Silk for covering Chairs in the Castle 5 10 - By Cash paid Adam Swans for Covering & repg 2 dozen of Chairs for the Castle 1 16 - By Cash for a Fife 5 - By Cash paid John Desfountain for a Horse bought of him for the use of the Engineer 25 - - By Cash paid John Cox, John Cope, Richard Thompson, James Terry, Jacob Brown and Mark Balls six Soldiers for relisting to serve the Honble Company five Years Longer as Soldiers @ 10 - each 60 - - By Cash paid the Purser of his Majestys Ship Medway for 1156 lb Salt Beef 23 3 4 By Cash paid Do for 628 lb of Pork 20 18 8 By Cash paid Do for 5 Puncheons 5 - By Cash paid John Sandgredge for relisting to serve the Honorable Company for 5 Years Longer as a Soldier 10 - - By Cash paid William Brown for painting 12 days Castle£ - 13 3 Do Boat for the Engineer4 6 1 Do Leaton the Garden9 1 3 3 By Cash paid Wm Isaac Ford 5 day Work Caulking a Boat for the Engineer 12 6 By Cash paid Capt Skottowe for Commission on 236 Slaves bot at Angola at 15 each 177 - - Carried Over£ 913 15 3½	Thomas Kirkpatrick's payments dated 30 June 1765 continued with further bounties, furnishings, provisions and a large commission on slaves. Money paid out, 30 June 1765 Balance carried forward, £573 6s 2¾d William Mirch, for signing on to serve the Company as a soldier for five more years, £10 0s 0d 16 yards of silk for covering chairs in the castle, £5 10s 0d Adam Evans, for covering and mending 2 dozen chairs for the castle, £1 16s 0d A fife, £0 5s 0d John Desfountain, for a horse bought from him for the Engineer's use, £25 0s 0d John Cox, John Cope, Richard Thompson, James Perry, Jacob Brown and Mark Balls, six soldiers, for signing on to serve the Company for five more years at £10 each, £60 0s 0d The purser of His Majesty's Ship *Medway*, for 1,156 lb of salt beef, £25 3s 4d The purser of His Majesty's Ship *Medway*, for 628 lb of pork, £20 10s 8d The purser of His Majesty's Ship *Medway*, for 5 puncheons, £5 0s 0d John Landgredge, for signing on to serve the Company as a soldier for 5 more years, £10 0s 0d William Brown, for work, in total, £1 3s 3d William Brown, 12 days at the castle, £0 18s 0d William Brown, 3 days on a boat for the Engineer, £0 4s 6d William Brown, for weeding the garden, £0 0s 9d William Isaac Ford, for 5 days caulking a boat for the Engineer, £0 12s 6d Captain Skottowe, for his commission on 236 slaves bought at Angola at 15s each, £177 0s 0d Balance carried to the next page, £913 15s 3½d **Interpretations** Captain Skottowe's commission of £177 dwarfed every other payment on the page. It covered 236 slaves bought at Angola, on the west coast of Africa, which was more than ten times the 18 people brought from Madagascar by the *Mercury*. His rate of 15s a head fell between the £1 paid to Captain Fea and the 6s 8d paid to Captain Merryweather and Adam Sheriff on the previous page. The rate therefore varied with each voyage and each man's role rather than following a fixed scale. A cargo of this size meant a major addition to the island's labour force. The Company paid a £10 bounty to eight more soldiers on this page, following Duncan Cameron on the page before. Among them were John Cox, a corporal of artillery, John Cope, a matross, and Richard Thompson, who had moved from the artillery to the Fourth Company on 24 May. Such a cluster suggests that many five-year engagements fell due at once. Buying another five years of service from men already trained and acclimatised on the island was cheaper than shipping out raw recruits, even at nearly a year's pay for each man. A King's ship, the *Medway*, supplied salt beef, pork and empty casks through her purser. The purser was the officer in charge of a naval vessel's provisions. Selling surplus stores to a garrison at a

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			port of call was a regular way for him to turn stock into cash, and it gave St Helena meat it could not raise in quantity itself. The beef came to about 5¼d a pound and the pork to nearly 8d. The puncheons were large casks, each holding roughly 70 to 80 gallons, valued on the island for storing water, spirits or salted provisions. The Engineer was clearly engaged in works that depended on the sea. The Company bought him a horse for £25, hired a boat for his use and paid for 5 days' caulking, the sealing of a boat's seams with oakum and pitch to make it watertight. Moving stone, timber and men along the island's steep coast was far easier by water than overland.
413	406	15th July Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr Brought over £ 4363 17 7¼ Carried Over £ 4363 17 7¼	The receipts side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's cash account, dated 15 July, again recorded no new money and moved the running total on to the following page. Money received Balance carried forward, £4,368 17s 7¼d Balance carried to the next page, £4,368 17s 7¼d
414	407	1765 Per Contra Cr Brought over£ 913 15 3½ By Cash paid Capt Skottowe for Commission on 86 Slaves detained Here @ 7/6 32 5 - By Cash paid Mr Soline for Commission on 236 Slaves Bought at Angola @ 5/each 59 - - By Cash paid Do for Commission on 86 Slaves detained here @ 2/6 each 10 15 By Cash paid the Surgeon of the Royal George for his care of 86 Slaves from the Coast of Angola to this Place @ 10/ each 43 - - By Cash paid Captn Corneille for Short Payment thro mistake of his Salary Last Quarter, which for 12 Days Amounts to £4.10.1½ he being paid no more than £4.1.1½ 9 - ½ By Cash paid Capt Mitchell for the above reason his Salary (as Engineer) amounting for 12 days to £10.3.10 He being paid only9 . 6 . 10 17 - By Cash paid Do one day pay as Capt of Artillery short paid in last Quarters Account 7 days being due & he receiving but 6 days 10 - By Cash paid the Carpenter of the Royal George for repairing and fitting the Fly Schooner 13 Days @ 3/ 1 19 - By Cash paid his Mate 12 @ 2/ 1 4 - By Cash paid the Boatswains of the Royal George for Rigging the Fly Schooner 16 Days @ 2/6 2 - - By Cash paid the Sailmaker Do 10 Days @ 2/ 1 - - By Cash paid the Armourer of Do 12 @ 2/ 1 4 - By Cash paid his Mate 12 @ 1/ 12 - By Cash paid 4 Men of Do 16 @ 1/ 3 4 - By Cash paid 2 Men of Do 3 @ 1/ 6 -	Thomas Kirkpatrick's payments for 1765 went on with commissions on a cargo of slaves from Angola, corrections to officers' pay and a refit of the *Fly*. Money paid out Balance carried forward, £913 15s 3½d Captain Skottowe, for his commission on 86 slaves kept on the island at 7s 6d each, £32 5s 0d Mr Tolme, for his commission on 236 slaves bought at Angola at 5s each, £59 0s 0d Mr Tolme, for his commission on 86 slaves kept on the island at 2s 6d each, £10 15s 0d The surgeon of the *Royal George*, for looking after 86 slaves on the voyage from the Angola coast to St Helena at 10s each, £43 0s 0d Captain Corneille, for pay missed in error last quarter, since his 12 days came to £4 10s 1½d but he received only £4 1s 1½d, £0 9s 0½d Captain Mitchell, for the same reason, since his pay as Engineer for 12 days came to £10 3s 10d but he received only £9 6s 10d, £0 17s 0d Captain Mitchell, for one day's pay as Captain of Artillery missing from last quarter's account, since 7 days were owed and he was paid for 6, £0 10s 0d The carpenter of the *Royal George*, for mending and fitting out the *Fly* schooner, 13 days at 3s a day, £1 19s 0d The carpenter's mate, 12 days at 2s a day, £1 4s 0d The boatswain of the *Royal George*, for rigging the *Fly* schooner, 16 days at 2s 6d a day, £2 0s 0d The sailmaker of the *Royal George*, 10 days at 2s a day, £1 0s 0d The armourer of the *Royal George*, 12 days at 2s a day, £1 4s 0d The armourer's mate, 12 days at 1s a day, £0 12s 0d 4 seamen of the *Royal George*, 16 days at 1s a day, £3 4s 0d 2 seamen of the *Royal George*, 3 days at 1s a day, £0 6s 0d Balance carried to the next page, £1,072 0s 4d **Interpretations** The *Royal George* bought 236 slaves at Angola, but only 86 of them stayed on St Helena. The rest presumably went on with the ship. The commissions were split to match this. Captain Skottowe and Mr Tolme each earned one rate on the whole cargo bought on the Company's behalf and a second, lower rate on the 86 people kept on the island. The surgeon was paid only for the 86 he delivered alive to St Helena. The Company thus paid separately for buying, for landing and for survival, with each

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		Carried over£ 1072 - 4	payment tied to the part of the business it cared about. The *Fly*, a cutter on the account of 30 June 1765, now appeared as a schooner. The boatswain spent 16 days rigging her and a sailmaker 10 days on her sails, so the vessel was probably re-rigged with two masts rather than simply patched up. Instead of being laid up after her crew was paid off in April 1765, she was given a new rig by craftsmen borrowed from a ship lying in the road. The island had no dockyard of its own, and the skilled trades aboard a visiting ship offered the quickest way to put her back in service. Captain Archibald Mitchell drew two salaries, one as Engineer and one as Captain of Artillery, and both had been underpaid. He was the Captain of the Artillery Company on the pay roll of 15 July. He was therefore probably also the Engineer for whom the Company bought a horse and hired and caulked a boat on the previous page. The corrections showed that the quarterly accounts were checked afterwards against the days actually served, and that mistakes were made good in the following quarter. An armourer kept a ship's small arms and ironwork in order, working at a forge on board. His part in fitting out the *Fly* suggests that the schooner was also given new iron fittings or arms.
415	408	The receipts side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's cash account, dated 15 July, once more carried its unchanged total across a blank page. Money received Balance carried forward, £4,368 17s 7¼d Balance carried to the next page, £4,368 17s 7¼d	The receipts side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's cash account, dated 15 July, once more carried its unchanged total across a blank page. Money received Balance carried forward, £4,368 17s 7¼d Balance carried to the next page, £4,368 17s 7¼d
416	409	1765 Per Contra Cr Brought over£ 1072 - 4 By Cash paid Sundry Men for working in the Long Boat this Quarter 14 2 - By Cash paid Mark Balls & Michael Bead for baking 97 Batches of Bread @ 1/3 p Batch 6 1 - By Cash paid John Dobson for Assisting in the Armourers Shop 23 days at 1/6 p Day 1 14 6 By Cash paid Wm French for Glazing Work in the Castle 12 Days at 1/6 p Day 18 - By Cash paid Robert Brown for Painters Work done in and About the Castle 16 Days @ 1/6 p Day 1 4 - By Cash paid Nechquedah Pechulton's allowance and the Rent of a Room for Do 2 12 6 By Cash paid Daniel Long for overseeing in the L. Wood this Quart 2 - - By Cash paid Sundry Garison Men for carrying Expresses with Accounts of Ships seen to windward this Quarter 4 15 - By Cash paid the Clerk of Arraigns and Crier of the Court 12 6 By Cash paid Thomas Townsend for 20 day work done by his Apprentice in the Last Quarter @ 1/ p Day 1 6 8 By Cash paid Do for 9 Day Work done by do this Quarter 7 6	Thomas Kirkpatrick's payments for 1765 continued with the quarter's wages for boatmen, craftsmen, labourers and officials. Money paid out Balance carried forward, £1,072 0s 4d Various men, for working in the longboat this quarter, £14 2s 0d Mark Balls and Michael Beard, for baking 97 batches of bread at 1s 8d a batch, £8 1s 0d John Dobson, for helping in the armourer's workshop, 25 days at 1s 6d a day, £1 17s 6d William Finch, for glazing at the castle, 12 days at 1s 6d a day, £0 18s 0d Robert Brown, for painting in and around the castle, 16 days at 1s 6d a day, £1 4s 0d Nockquedah Bechullen, for an allowance towards the rent of a room this quarter, £2 12s 6d Daniel Long, for acting as overseer at Longwood this quarter, £2 0s 0d Various men of the garrison, for carrying urgent messages reporting ships sighted to windward this quarter, £4 15s 0d The Clerk of Arraigns and the Crier of the Court, £0 12s 6d Thomas Townsend, for 20 days' work by his apprentice last quarter at 10d a day, £0 16s 8d Thomas Townsend, for 9 days' work by his apprentice this quarter, £0 7s 6d The Adjutant, for feeding various sick men and others this quarter, £10 12s 6d Julio Fabiano, for 9 days' carpentry mending a boat for the Engineer at 5s a day, £2 5s 0d Julio Fabiano, for 27 days' work on board the *Fly* schooner, £6 15s 0d 1 labourer, for assisting Julio Fabiano, 7½ days at 1s a day, £0 7s 6d Various men of the garrison, for 666½ days of labouring at the castle, £33 6s 6d Balance carried to the next page, £1,162 13s 6d **Interpretations** Garrison soldiers earned a separate fee for running urgent news of ships sighted to windward.

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		By Cash paid the Adjutant for the Subsisting Sundry Sick Men &c this Quarter 10 12 6 By Cash paid Julio Fabiano for 9 Days Carpenters work repairing a Boat for the Engineer @ 5/ p Day 2 5 - By Cash paid Do for 27 days work on board the Fly Schooner 6 15 - By Cash paid one Labourer for attending on Do 7½ days at 1/ 7 6 By Cash paid Sundry Garrison for 666½ Days Labourers Work done at the Castle 33 6 6 Carried Over£ 1162 13 6	The south-east trade winds brought every vessel towards St Helena from that side, so lookouts on the windward heights saw ships long before they came into view from Jamestown. Word carried quickly down to the castle gave the Governor time to man the batteries against an enemy or to prepare supplies and letters for a friendly ship. Paying for each message rather than leaving it to ordinary duty gave the men a reason to run hard. Nockquedah was almost certainly the title nakhoda, used across the Indian Ocean and the Malay world for the master of a local trading vessel. The clerk seems to have written the title as part of the man's name. Bechullen was probably an Asian ship's master living on the island, and the Company paid him a lodging allowance much as it paid its own officers. That allowance shows the Company thought it worth keeping him on the island at its own expense, perhaps for his skill as a seaman or pilot. The castle was being extensively refitted this quarter. Besides the glazing and painting, soldiers put in 666½ days of labour there at 1s a day. The page before recorded silk bought for covering chairs and the recovering and mending of dozens more. The Company drew its labour from the garrison, paying soldiers extra for work on top of their military pay. This gave the men a useful second income and saved the Company the cost of bringing out workmen. Julio Fabiano, the *Fly*'s carpenter who was paid off on 30 April 1765, was back at work on the schooner within the quarter at 5s a day. The Company evidently preferred to hire him by the day for the refit rather than keep him on a monthly wage while the vessel lay idle. The Clerk of Arraigns read out the charges to prisoners in criminal trials, and the Crier called the court to order and summoned witnesses. Their fee showed that the island held a criminal court during the quarter. The Adjutant's claim for feeding sick men meant that soldiers unable to draw rations in the normal way were fed at the Company's cost.
417	410	15th July Thomas Kirkpatrick Dr brought over £ 4362 17 7¼ £ 4362 17 7¼	The receipts side of Thomas Kirkpatrick's cash account, dated 15 July, carried its running figure down the page and ruled it off as the total. Money received Balance carried forward, £4,368 17s 7¼d Total of money received, £4,368 17s 7¼d
418	411	1765 Per Contra Cr Brought over£ 1162 13 6 By Cash paid Do for 380 Days work in the Stores 19 9 - By Cash paid Do for 353½ Days Carpenters Work in the Castle 17 13 6 By Cash paid Do for 102¾ Days Plasterers Work 5 2 9 By Cash paid Do for 174¾ Days work Sawing Stone 8 14 9 By Cash paid Do for 91 Days Bricklayers Work 4 11 - By Cash paid Do for Erecting a Gibbett 9 - By Cash paid Do for 196 Days Work Cutting Wood 9 16 - By Cash paid Do for 584¾ Days Work at Fortifications 29 4 9 By the Amount of the Pay List for the Quarter commencing April ye 1. and ending the 30th of June 1765 3111 3 4½ £ 4363 17 7¼ Errors Excepted	Thomas Kirkpatrick's payments for the quarter ending on 30 June 1765 ended with further garrison labour and the full cost of the garrison's pay. Money paid out Balance carried forward, £1,162 13s 6d Various men of the garrison, for 380 days' work in the stores, £19 0s 0d Various men of the garrison, for 353½ days' carpentry at the castle, £17 13s 6d Various men of the garrison, for 102¾ days' plastering, £5 2s 9d Various men of the garrison, for 174¾ days sawing stone, £8 14s 9d Various men of the garrison, for 91 days' bricklaying, £4 11s 0d Various men of the garrison, for putting up a gibbet, £0 9s 0d Various men of the garrison, for 196 days cutting wood, £9 16s 0d Various men of the garrison, for 589¾ days' work on the fortifications, £29 9s 9d The garrison pay list for the quarter from 1 April to 30 June 1765, £3,111 3s 4½d Total of money paid out, £4,368 17s 7¼d Thomas Kirkpatrick signed the account at St Helena on 30 June 1765, reserving the right to correct any mistakes found in it later. A count and

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		St Helena Signed 30th June 1765 Thos Kirkpatrick Counted and examined the Honorable Company's Cash for the Month of June last, which is as followeth	examination of the Company's cash for June followed. **Interpretations** The single line of £3,111 3s 4½d was the garrison pay roll dated 15 July, whose total matched it exactly. Soldiers' wages made up about seven-tenths of everything Kirkpatrick paid out in the quarter. The cost of keeping the island defended far outweighed its spending on works, ships and supplies combined. Kirkpatrick signed with the standard reservation that errors were excepted. This protected an accountant who answered personally for every penny, since it let a mistake be corrected afterwards without the signed account being treated as a false return. The practice mattered here, as this same account already carried corrections for pay that Captain Corneille and Captain Mitchell should have received in the previous quarter. The gibbet was built in the same quarter in which the Clerk of Arraigns and the Crier were paid for attending a criminal court. A trial therefore probably ended in a death sentence. A gibbet displayed the body of an executed person in public as a warning to others, and on a small island with a large garrison and a growing number of slaves, that display served as a deliberate instrument of control. The garrison supplied almost every kind of skilled and unskilled labour at the flat rate of 1s a day, whether for carpentry, plastering, sawing stone, bricklaying or cutting wood. Nearly 590 days went on the fortifications alone. The island in effect ran its public works with soldiers as its workforce, paying them extra above their military wages rather than keeping a separate body of civilian tradesmen.
419	412	Cash Dr 1765 June 1st By Balance remaining£ 9849 1 7 9th To Ship Worster 13 12 11 14 To Ship Lord Holland 17 14 2 24 To Van Sittart 34 3 9 30 To Plantation for Provision Sold 60 11 3 To Licences 17 10 - To James Powell received of him for Stores Sold in the Quarter ending this day 1472 17 - To Garrison returned by Thomas Halton who being enlisted was afterwards found to be put on board the Devonshire as a Mutineer 5 - - £ 11470 10 8 Per Contra Cr 1765 June 30th By Sundry Accounts Advanced the Paymaster to pay Salys &ca in the Quarter ending this day 4368 17 7 By Balance remaining vizt In Specie 6561 18 1 Cash notes of no use 539 15 - 7101 13 1 £ 11470 10 8 **Margin Notes:** 15th July	The Company's main cash account for the quarter ending 30 June 1765, entered on 15 July, set the money coming in against the sums going out and the balance left in hand. Money received Balance in hand on 1 June 1765, £9,849 1s 7d From the ship *Worcester*, 9 June 1765, £13 12s 11d From the ship *Lord Holland*, 14 June 1765, £17 14s 2d From the *Vansittart*, 24 June 1765, £34 3s 9d From the plantation, for provisions sold, 30 June 1765, £60 11s 3d For licences, 30 June 1765, £17 10s 0d From James Powell, for stores sold in the quarter ending 30 June 1765, £1,472 17s 0d From the garrison, being money handed back by Thomas Halton, who had enlisted and was then discovered to have been sent aboard the *Devonshire* as a mutineer, 30 June 1765, £5 0s 0d Total of money received, £11,470 10s 8d Money paid out Various sums advanced to the paymaster to meet salaries and other costs in the quarter ending 30 June 1765, £4,368 17s 7d Balance left in hand, in coin, £6,561 13s 1d Balance left in hand, in cash notes that could not be used, £539 15s 0d Total balance left in hand, £7,101 13s 1d Total of money paid out and balance, £11,470 10s 8d **Interpretations** Thomas Halton had signed on as a soldier and received the usual enlistment money, but the Company cancelled his engagement and made him pay back £5. It emerged that he had been put aboard the *Devonshire* as a mutineer. The garrison was so short of men that the Company paid £10 bounties to keep its soldiers, as Thomas Kirkpatrick's account of 30 June 1765 showed, and the natural course was to keep a willing recruit. A man already marked as a

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			mutineer was plainly judged too great a risk in a garrison that held the island's forts and guarded its slaves. This page stood above Thomas Kirkpatrick's account in a two-tier system. The Company's cashier advanced £4,368 17s 7d to Kirkpatrick as paymaster. Kirkpatrick then had to show on his own account how every penny of that sum was spent, which his pages detailed down to a halfpenny on each soldier. The cashier needed to record only the single advance, while the paymaster carried personal responsibility for the detail. James Powell's £1,472 17s 0d for stores sold far exceeded any other receipt of the quarter. The Company kept a warehouse of goods shipped out from Europe and India and sold them to settlers, soldiers and passing ships. Its sales brought in far more than the plantation's provisions or the payments made by ships in the road. The *Worcester*, the *Lord Holland* and the *Vansittart* probably paid for water, fresh food or other supplies taken on at the island. About £540 of the balance consisted of cash notes recorded as being of no use. These were paper notes in the chest that could not be spent or put back into circulation. They still counted towards the balance on paper, yet the money actually available to the Company was the coin, which the clerk entered separately.
420	413	The Widow and Executrix this day produced an Inventory of the Effects of Matthew Bazett deceased, appraised by Messrs John Desfountain, and Richard Bagley, who being duly sworn that they valued the same to the best of their Judgement, and the Widow that she produced every Article, it was ordered to be registered. John Skottowe Dan Corneille R Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	Matthew Bazett's widow, who was also the executor of his will, brought the Council an inventory of everything he had left. John Desfountain and Richard Bagley had valued the goods. Both men swore on oath that their valuations were as fair as they could judge. The widow swore in turn that she had put forward every item he owned. The Council then ordered the inventory to be entered in the register. Signed by the Council John Skottowe Daniel Corneille A Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The two oaths served different purposes. The appraisers' oath fixed a fair value on the goods, which prevented the estate from being undervalued and sold cheaply to friends. The widow's oath made her answerable for concealment if any item later came to light that she had kept back. Once registered, the inventory became the official measure against which the Council could hold her to account as executor. Creditors and any other heirs could then claim against a known and sworn total, and her own interest as widow was kept separate from the rights of those with claims on the estate. The Council members who approved the inventory also appeared elsewhere in the island's accounts in other roles. Daniel Corneille was the officer whose short pay was made good on Thomas Kirkpatrick's account of 30 June 1765, and Kirkpatrick himself was the paymaster. John Desfountain, one of the appraisers, had sold the Company a horse for the Engineer in the same quarter. On an island of this size a handful of men held civil, military and financial offices at once, and they sat in judgement on the affairs of neighbours they also dealt with in trade.
421	414	22d July At a Consultation held on Monday the 22d day of July 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor	The Council met at the castle on Monday 22 July 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The members read the minutes of

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		Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thoms Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and signed dated the 15th July 1765. Tuesday the 16th Arrived the Caernarvons Boat at Banks's half an Hour past ten o'Clock in the Morning Do Do Arrived the Pitts Boat at Banks's half an Hour past five o'Clock in the Evening Do Do Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Caernarvon from Madrass Wednesday the 17th Died Mr Francis Wrangham Factor Thursday the 18th Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Pitt from Bencoolen Yesterday Arrived the Earl of Lincolns Boat at Banks's Quarter of an Hour before eight o'Clock in the Morning Do Do Arrived the Honorable Company's Ship Earl of Lincoln from China The Ships, Caernarvon and Earl of Lincoln brought Us the following Supply viz	their meeting of 15 July 1765, approved them and signed them. The Council then recorded the arrivals and events of the week. At half past ten on the morning of Tuesday 16 July 1765, a boat from the *Carnarvon* landed at Banks's. The *Pitt*'s boat reached Banks's at half past five that evening. The Company's ship *Carnarvon* came in from Madras on the same day. Francis Wrangham, a factor in the Company's service, died on Wednesday 17 July 1765. The Company's ship *Pitt* arrived from Bencoolen the following day. A boat from the *Earl of Lincoln* reached Banks's at a quarter to eight on the morning of Sunday 21 July 1765. The Company's ship *Earl of Lincoln* arrived from China later that day. Between them, the *Carnarvon* and the *Earl of Lincoln* delivered a list of supplies for the island. **Interpretations** Each ship sent a boat ahead to land at Banks's before she herself came into the road. Banks's lay on the windward coast, the side from which the trade winds brought every approaching vessel. A boat landing there let the garrison confirm a ship's identity and business before she came within reach of Jamestown and its anchorage. This was the same system of warning that the Company paid soldiers to run with urgent messages of ships sighted to windward, as Thomas Kirkpatrick's accounts for the quarter ending 30 June 1765 recorded. The *Pitt*'s boat reached the island two days before the ship. The ship had perhaps fallen away to leeward and needed time to beat back up to the anchorage. A factor was a middle rank in the Company's civil service, above a writer and below a junior merchant. Francis Wrangham's death removed one of the island's small body of Company servants, whose offices and duties the Council would need to redistribute among those who remained.
422	415	1765 Invoice of Ship Caernarvon Long Cloth Fine 3 Bales containing 5 Corge @ 66 p Corge 330 - - Washing @1.31 p Do 9.11 Packing @2 pr Bale 15 11 - 343 11 - Long Cloth Superfine 1 Bale contg No 1. 10 Ps @ 12 p Ps 120 - - 2. 20 Do @ 10 p Do 200 30 Ps 320 - Packing 2 - - 322 - - Long Cloth Superfine 1 Bale Contg No 3. 30 Ps @ 8 p Ps 240 - - Packing 2 242 - - Long Cloth Superfine 1 Bale containing 40 Ps @ 5.22 40 p Ps 225 - Packing 2 - - 277 - - Batavia Arrack 2 Leaguers contg 305 Gallns @ Ps 50 p Leagr 100 - - Rice 20 Bags Grs Wt 28 2 Cwt qr	The Company's ship *Caernarvon* brought an invoice of goods from Madras, priced in the local currency of pagodas, fanams and cash. Fine long cloth 3 bales containing 5 corge at 66 pagodas a corge, 330 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Washing the fine long cloth at 1 pagoda 31 fanams a corge, 9 pagodas 11 fanams 0 cash Packing the fine long cloth at 2 pagodas a bale Washing and packing the fine long cloth, 15 pagodas 11 fanams 0 cash Total for the fine long cloth, 345 pagodas 11 fanams 0 cash Superfine long cloth 1 bale containing number 1, 10 pieces at 12 pagodas a piece, 120 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 1 bale containing number 2, 20 pieces at 10 pagodas a piece, 200 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash 30 pieces of superfine long cloth, 320 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Packing the superfine long cloth, 2 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total for the superfine long cloth, 322 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Superfine long cloth 1 bale containing number 3, 30 pieces at 8 pagodas a piece, 240 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Packing the superfine long cloth, 2 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Total for the superfine long cloth, 242 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Superfine long cloth 1 bale containing 40 pieces at 5 pagodas 22 fanams 40 cash a piece, 225 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Packing the superfine long cloth, 2 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash

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		Tare 4 lb p Bag 9 24 Nt 27.3. 4 at 34 Ps @ 99 4 40 p Mercaffe 33 11 7½ Carried Over Pagodas 1269 . 22 7½	Total for the superfine long cloth, 277 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Batavia arrack 2 leaguers containing 305 gallons at 50 pagodas a leaguer, 100 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash Rice 20 bags of rice, gross weight [...] hundredweight 2 quarters Deduction from the rice for the weight of the bags at 1 [...] for every 2 bags, 9 [...] Rice, net weight 27 hundredweight 3 quarters 4 pounds, or 34½ mercals at 99 pagodas 4 fanams 40 cash a [...], 33 pagodas 11 fanams 7¾ cash Total carried to the next page, 1,269 pagodas 22 fanams 7¾ cash **Interpretations** Long cloth was a plain white cotton cloth woven on the Coromandel coast of south-east India and sold in unusually long single pieces, usually around 36 yards. It came in grades from ordinary through fine to superfine according to the fineness of the thread and weave. The price of a superfine piece here ranged from over 5 pagodas to 12 pagodas, which shows how widely quality varied even within one grade. On St Helena it served for shirts, bedding and household linen, and the coarser grades were cut up to clothe soldiers and slaves. The invoice charged separately for washing, which meant the bleaching and finishing that turned the raw loom-state cloth into white fabric ready for sale. A corge was a trade count of 20 pieces, used across Indian markets for cloth and other goods sold by number. Batavia arrack was a strong spirit distilled at Batavia, the Dutch capital on Java, from rice and sugar-cane molasses fermented with palm sap. It was the standard base for punch in the East India trade and was widely issued as a spirit ration at sea and in garrisons. The leaguer was a very large cask used in the Dutch East Indies, holding about 150 gallons, and the two here came to 305 gallons between them. On St Helena, arrack supplied both the garrison and the licensed punch houses whose licence fees appeared on the Company's cash account for the quarter ending 30 June 1765. The invoice was drawn up in Madras money because the goods were bought there. A pagoda was a small gold coin struck at Madras and the standard unit of account on the Coromandel coast. It was divided into 36 fanams, each of 80 cash, which explains the separate columns in the invoice. The island's own accounts ran in sterling, so every invoice from Madras had to be converted before the goods could be priced for sale from the Company's warehouse. The mercal was a Madras dry measure used for grain, and giving the rice in both English weight and Madras measure let the two ends of the trade check the quantity against each other. Rice mattered to St Helena because the island could not grow enough grain to feed its people. Imports from India supplied a large part of the rations issued to the garrison and to the Company's slaves.
423	416	22d July Brought over Pagodas 1,269 22 7½ Paddy 25 Bags Grs Wt 24. 2.27 Cwt qr lb Tare @ 4 lb p 2 Bags 3.16 Nt Cwt 23.3.11 or 13½ Mercall @ 11 Mercall pr Pag 14 - - Charges Merchandize Gunny Bags for Rice & Paddy 70 @ 3 p % 2 3 44 Washing Cooley 1 30 Sheet Lead & Nails	The *Caernarvon*'s invoice, dated 22 July, continued with a consignment of paddy and the charges for shipping the goods from Madras. Balance carried forward, 1,269 pagodas 22 fanams 7¼ cash Paddy 25 bags of paddy, gross weight 24 hundredweight 2 quarters 27 pounds Deduction from the paddy for the weight of the bags at 4 pounds for every 2 bags, 3 [...] 16 [...] Paddy, net weight 23 hundredweight 3 quarters 11 pounds, or 154 mercals at 11 mercals a pagoda, 14 pagodas 0 fanams 0 cash

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		7 - Cooley hire for Paddy 12 40 Boat hire 4 Boats @ 8 fs each 32 - Tarpaulins Hire 3 Do @ 4 Do 12 Cooley hire for Bales 3 Do @ 1.20 p Boat 3 60 Do on two Leaguers of Arrack 6 - Twine to mend the Rice & Paddy Bags 3 - 4 9 14 Pagodas 1,287 32 8 Errors Excepted (Signed) R. Richd Fairfid Accompt	Charges on the goods 70 gunny bags for the rice and paddy at 3 pagodas a hundred, 2 pagodas 3 fanams 44 cash Washermen, 0 pagodas 1 fanam 30 cash Sheet lead and nails, 0 pagodas 7 fanams 0 cash Porters for the paddy, 0 pagodas 12 fanams 40 cash Hire of 4 boats at 8 fanams each, 0 pagodas 32 fanams 0 cash Hire of 3 tarpaulins at 4 fanams each, 0 pagodas 12 fanams 0 cash Porters for the bales in 3 boats at 1 fanam 20 cash a boat, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 60 cash Porters for the two leaguers of arrack, 0 pagodas 6 fanams 0 cash Twine for mending the rice and paddy bags, 0 pagodas 3 fanams 0 cash Total charges on the goods, 4 pagodas 9 fanams 14 cash Total of the invoice, 1,287 pagodas 32 fanams 8 cash The invoice was signed, subject to correction of any errors, on behalf of Richard Fairfield, who had died. **Interpretations** Paddy was rice still in its husk, as it came from the field before milling. It kept far better than cleaned rice on a long voyage because the husk protected the grain from damp and insects, and it could be husked on arrival as it was needed. It was also the only form in which rice could serve as seed. At 11 mercals to the pagoda it cost far less by bulk than the cleaned rice earlier in the invoice. Gunny bags were coarse sacks woven from jute, the fibre of a plant grown in Bengal, and were the standard packing for grain and other bulk goods throughout Indian trade. The washermen had bleached and finished the long cloth listed on the previous page. Sheet lead probably lined cases or sealed packing against sea water, and the twine was for mending bags split in handling. Madras had no sheltered harbour, so every bale and cask went out through heavy surf in hired boats to ships lying off the beach. That explains the charges for boat hire, for porters working each boat and for tarpaulins to keep the cloth dry during the crossing. The invoice passed every one of these costs on to St Helena, so the price of Indian goods on the island included the full expense of getting them aboard. Richard Fairfield had apparently prepared the invoice at Madras but died before it could be signed. Someone signed on his behalf so that the Company's accounts could still be closed and the goods valued on arrival. The reservation for errors protected his estate from being held responsible for any mistakes in an account he could no longer answer for himself.
424	417	1765 Invoice of Ship Earl of Lincoln Tea Congo 1 Chest contg nett Pecl C4 ½ cat at 24 p Peul 15 402 Tea Bohea 1 Do Do 1.14½ at 12 Do 20 610 Sugar 11 Do Do 21.77 at 4.5 Do 97 965 Tales 133 923 Canton Febry 23d 1765 (Signed) Thos Fitzhugh Saml Blount Nan Garland Wm Mackenzie Stepn De Nimse Thomas Smith Mann Horner Wm Hows	The Company's ship *Earl of Lincoln* brought an invoice of goods from Canton, priced in Chinese money of taels, mace, candareens and cash. Congou tea, 1 chest containing a net 64¾ catties at 24 taels a picul, 15 taels 4 mace 0 candareens 2 cash Bohea tea, 1 chest containing a net 1 picul 14½ catties at 18 taels a picul, 20 taels 6 mace 1 candareen 0 cash Sugar, 11 chests containing a net 21 piculs 77 catties at 4½ taels a picul, 97 taels 9 mace 6 candareens 5 cash Total of the invoice, 133 taels 9 mace 2 candareens 3 cash The invoice was drawn up at Canton on 23 February 1765 and signed by the Company's representatives there. Thomas Fitzhugh Samuel Blount

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		We this day received the following Letter from Capt Jackson vizt To the Worshipful Governor &c and Council of St Helena. Gentlemen I take the liberty of Laying before you The Quantity of Provisions now on board the Ship Pitt as follows vizt	Nathaniel Garland William Mackenzie Stephen De Visme Thomas Smith Mann Horner William Hows The Council also received a letter that day from Captain Jackson, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. He set out for them the quantity of provisions then on board the *Pitt*. His list opened with beef. **Interpretations** Bohea and congou were both black teas from the Wuyi hills of Fujian province in south-east China, and both were shipped through Canton. Bohea was the cheapest and most widely drunk grade in Britain, a strong, coarse tea made from the later, larger leaves. Congou took its name from a Chinese word meaning skill or labour, since it was rolled and prepared with more care. It was a finer leaf and commanded a higher price, 24 taels a picul against 18 for the bohea. The sugar was Chinese cane sugar, bought very cheaply at Canton and making up most of the invoice's value. It gave the island a sweetener for its tea and punch without waiting for supplies from the West Indies by way of England. Canton reckoned its trade in taels, a weight of silver of about 1⅓ ounces used as money of account. A tael was divided into 10 mace, each of 10 candareens, each of 10 cash. Goods were sold by the picul, the load a man could carry on a shoulder pole, equal to 100 catties or about 133⅓ pounds. The island would convert these sums to sterling before pricing the goods for sale. The eight signatories were the supercargoes, the senior Company servants who managed its trade at Canton each season. They bought the teas from Chinese merchants and loaded the homeward ships. The invoice was drawn up on 23 February 1765 and presented on 22 July 1765, so the goods had spent about five months at sea.
425	418	22d July Beef and Pork 1207 Ps is 60 Days Calavances 390 Gallns is 9 Weeks & 4 Days to be served 3 Days p Week Flour 800 lb served two days p Week is 8 Weeks Rice 420 Gall at 11½ Gallons pr Day is 36 Days Oil 7 Gallons at 1 quart pr day is 28 days Must Beg the favour you'll make up the above sorts of Provisions, for thirteen Weeks passage which I imagine you'll think will be as little as we can possibly go away with from this place As I am acquainted with your Distresses should be sorry to take a pound more of any sort of Provisions then I think may be wanted for our Passage home We are likewise greatly Distressed for Pitch and Tar, our upper works are so very opens that if we lay over the Least or make a head sea, it is as much as we can keep her free with all our Pumps As you have got a Barrel and half of Pitch and likewise Tar, beg the favour you'll give Orders for me to have it. Three Barrels will Compleat what we have got to do I apply'd to Mr Powell for it he told me it was kept for your Cutter Shope that will be no reason for my not having of it as it may be a saving to the Company of twenty or thirty Thousand	Captain Joseph Jackson's letter went on to list the provisions remaining on board the *Pitt* and how long each would last at the ship's rate of issue. Beef and pork, 1,207 pieces, enough for 60 days Calavances, 390 gallons, enough for 9 weeks 4 days if issued 3 days a week Flour, 800 pounds, enough for 8 weeks if issued two days a week Rice, 420 gallons at 11½ gallons a day, enough for 36 days Oil, 7 gallons at 1 quart a day, enough for 28 days Jackson asked the Council to make up each kind of provision to last a passage of 13 weeks. He expected the Council to agree that this was the least the ship could safely leave the island with. He knew how short of food St Helena was, and he assured the Council that he had no wish to take a single pound more than the voyage home required. The ship was also badly in need of pitch and tar. Her upper hull had opened so far at the seams that the crew could barely keep her dry with every pump working. This happened whenever she heeled even slightly or drove into a head sea. Jackson knew that the island held a barrel and a half of pitch and some tar, and he asked the Council to order it released to him. Three barrels would be enough to finish the work. Jackson had already asked James Powell for the pitch, but Powell told him it was being kept for the island's cutter. Jackson argued that this was no reason to refuse him. The pitch might spare the Company £20,000 0s 0d or £30,000 0s 0d in damage to the cargo on the voyage home. He signed himself Joseph

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		Pound in Damages in our Passage home Gentlemen Your most Obedient humble Servt (Signed) Joseph Jackson Upon which we directed the Secretary to write him the following Answer vizt	Jackson. The Council then directed the Secretary to send him a reply. **Interpretations** Jackson's request set the value of the *Pitt*'s cargo against the island's own small reserves. James Powell, who kept the Company's stores and appeared on the cash account for the quarter ending 30 June 1765 as the source of its largest receipts, had reserved the pitch for the *Fly*, which had just been re-rigged by men from the *Royal George*. The obvious course for a storekeeper was to keep scarce naval stores for the island's own vessel. Jackson countered by pointing to the scale of what an East Indiaman carried home. Loss or water damage to a cargo of tea and Indian goods would cost the Company far more than a barrel and a half of pitch was worth to a small island schooner. Pitch and tar sealed the seams of a wooden hull. The upper works were the parts of the hull above the waterline, which dried and shrank in hot climates until the planks opened. Water then poured in whenever the ship heeled over or met heavy seas. A ship leaking in that way risked soaking the chests of tea in her hold, which explains Jackson's estimate of the damage. Calavances were dried beans, usually a small pulse such as the cowpea or chickpea, stowed as a standard sea ration because they kept for months. Issuing them on set days of the week, as with the flour, stretched the supply over a long passage. Jackson's list showed that rice and oil would run out within about a month, which was why he asked the Council to top up every item to a common length of 13 weeks.
426	419	1765 To Captain Joseph Jackson Commander of Ship Pitt Sir The Governor and Council having considered your demands I am Ordered by them to acquaint you that Provisions of Beef and Rice from your return will be made up for 12 Weeks and that you'l be supplyed with a Barrel of Pitch and two of Tar out of the Honorable Company's Stores. I am Sir St Helena Your most obedient and most 22d July 1765 humble Servant (Signed) M Bazett Secretary We this day came to a resolution relative to the Market being better supplied with Fish therefore Ordered the following Advertisement to be Published vizt Island St Helena 22d July 1765 This is to give Notice to all Inhabitants or others of the said Island that they are hereby positively forbid going down to the Water side upon any pretence whatsoever to purchase Fish on penalty of paying half a Crown each time and the Fish being taken from them and resold at the Public Market, And it is hereby further Ordered that all Inhabitants, Soldiers, Free Blacks, and others that have	Captain Joseph Jackson, commander of the *Pitt*, received the Council's reply on 22 July 1765. Governor Skottowe and the Council had considered his requests. They agreed to make up his beef and rice from the figures he had given to last 12 weeks. They also agreed to supply him with one barrel of pitch and two barrels of tar from the Company's stores. M Bazett signed the letter at St Helena as Secretary to the Council. The Council then turned to the poor supply of fish reaching the market. It ordered a public notice, dated 22 July 1765, to be issued across the island. The notice banned all inhabitants and anyone else on the island from going down to the shore for any reason to buy fish. Anyone caught doing so would pay a fine of £0 2s 6d for each offence. The fish would also be seized and sold again at the public market. The notice went on to set a further rule for inhabitants, soldiers, free blacks and others. **Interpretations** The Council gave Jackson less than he asked for and split the pitch between the two claims on it. He had wanted every kind of provision made up for 13 weeks, but he received 12 weeks of beef and rice alone. The Council kept its calavances, flour and oil for an island it knew to be short of food. James Powell had reserved the island's barrel and a half of pitch for the *Fly*, while Jackson had wanted all of it. The Council passed over both positions. It gave Jackson one barrel of pitch and two of tar, which made up the three barrels he said would finish the work, and it kept the remaining half barrel of pitch for the island's own schooner. The risk to a valuable homeward cargo outweighed the storekeeper's caution, but not so far as to strip the island's vessel of everything. The ban on buying fish at the waterside was aimed at what the law called forestalling. This meant intercepting goods before they reached the open market in order to buy them cheap and sell them dear, or simply to keep them for oneself. By forcing

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			every catch through the public market, the Council could see what came ashore, keep prices in check and make sure fish reached ordinary households rather than those who could send someone to meet the boats. Seizing and reselling the fish meant that the offender lost both the fine and the goods, which made the penalty hard to ignore. The notice addressed free blacks as a distinct group alongside inhabitants and soldiers. Free people of colour formed a separate legal category on the island, neither slaves nor full inhabitants with the rights of European settlers. Naming them expressly ensured that no one could claim the order did not apply to them. The letter was signed by M Bazett as Secretary, only a short time after the Council registered the inventory of the late Matthew Bazett's estate. The secretary was probably a relative, perhaps his son. Family members often succeeded to posts in the Company's service on the island.
427	420	22d July have Fish to dispose of, that they are to carry them to the Market House and there sell them publickly, Notice for that purpose will be given by beat of Drum. And all Fishermen that are seen going on board of Ships in the Road or clandestinely by any others means disposing of their Fish but at the Market aforesaid shall upon conviction if a White Man pay the Penalty of five Shillings the first time and ten Shillings for every other transgression. and a Black to be severely Whipped Per Order of Council (Signed) M Bazett Secretary John Skottowe Dan Corneille R Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	The notice of 22 July 1765 on the sale of fish went on to require that all inhabitants, soldiers, free blacks and others with fish to sell take their catch to the Market House and sell it there in the open. A drumbeat would announce each sale. Fishermen caught taking their fish out to the ships in the road would be punished, as would anyone found selling fish in secret anywhere but the market. A white man convicted of the offence would pay £0 5s 0d the first time and £0 10s 0d for every later offence. A black man would be severely whipped. M Bazett signed the notice as Secretary on the Council's order. Signed by the Council John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The notice punished the same offence in two quite different ways according to colour. A white offender paid a fine, while a black offender, whether slave or free, was flogged. The earlier part of the notice had named free blacks alongside inhabitants and soldiers as subject to the rule, yet in punishment the Council made no distinction between a free black and a slave. Colour, not legal status, decided whether a man lost money or suffered physical punishment. This deliberately marked free blacks as a lower order whose freedom did not bring the treatment given to white settlers. For slaves there was also a practical reason, since they had no money to pay a fine and a whipping imposed the penalty at once. The ships in the road were the real drain on the market. East Indiamen, with crews and passengers long without fresh food, would pay far more for fish than islanders could. Fishermen who rowed their catch straight out to the anchorage left the island's own households short. The Council answered this by forcing every catch into the Market House, where sales took place in public on the beat of a drum. Everyone then knew when fish was on offer and at what price, and a quiet deal on the beach or alongside a ship was much harder to strike.
428	421	1765 At a Consultation held on Monday the 29th Day of July 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thoms Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 22d July 1765	The Council met at the castle on Monday 29 July 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The members read the minutes of their meeting of 22 July 1765, approved them and signed them. Margaret Langhorn, an orphan, died on Tuesday 23 July 1765. William Johnson, a soldier, died on Sunday 28 July 1765.

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		Tuesday the 23d Died Margaret Langhorn an Orphan Yesterday Do William Johnson Soldier Mr Matthew Wrling reports that he has been on board the Ships Caernarvon, Earl of Lincoln and Pitt to Muster their Company's and enquire for deserters but found none their Muster Rolls are as follow vizt Muster Roll of Ship Caernarvon Norton Hutchinson Commander John Rogers Chief Mate Thomas Foxall 2d Do James Papley 3d Do John Brearly 4 Do John Wright Surgeon Willm Pevell Purser John Baker Carpenter James Atkinson Gunner James Harn Boatswn John Slocomb Midshipman Geo: Burch Do John Grigons Do John Richardson Do Nichl Hockmore Caulker Barthw Roberts Cooper Thos Wragg Sailmaker Thos Lucas Capts Stewd Thoms Wade Do Cook Wm Pugh Ships Steward Thos Oneacre Do Cook John Giles Surgs Mte Wm Preston Carpr Do James Alloway [...]	Matthew Burling reported that he had boarded the *Caernarvon*, the *Earl of Lincoln* and the *Pitt*. He had called the roll of each ship's company and searched for deserters, but found none. The Council entered the three ships' muster rolls, starting with the *Caernarvon*. Norton Hutchinson, commander John Rogers, chief mate Thomas Foxall, second mate James Tapley, third mate John Brearly, fourth mate John Wright, surgeon William Powell, purser John Baker, carpenter James Atkinson, gunner James Hearn, boatswain John Slocomb, midshipman George Burch, midshipman John Gregons, midshipman John Richardson, midshipman Nicholas Hookman, caulker Bartholomew Roberts, cooper Thomas Wragg, sailmaker Thomas Lewis, captain's steward Thomas Wash, captain's cook William Pugh, ship's steward Thomas Crooke, ship's cook John Giles, surgeon's mate William Preston, carpenter's mate James Alloway, joiner **Interpretations** Burling's inspection guarded the island against losing its own people to passing ships. A homeward East Indiaman offered the easiest way off St Helena for a soldier tired of his service, a servant bound to the Company or a slave seeking freedom, and captains short of hands had every reason to take such men on quietly. By calling the roll soon after each ship arrived and entering it in the Council's records, the Company fixed the true number of the ship's company. Any extra man found aboard at departure would stand out at once. The same check worked in reverse, since a seaman who slipped ashore from the ship could be traced as a deserter from the roll.
429	422	29th July Thoms Farmer Gunners Mate John Davis Boatswn Do John Thams Quartermaster Edward Frances Do James Alexander Do James Cochran Do John Oliver Butcher Robert Lee Capts Servant Wm Snell Do Thomas Kirkman Do John Nicholas 2d Mates Do John Pickett Surgeons Do Will Edwards Carpenters Do John Robertson Gunnrs Do James Hawkins Boats Do Will. Braid Boatswns Mte James Bruce Seaman James Breen Wm Booth [...] John Chesty Seaman James Cannon Andw Colouhson Thomas Caulfield Edwd Fenny Garrall Fitzgerald Willm Fellton John Gefferys John McKneal Robert Morrison	The muster roll of the *Caernarvon*, entered on 29 July 1765, continued with the petty officers, servants and seamen, followed by the passengers on board. Thomas Farmer, gunner's mate John Davis, boatswain's mate John Thomas, quartermaster Edward Francis, quartermaster James Alexander, quartermaster James Cochran, quartermaster John Oliver, butcher Robert Lee, captain's servant William Snell, captain's servant Thomas Kirkman, captain's servant John Nicholas, second mate's servant John Pickett, surgeon's servant William Edwards, carpenter's servant John Robertson, gunner's servant James Hawkins, purser's servant William Braid, boatswain's mate James Brees, seaman James Breen William Booth **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** John Chesty, seaman James Cannon Andrew Colquhoun Thomas Caulfield Edward Tenny Garrett Fitzgerald

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		John Nimmo Charles Ross Geo: Ross Alexr Smith James White William Townsend Robert Fellows John Vavasor Robt Blackett Danl Warman Long Thing Seaman Geo Benland Jos. Reads Edwd Miller Ant Franceco Juan Hews John Dybett James West Thoms Cole John Clark John De Seley Richard Norlcot John Mitchell Alexander Mury Thomas Knightly Peter Walker Thoms Preston John Cook James Tuckell [...] Passengers Jeremiah Sleigh Captain William Popham Do William Thomson Lieut Andrew Gordon Do Will. Fleming Do Thomas Robinson Do John Noble Sergeant Geo: Chisnall Do John Reed Corporal Peter Buchan Do Private Men Joseph Buckly William Carradice John Neasmith Geo: Gray John Burnall	William Felton John Jefferys John McNeal Robert Morrison John Nimmo Charles Rose George Ross Alexander Smith James White William Townsend Robert Fellers John Vavasor Robert Blackett Daniel Warman Loof Shing, seaman George Benland Joseph Reads Edward Miller Anthony Francisco Juan Hews John Dybett James West Thomas Cole John Clark John De Soley Richard Norcot John Mitchell Alexander Murray Thomas Knightly Peter Walker Thomas Preston John Cook James Tuchell **Start of crossed out section** [...] **End of crossed out section** Passengers Jeremiah Sleigh, captain William Popham, captain William Thomson, lieutenant Andrew Gordon, lieutenant William Fleming, lieutenant Thomas Robinson, lieutenant John Noble, sergeant George Chisnall, sergeant John Reed, corporal Peter Buchan, corporal Private soldiers Joseph Beatty William Garradice John Neasmith George Gray John Burnall **Interpretations** The crew included men recruited far from Britain, among them Anthony Francisco, Juan Hews and Loof Shing, whose names point to Portuguese, Spanish and Chinese origins. East Indiamen lost many men to disease, death and desertion on the long voyage out and during their stay in Asian ports. Captains made up the numbers from whatever seamen they could find in Madras, Canton or elsewhere in the East. The roll therefore recorded a mixed crew. Any islander trying to slip aboard would find it hard to pass unnoticed among men whose names were already written down. The passengers formed a complete small party of soldiers, with two captains, four lieutenants, two sergeants, two corporals and five privates. They were probably officers and men returning to Britain from service in India at the close of the recent war there. Entering them by name mattered to the Council for the same reason as the crew. A deserter from the island's own garrison could otherwise hope to lose himself among soldiers already bound for home.

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			The clerk erased or struck through one name at the foot of the first column and another at the foot of the last. Neither can now be read. They were probably men entered in error or found to have left the ship.
430	423	1765 John Lee Willm Highham Alexr Campbell Thomas Dawson Walter Steward Geo. Mackay James Ferguson John Dixson Edward McCulphin Willm Berin Charles Huntingston William Thomson John Smith Richd Chambers Thomas Barrott James Quarrier Drummers Ralph Cosenie Thoms Peter John Dumens Mrs Clarissa Avey Thomas Dymley Miss Mary Bradley Miss Newton Master George Hatton Flora Blacks servant Horrella Do Nuga Lewe (Signed) Norton Hutchinson Muster Roll of Ship Earl of Lincoln Peter Hardwicke Commr Robert Sedgley 1 Mate John Willmot 2 Do James Jones 3 Do George Suter 4th Do Uppinton Brace Surgn John Townsend Purser Thoms Bridgman Carpent Thoms Trimmer Boatsn James Farmer Gunner John Kettle Midshn Doctor Wm Hatfield Midshipman Danl Burket Do Walter Walker Do Richd Wells Quartermast John Duff Do William Hill Ships Stewd Henry Kenny Capts Do James Barry Ships Cook John Warner Capts Do Edwd Collwenge Armourer Thomas Cresbin Caulker John Church Sailmaker Joseph Lucas Butcher Benj. Shrape Poulterer James Holt Boatsw Mte William Eldridge Capts Do Willm Smallrian Do 2 Do John Innes Gunrs Do Cornl Taylor Surg Do William Robinson Cooper Do Richd Burns Seaman James Watt	The *Caernarvon*'s list of passengers continued with the rest of the private soldiers, the drummers and the civilian travellers on board. John Lee William Higham Alexander Campbell Thomas Dawson Walter Stewart George Mackay James Ferguson John Dixon Edward McCulphin William Bevin Charles Huntingdon William Thomson John Smith Richard Chambers Thomas Barrett James Quarrier Drummers Ralph Pereme Thomas Peter John Dumens Other passengers Mrs Clarissa Avery Thomas Dymley Miss Mary Bradley Miss Newton Master George Hatton Flora, a black servant Florella, a black servant Nuga, a slave Norton Hutchinson signed the roll. The muster roll of the *Earl of Lincoln* followed. Peter Hardwicke, commander Robert Sedgley, first mate John Willmot, second mate James Jones, third mate George Sumner, fourth mate Uppinton Braceling, surgeon John Townsend, purser Thomas Bridgman, carpenter Thomas Trimmer, boatswain James Farmer, gunner John Kettle, extra midshipman William Hatfield, midshipman Daniel Burket, midshipman Walter Walker, midshipman Richard Wells, quartermaster John Duff, quartermaster William Hill, ship's steward Henry Kenny, captain's steward James Barry, ship's cook John Warner, captain's cook Edward Colledge, armourer Thomas Crosbie, caulker John Church, sailmaker Joseph Lucas, butcher Benjamin Sharpe, poulterer James Holt, boatswain's mate William Eldridge, carpenter's mate William Mallrian, carpenter's second mate John Innes, gunner's mate Cornelius Taylor, surgeon's mate William Robinson, cooper's mate Richard Burns, seaman James Watt **Interpretations** Flora, Florella and Nuga travelled as the servants of the European passengers, among them a married

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			woman, two young ladies and a boy. They were the kind of household servants and slaves that families brought home from India. The Council had them named on the roll for a practical reason. A slave landed on St Helena and left behind, or one who fled ashore hoping to escape a master, would become a question of ownership for the island's authorities. A written record of who came in on the ship allowed the Council to insist that each one left with her. The *Earl of Lincoln* carried a poulterer as well as a butcher. On a long voyage, the officers' and passengers' table depended on live animals kept on board, with sheep, pigs and goats in pens and hens, ducks and geese in coops on deck. The poulterer tended the birds and killed them as they were needed. His presence shows how far the comfort of those at the captain's table relied on fresh meat carried alive. John Kettle was entered as an extra midshipman. That meant a supernumerary carried beyond the ship's fixed complement, usually a young man of good family placed aboard to learn seamanship in the hope of promotion to mate. Such places were often granted as a favour by the commander, and they formed one of the main ways into the officer ranks of the Company's ships.
431	424	29th July Martin Meares Midshipmn Mark Halder Quartermast Walter Morrison Do Robert Fowerday Seaman John Beatson Jonas Rowlandson Thomas Watts John McLane Geo: Cooke James McNeal William Lewis John Colly Thomas Colly Thomas Henderson Peter Brownlow John Gillett Eman Cresse Robt Rowe Robt Mowett Seaman Thoms Eubank John Lawder Charles Branny Thomas Hurst Willm Lowrie Isaac Harding Richard Smith Robt Bushop John McBeth Henry Phellen Willm Hoole Chas Hopkins Thoms Martin Geo: Jeffreys Thomas Knox John Corner Geo. Cunningham Michael Tucker Seaman Amos Saunders Thoms Howard Alexr Hume Alexr Bonnor David Twaddle George Jesett James Clarke Thoms Bateman John Neizo Willm Tod John Hill Joseph Gregory	The muster roll of the *Earl of Lincoln*, entered on 29 July 1765, continued with the rest of the petty officers and seamen and ended with the only passenger aboard. Martin Meares, midshipman Mark Halder, quartermaster Walter Morrison, quartermaster Robert Towerday, seaman John Beatson Jonas Rowlandson Thomas Watts John McLane George Cooke James McNeal William Lewis John Colly Thomas Colly Thomas Henderson Peter Brownton John Gillett Emanuel Cresse Robert Rowe Robert Mowett, seaman Thomas Eubank John Lawder Charles Branny Thomas Hurst William Lowrie Isaac Harding Richard Smith Robert Bishop John McBeth Henry Phelan William Hoole Charles Hopkins Thomas Martin George Jeffreys Thomas Knox John Corner George Cunningham Michael Tucker, seaman Amos Saunders Thomas Howard Alexander Hume Alexander Bonner David Tweddle George Jesett James Clarke Thomas Bateman John Nize

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		Charles Lowpell Wm Richd Lewis Wm Barne Thoms Knight James Robinson Passengers Jno Watson Invalid (Signed) Peter Hardwicke	William Tod John Hill Joseph Gregory Charles Lowpett William Richard Lewis William Barne Thomas Knight James Robinson Passengers John Watson, invalided soldier Peter Hardwicke signed the roll. **Interpretations** The *Earl of Lincoln* carried a single passenger, against the soldiers, families and servants aboard the *Caernarvon*. The difference reflected the trade each ship served. The Company had a settled presidency at Madras, with a garrison, officials and their households, all of whom needed passage home. At Canton the Chinese authorities confined foreign merchants to a narrow strip of waterfront during the trading season and allowed no permanent European community. A ship from China therefore had few people to bring back. John Watson was entered as an invalid, meaning a soldier found unfit for active service through wounds, illness or age. The Company sent such men home or placed them in garrison companies where lighter duties could still be done. His passage on a China ship suggests that he had perhaps served at Bencoolen or another eastern station on the ship's route.
432	425	1765 Muster Roll of Ship Pitt Jos: Jackson Commander Jeffy Jackson Ch. Mate Zachy Arnett 2d Mate Wm Thomson 3d Do Chas Pickett 4th Do Alexandr Henderson Surg Wm Steward Carpenter Wm Smith Boatswn Davd Greenwoodes Gunrs Mte Thos Loveday Caulker Saml Clarke Ships Stew Richd Williams Capts Stew Benjn Drinkwater Capts Cook Ant: Jos Clements Ships Cook John Ricks Capts Mte Jos: Rockinham Do 2d Do Willm Anderson Surg Mte Davd Lyell Caulkers Do Wm Tullford Boatsw Do John Green Armourer Henry Mallard Poulter Lewis Scott Quartermast Willm Grayham Do Robt Jack Do Andw Saunders Do John Clements Midshn Doctr Geoff Cornish Midshipm John Fletcher Midshipmn Doug. Ballantine Do John Jones Do Wm Wills Butcher Edward Drew Seaman James Fetter Jos. Medder James Gibbs John Bayne William Duncan Geo Cadman Willm Ouzie John Corrigal Willm Bell John Musgrove	The muster roll of the *Pitt*, commanded by Joseph Jackson, listed the ship's officers, petty officers and seamen. Joseph Jackson, commander Jeffery Jackson, chief mate Zachariah Arnett, second mate William Thomson, third mate Charles Pickett, fourth mate Alexander Henderson, surgeon William Steward, carpenter William Smith, boatswain David Groundwater, gunner Thomas Loveday, caulker Samuel Clarke, ship's steward Richard Williams, captain's steward Benjamin Drinkwater, captain's cook Anthony Joseph Clements, ship's cook John Hicks, carpenter's first mate Joseph Pockinham, carpenter's second mate William Anderson, surgeon's mate David Lyell, caulker's mate William Telford, boatswain's mate John Green, armourer Henry Mallard, poulterer Lewis Scott, quartermaster William Grayham, quartermaster Robert Jack, quartermaster Andrew Saunders, quartermaster John Clements, extra midshipman Geoffrey Cornish, midshipman John Fletcher, midshipman Douglas Ballantine, midshipman John Jones, midshipman William Wells, butcher Edward Drew, seaman James Fetter Joseph Medder James Gibbs John Bayne William Duncan George Cadman William Ouzee John Corrigal William Bell

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		Thoms Scully John Cooper Willm Donald Geo Sergeant John Collenly Willm Graeme Michael Turner Joseph Mortimore Willm Fining Oliver Brunicke Samuel Radford Archd Gumphy Robert Longmore Seaman Jose Gill John Joe Charles Long Charles Bellard John Willson Samuel Hewett Martin Brown Peter Coffey Andw Davidson John Edwards Thomas Pearce William Limes Robert Sheppherd Willm Hanson Andrew Handerson Orwell Mallet Henry Battsen John Brown John Brooks Will Ross John Pasquel Frances Monta William Goodwin Ambrus Dickens John Rust Jaques Shoveler	John Musgrove Thomas Scully John Cooper William Donald George Sergeant John Colleary William Graeme Michael Turner Joseph Mortimore William Tuning Oliver Brunswicke Samuel Ratford Archibald Lumsby Robert Longmore, seaman Joseph Gill John Joe Charles Long Charles Bellard John Willson Samuel Hewett Martin Brown Peter Coffey Andrew Davidson John Edwards Thomas Pearce William Simes Robert Shepherd William Hanson Andrew Henderson Orrell Mallet Henry Batson John Brown John Brooks William Ross John Pasquel Francis Monte William Goodwin Andrew Dickens John Rust Jasper Showler **Interpretations** The *Pitt*'s commander and chief mate were both named Jackson, and the chief mate was probably a son or brother of Captain Joseph Jackson. Command of an East Indiaman was a valuable property, bought and passed on within a small circle of maritime families. A captain commonly placed his own relatives in the senior berths so that they could learn the ship and, in time, succeed to the command. Captain Jackson's insistence on protecting the ship on the voyage home, in his letter to the Council of 22 July 1765, served a family interest as well as the Company's.
433	426	29th July Saml Cox Seaman Peter Shepherd David Lee Wm Yard Jonas Butcher Sailmaker Jossee Anthony Blacks John Francesco Rammet (Signed) Joseph Jackson We this day received the following Letter from Captain Hutchinson vizt To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esquire Governor &ca Council of St Helena Gentlemen I have Examined our Stock of Salt Provisions and find we have but a sufficiency for forty Eight days I therefore	The *Pitt*'s muster roll, entered on 29 July 1765, finished with its last seamen and three further hands. Samuel Cox, seaman Peter Shepherd David Lee Henry Yard Jonas Butcher, sailmaker Jossee, black Anthony, black John Francisco Rammet Joseph Jackson signed the roll. The Council received a letter that day from Captain Norton Hutchinson, addressed to Governor Skottowe and the Council. Hutchinson had checked his stock of salt provisions and found only enough to last 48 days. He asked for 250 pieces from the Company's stores. Even that amount would barely give him enough for 10 weeks, which he expected the Council to accept as the least any ship could safely carry for the voyage to England. He reminded the

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		beg leave to request a supply from you out of the Honorable Company's Stores of two hundred and fifty Pieces, which will but barely make up a Necessary Quantity for Ten Weeks And I Presume Gentlemen you will be of Opinion that, that is as little as a Ship can with safety proceed from hence with for England And give me leave to remind you what a great disadvantage it will be to the Honble Company If on Account of Provisions I am Obliged to go to any Foreign Port which I fear will unavoidable be the Case unless we have a supply	Council how much it would cost the Company if a shortage of food forced him into a foreign port. He feared that such a call would become unavoidable unless the island could supply him. **Interpretations** Hutchinson's threat of a foreign port carried real weight with the Council. An East Indiaman forced into a Dutch, Portuguese or French harbour paid inflated prices for food and harbour dues. It also risked delay, desertion among the crew and the chance that officers would slip goods ashore in private trade outside the Company's control. In wartime a foreign harbour could mean capture. By pointing to these dangers, Hutchinson turned his request from a favour into a matter of protecting the Company's own interests. This put pressure on a Council that had just reduced Captain Jackson's request for 13 weeks of provisions to 12 on 22 July 1765. Jossee and Anthony were marked on the roll as black, with no rank beside their names, and John, Francisco and Rammet appeared by a single name only. They were probably seamen or servants taken on in the East, and some may have been slaves belonging to the ship's officers. Noting their colour and entering each one by name gave the Council a check on every man who left with the ship. That mattered on an island where slaves and free blacks alike were closely watched.
434	427	1765 of Salt Provisions from hence I am with great respect Gentlemen St Helena Your most obedt humble Servant 29th July 1765 (Signed) Norton Hutchinson Upon which we returned him the following Answer vizt To Captain Norton Hutchinson Commander of Ship Caernarvon Sir We this day received a Letter from you and cannot help expressing our surprise that you did not inform Us of your want of Salt Provision sooner as you were made acquainted with the situation and distress the Island is in with respect to Provisions of all kinds, We are very sensible that your touching at any foreign Port for Provision will be a disadvantage to the Honble Company, to prevent which we have agreed out of our necessity to spare you five Casks which we hope will be sufficient to carry you home We are Sir Your most humble Servants St Helena (Signed) John Skottowe 29th July 1765 Dan Corneille Mw Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	Captain Norton Hutchinson closed his letter by repeating that he needed salt provisions from the island, and he signed it at St Helena on 29 July 1765. The Council sent Hutchinson, as commander of the *Caernarvon*, its reply the same day. The members said they were surprised that he had not reported his shortage earlier. He had already been told how severely the island lacked food of every kind. They accepted that a call at a foreign port for provisions would harm the Company's interests. To prevent it, and despite their own need, they agreed to let him have five casks, which they hoped would last him home. The letter was dated at St Helena on 29 July 1765 and signed by Governor Skottowe and the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council neither refused Hutchinson nor gave him the 250 pieces he asked for, but settled on five casks. A refusal risked the very outcome he warned of, since an Indiaman forced into a foreign port for food would cost the Company far more than a few casks of meat. Granting the full amount would have drained stores that the Council itself described as barely enough for the island. The compromise gave him enough to reach England without a stop and left the island's reserve largely intact. The rebuke over his late request had a practical edge. The *Caernarvon* reached the island on 16 July 1765, yet Hutchinson did not ask for provisions until 29 July, a week after the Council had already settled Captain Jackson's needs for the *Pitt*. The island could plan its scarce stores only if every ship declared its wants on arrival. A captain who waited until the last moment made it harder to share out what little there was between the ships in the road and the island's own people.
435	428	29th July John Robinson Carpenter this day presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor of the Island St Helena &c in	John Robinson, the Company's carpenter on the island, presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council on 29 July 1765. He had worked for the Company as its carpenter for several years on a salary of £50 0s 0d a year. He believed he had always

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		Council The humble Petition of John Robinson Carpenter Sheweth That your Petitioner has served the Honorable Company in Quality of Carpenter upon the said Island several Years with a Salary of fifty Pounds p Annum, in which he flatters himself he has constantly discharged his duty with care and Diligence, and to the Satisfaction of your Worship and Council That this Employ takes up your Petitioners whole time and renders it impossible for him to get any more than the above Salary, but before he engaged in the Honorable Company's Service he constantly received from the Inhabitants for his Work five Shillings p Day, which in the Year amounts to seventy eight Pounds two Shillings, the usual Wages of every Carpenter on the Island who Works for private People That the Appointments of the Masons in the Honble Company's service are considerably more than your Petitioner's altho' his Business and Attendance is equal to theirs Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that your Worship and Council will be pleased to take his Case into consideration, and make such addition to his pay as you in Your	done his work with care and diligence and to the Council's satisfaction. The post took up all his time and left him no chance to earn anything beyond his salary. Before he entered the Company's service, the island's inhabitants had paid him 5s a day for his work. Over a year this came to £78 2s 0d, the normal rate for any carpenter on the island working for private customers. He also pointed out that the masons in the Company's service were paid considerably more than he was, although his work and hours of attendance matched theirs. He asked the Council to consider his case and to add to his pay. **Interpretations** Robinson's petition exposed the gap between a salaried post and the open market for skilled labour. The Company paid him a fixed £50 0s 0d a year, but it paid a hired carpenter by the day at the full market rate. Julio Fabiano received 5s a day for mending a boat for the Engineer, as Thomas Kirkpatrick's account for the quarter ending 30 June 1765 recorded. That was exactly the rate Robinson had once earned. A salary gave security against slack periods, but a skilled man tied to the Company full time lost the higher earnings his trade could command, and that loss was the core of his case. The same account showed garrison soldiers doing 353½ days of carpentry at the castle for 1s a day on top of their pay. The Company clearly relied heavily on soldiers for rough carpentry, and it could afford to keep its one salaried carpenter's pay low. Robinson's comparison with the masons was his strongest argument, since it showed that the Company already paid more to men of another trade whose work and attendance were no greater than his.
436	429	your Goodness shall think adequate, and in proportion with the Artificers beforementioned, and he will, as in duty bound ever pray &c Being sensible that the Petitioner is a very sober deligent and good Workman, and his Salary being so inadequate to that of the Master Masons though equally as serviceable, We therefore think it reasonable to Allow him one hundred pounds a Year to commence from this day, which is twenty pounds a Year less than the Master Masons Appointment One of the Honorable Company's Long Boats being staved in His Majesty's service, and being much in want of another for the use of the Honorable Company, and Capt Hardwicke having a very good one to spare with an Anchor, Masts, Sails, Oars &ca We agreed to purchase it from him for thirty five pounds John Skottowe Dan Corneille R Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	John Robinson closed his petition by asking for whatever increase the Council thought fair and in line with the other craftsmen he had named. The Council knew Robinson to be a sober and hardworking man and a skilled carpenter. His salary fell far short of what the master masons earned, although his work was of equal value to the Company. The Council therefore judged it fair to pay him £100 0s 0d a year from that day, which was £20 0s 0d a year less than a master mason's salary. One of the Company's longboats had been smashed while working in the King's service, and the Company badly needed a replacement. Captain Hardwicke had a very good longboat to spare, complete with an anchor, masts, sails, oars and other gear. The Council agreed to buy it from him for £35 0s 0d. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The Council gave Robinson far more than he could have claimed on his own evidence. His petition had set his former private earnings at £78 2s 0d a year, so the obvious course was to lift his salary towards that market rate. Instead the Council doubled it to £100 0s 0d and tied it to the master masons' £120 0s 0d, keeping it £20 0s 0d below theirs. Robinson's pay was thus measured against the Company's own scale for its skilled men rather than the rates of the open market. The masons stayed at the top of the island's building trades, and the carpenter was set just beneath them. The longboat had probably been damaged helping a King's ship, perhaps the *Medway*, whose purser sold provisions to the island in the quarter ending 30 June 1765. A longboat was the largest boat a ship carried, used for landing stores, water casks and heavy loads through the surf at Jamestown. The

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			island could not do without one. Buying Captain Hardwicke's boat from the *Earl of Lincoln*, fully rigged and equipped, was far quicker than building a new one with the island's limited timber and craftsmen.
437	430	1 August At a Consultation held on Thursday the 1st Day of August 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Captain Thos Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved and Signed, dated the 29th July 1765. Yesterday we received the following Letter from Captain Hardwicke vizt To John Skottowe Esqr & Council Sirs I am very necessity obliged to trouble you with the State of the Ship Earl of Lincoln I brought in here upwards of fifteen People highly Scorbutic tho' not so ill as to send them to the Hospital; and having on board salt Provisions but barely sufficient to serve a ten Weeks Passage even admitting every Cask to prove good, it determined me to settle in sooner than I intended, before my People are recovered, & before the Ship is well ready, depending entirely upon carrying to sea with me, the remainder of the ten Bullocks you were pleased to inform me I was to have upon my first Arrival, which I imagined would be about sufficient to recover my People & at the same time would be a saving to my salt Provisions, & prevent	The Council met at the castle on Thursday 1 August 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The members read the minutes of their meeting of 29 July 1765, approved them and signed them. On 31 July 1765 the Council had received a letter from Captain Peter Hardwicke about the condition of the *Earl of Lincoln*. More than 15 of the people he brought in were badly affected by scurvy, though none was ill enough to need the hospital. His salt provisions would barely last a passage of ten weeks, even if every cask proved sound. This had led him to decide to sail sooner than he had planned, before his people had recovered and before the ship was fully ready. He was relying entirely on taking to sea the rest of the ten bullocks that the Council had promised him when he first arrived. He expected them to be just about enough to restore his sick men, and they would also spare his salt provisions. **Interpretations** Scurvy was the disease of long voyages, caused by a diet without fresh food. It brought bleeding gums, loosened teeth, old wounds reopening, exhaustion and eventually death. Seamen and surgeons knew from experience that fresh meat, greens and fruit brought quick recovery. This was the main reason East Indiamen called at St Helena at all. Hardwicke's hopes rested on live cattle carried to sea and killed on the voyage, which would give his men fresh meat once the island was out of sight. The Council had fixed each ship's share of the island's cattle on arrival, allotting the *Earl of Lincoln* ten bullocks. Beef was the scarcest and most valuable produce on the island, and the Council could not let every captain take as much as he wished. Fixing the number in advance let it share out the herd among the ships in the road while keeping enough for the garrison and inhabitants. Hardwicke's plan to cut short his stay showed how closely every captain now had to balance his time ashore against dwindling stores.
438	431	1765 prevent the Worst Consequences, should my Passage to England be longer than what might be reasonably expected The Clerk of the Market has this afternoon informed me that I am not to have the Number of Bullocks I expected; therefore Gentlemen I must request you will be pleased to take the Affair into consideration whether or not I can with prudence put to sea with a less Number, I am Gentlemen St Helena Your most obt humble Servant 31 July 1765 (Signed) Peter Hardwicke P. S. If a cask of Flour could be spared out of the Stores I should be infinitely Oblig'd to the Governor and Council for it as I have not the least quantity for the Round House P.H. Upon which we wrote him the following Answer vizt To Captn Peter Hardwicke Commander of Ship Earl of Lincoln Sir We Yesterday received your Letter and though the	Captain Peter Hardwicke's letter went on to explain that the bullocks would guard against the worst if his passage to England took longer than could reasonably be expected. That afternoon, however, the Clerk of the Market had told him that he would not receive the number of bullocks he had counted on. He asked the Council to consider whether he could safely put to sea with fewer. He signed the letter at St Helena on 31 July 1765. In a postscript he asked whether a cask of flour could be spared from the stores, since he had none at all left for the roundhouse. He promised to be most grateful to Governor Skottowe and the Council if they could let him have it. The Council replied to Hardwicke as commander of the *Earl of Lincoln*. It had received his letter the day before. The Governor had indeed told him on his arrival that the most recent ships were each to receive ten bullocks. Since then, however, the Council had examined the island's stocks of every kind of food. It had found itself unable to give him any more than the Clerk of the Market had already told him. **Interpretations** The Council went back on a promise that the Governor had made to Hardwicke in person. The obvious course was to honour it, since a commander's word from the head of the island

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		Governor acquainted you upon your Arrival that the Letter Ships had been spared ten Bullocks, yet upon our examining the present State of the Island with regard to all kind of Provision, have been under the necessity of not giving you a further supply, than what the Clerk	carried real weight and Hardwicke had built his sailing plans around it. The Council's own letter gave the reason for breaking it. A fresh survey had shown the island too short of food to supply ten bullocks, and the needs of the garrison and inhabitants came before a promise to a passing ship. That the Council explained itself in writing, rather than simply leaving the Clerk's refusal to stand, suggests that it knew the retreat needed justifying. The Clerk of the Market was the island official who oversaw the sale of provisions and put the Council's allocations into effect. He told each ship how much beef it could have. His role made the market the single channel through which the island's scarce food passed, as the notice of 22 July 1765 had required for fish. The roundhouse was the large cabin at the stern of an East Indiaman under the poop deck, where the captain and the senior passengers lived and ate. Hardwicke's request for flour was for their table, which was kept separate from the crew's rations. A captain unable to offer bread or pastry to paying passengers faced both discomfort and the loss of his reputation as a host. Where the Council referred to the ships that had been promised ten bullocks, the word could be read either as the latter ships or as letter ships. The first reading, meaning the ships that arrived most recently, fits the context best. The second would suggest ships carrying the Company's dispatches, which would mean the allowance was a privilege of such ships alone.
439	432	1 August Clerk of the Market has been directed by Us to make you acquainted with, neither for the reasons above assigned can we comply with your demand of Flour. We are Sir Your humble Servants (Signed) John Skottowe St Helena Dan Corneille 1 August 1765. Mw Wrling Thoms Kirkpatrick John Skottowe Dan Corneille R Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	The Council's reply to Captain Peter Hardwicke explained that he would receive only the beef the Clerk of the Market had been told to give him. For the same reasons, the Council could not meet his request for flour either. The letter was dated at St Helena on 1 August 1765 and signed by the four members of the Council. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick The four members then signed the minutes of the meeting in their own hands. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick **Interpretations** The names appeared twice for different reasons. The first set was the clerk's copy of the signatures on the letter actually sent to Hardwicke, entered so that the register preserved exactly what had gone out. The second set comprised the councillors' own signatures, which made them personally answerable for everything recorded at the meeting. These signed minutes were what the Company's directors in London would later read, so each member put his name to the refusal of beef and flour as the Council's collective decision rather than the act of any one man.
440	433	5th August At a Consultation held on Monday the 5th Day of August 1765 at the Castle Present John Skottowe Esqr Governor Daniel Corneille Esqr Lieut Governor Mr Matthew Wrling Capt Thoms Kirkpatrick of Council The last Consultation was read, approved, and signed, dated the 1 August 1765	The Council met at the castle on Monday 5 August 1765. Governor Skottowe presided, with Daniel Corneille as Lieutenant Governor and Matthew Burling and Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick as members of the Council. The members read the minutes of their meeting of 1 August 1765, approved them and signed them. The Company's ship *Earl of Lincoln* sailed for England on Friday 2 August 1765. A boat from the *London* landed at Banks's at half past seven on the morning of Sunday 4 August 1765. The Company's ship *London* arrived from Bombay the same day and

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		Friday the 2d Sailed the Honorable Company's Ship Earl of Lincoln for England Yesterday Arrived the Londons Boat at Banks's half an Hour past seven o'Clock in the Morning Do Do the Honorable Company's Ship London from Bombay and brought Us the following Supplies vizt Invoice of Ship London Rice beaten fine 22 Bags qy 150 S Mds vizt 20 Bags each 6¾ S Maunds is 135 2 Do @ 7½ is 15 150 @ Rs 1.1.33 p S M 199 3 50 Batty 3 md 21 Sr @ 19.1.0 p Morah 73 3 62 Carried over	delivered supplies for the island, priced in Bombay rupees, quarters and reas. Rice, cleaned fine, 22 bags weighing 150 Surat maunds, made up as follows Rice, 20 bags of 6¾ Surat maunds each, 135 Surat maunds Rice, 2 bags of 7½ Surat maunds each, 15 Surat maunds Rice, 150 Surat maunds at 1 rupee 1 quarter 33 reas a Surat maund, 199 rupees 3 quarters 50 reas Unhusked rice, 3 morahs 21 parahs at 19 rupees 1 quarter a morah, 73 rupees 3 quarters 62 reas Total carried to the next page **Interpretations** The *London* brought rice in two forms. The first was beaten rice, grain pounded in a mortar to strip off the husk and bran, and cleaned fine to leave a white, ready-to-cook rice. The second was batty, the name used on the western coast of India for paddy, the rice still in its husk. It kept better at sea and was much cheaper, and it could be husked on the island as it was needed. The *Caernarvon* had brought the same two forms from Madras in July, so the island was clearly drawing its staple grain from both coasts of India. Bombay kept its accounts in rupees, each divided into 4 quarters of 100 reas, which differed from the pagodas and fanams of Madras. The Surat maund was the standard weight of the western Indian trade, a little under 40 pounds, taking its name from the great port to the north of Bombay. The morah was a Bombay measure of grain by volume, divided into 25 parahs. Each Indian port thus reached the island with its own money, weights and measures. The Council's clerks had to convert every invoice into sterling and English weights before the goods could be priced and issued. The *Earl of Lincoln* sailed on 2 August 1765, only the day after the Council refused Captain Hardwicke his full ten bullocks and his cask of flour. He evidently judged it wiser to press on for England with what he had than to wait in the road consuming the stores he already carried.
441	434	5th August Brought over Charges on Merchandize Gunny Ps 35 @ 5 Rs p Corge 2 3 - Dutty Bags 22 @ 3 Do each 16 2 - Gunney Bags 42 @ 1 2 each 12 - - Twine and sewing the Bags 2 - Lascars 24 @ a 20 Reis each 4 1 - Hammallage on the Rice and Batty 2 - 60 Boat Hire on Do 2 2 - 46 2 60 320 1 72 Errors Excepted Wm Hornby Accompt The Executors to the last Will and Testament of Mr Francis Wrangham deceased this Day presented the said Will desiring the same might be proved which was accordingly done upon the Oaths of the Witness thereto the Will is as follows vizt In the Name of God Amen I Francis Wrangham the Younger of the Island St Helena Secretary to the Honorable the	The *London*'s invoice from Bombay, dated 5 August 1765, went on to list the charges for packing and shipping the rice. Charges on the goods 35 pieces of gunny at 5 [...] a corge, 2 rupees 3 quarters 0 reas 22 bags of dutty at 3 quarters each, 16 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas 42 gunny bags at [...] each, 12 rupees 0 quarters 0 reas Twine and sewing the bags, 0 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas 24 lascars at 20 pice each, 4 rupees 1 quarter 0 reas Porterage on the rice and unhusked rice, 2 rupees 0 quarters 60 reas Boat hire for the rice and unhusked rice, 2 rupees 2 quarters 0 reas Total charges on the goods, 46 rupees 2 quarters 60 reas Total of the invoice, 320 rupees 1 quarter 72 reas William Hornby signed the invoice as accountant, subject to correction of any errors. The executors of the late Francis Wrangham presented his will to the Council and asked for it to be proved. The witnesses gave evidence on oath, and the Council accordingly declared the will valid. Wrangham, known as the younger, had lived on St Helena and served as Secretary to the East India Company there. He made the will while in good health and of sound mind, bearing in mind that life

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		United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies being in a good and perfect State of health and of sound & disposing Mind Memory and understanding but considering the Uncertainty of this Life do hereby make publish and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, that is to say First I hereby Will and desire that all my Just Debts, funeral Expences	was uncertain. His first instruction concerned the payment of his just debts and funeral expenses. **Interpretations** The Council sat here as a court of probate. A will had no legal force until it was proved, which meant establishing before a competent authority that the document was genuine and properly made. The witnesses who saw Wrangham sign swore to it before the Council, and only then could his executors collect what was owed to him, pay his debts and hand out his property. With no separate church court on the island, the Governor and Council performed this function themselves, as they had in registering the inventory of Matthew Bazett's estate. Wrangham was the Company's Secretary on the island as well as a factor. He died on 17 July 1765, and five days later, on 22 July 1765, M Bazett signed the Council's letter to Captain Jackson as Secretary. The Council had therefore filled the post almost at once. The Secretary kept the Council's records and drafted and signed its letters, and the island could not afford to go without one while ships waited in the road for answers. The charges show how goods were handled at Bombay. Hammalage was the fee for hamals, the porters who carried loads on their backs in western Indian ports. Lascars were Indian seamen and labourers, here hired to handle the rice in the boats. Dutty was a coarse, strong cotton cloth woven in India, used here to make bags, while gunny was sacking woven from jute. As with the Madras invoice, every cost of loading was added to the price the island paid for its food.
442	435	1765 Expences, and the several Legacys and bequests by me herein after given and bequeathed shall be respectively paid & discharged by my Executors hereinafter named out of my Personal Estate as soon as conveniently can be after my decease And the better to enable them so to do I hereby direct and appoint that they my said Executors shall and do within six Months next after my decease sell and dispose of by public Auction All or any part of my said Personal Estate, which shall by them be thought proper to be disposed of for the payment of such Debts Legacys & Expences Item I hereby give and bequeath unto Elizabeth the Daughter of of Lieut Onesiphorus Beale to whom I am Godfather the Sum of fifty pounds to be paid to and remain in the Hands of the said Lieut Onesiphorus Beale for her use untill she the said Elizabeth shall attain the age of twenty one Years or be married which shall first happen, and then the same to be paid to her or her husband if married Item I also hereby give and bequeath unto my friend the said Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale and to my Kinsman Jonathan Doveton the Sum of ten pounds each for mourning Item After such payments shall be made by my said Executors as aforesaid then I do hereby give Devise and bequeath All the rest residue and remainder of my real and Personal Estate	Francis Wrangham's will went on to direct that his debts, funeral expenses and legacies be paid from his personal property as soon as possible after his death. To raise the money, his executors were to sell by public auction, within six months of his death, whatever part of that property they judged necessary. He left £50 0s 0d to Elizabeth, the daughter of Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale and his own goddaughter. Her father was to hold the money on her behalf until she turned 21 or married, whichever came first. It was then to be paid to her, or to her husband if she had married. He also left £10 0s 0d each for mourning to his friend Lieutenant Beale and to his kinsman Jonathan Doveton. Once those payments were made, everything else he owned or was entitled to at his death, of whatever kind and wherever it lay, was to pass to his nephew and godson, Edwin Alcock, on reaching the age of 21. The one exception was £260 0s 0d owed to him from the estate of the late Richard Goodwin, which he dealt with separately in a later part of the will. He then turned to what should happen before his nephew came of age. **Interpretations** Wrangham ordered his executors to sell his goods by public auction within a fixed six months. On a small island with no ready market for secondhand property, an open auction was the fairest way to turn furniture, clothing, slaves and stock into cash. It exposed each sale to competing bidders and to public view. That protected creditors and legatees against executors selling cheaply to their friends, and the time limit stopped the estate from lying unsettled while its value wasted. The legacy to Elizabeth Beale was to be paid to her husband if she married before collecting it. Under the law of the time, a married woman's personal property passed to her husband's control on marriage. A gift of money to a wife was therefore in practice a gift to him. Placing the money with her father until she came of age or married kept it safe

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		whatsoever and wheresoever and of what nature or kind soever the same may be or consist of which I shall be possessed of interested in or intitled to at the time of my decease (Except the Sum of two hundred and Sixty pounds which I am intitled to out of the Estate of the late Richard Goodwin deceased which I dispose of as herein after by this my Will is directed) unto my Beloved Nephew and Godson Edwin Alcock as soon as he shall attain the age of twenty one Years And until he my said Nephew Edwin Alcock shall attain the said Age I do hereby Will Order	while she was a minor, but it did nothing to shield it from a future husband. The mourning legacies to Beale and Doveton were a customary mark of friendship. Recipients spent them on black clothing or a memorial ring worn in the dead man's honour. The £260 0s 0d owed from Richard Goodwin's estate was held back from the general residue because it was a debt still to be collected. Wrangham evidently had a particular use in mind for it, rather than leaving it to his nephew's share.
443	436	5th August Order and direct that my said Executors whom I also hereby appoint Trustees and Overseers of this my said Will shall & do from and after my decease Lett and dispose of all & Singular my real Estate and also of my Leasehold Estate Except such part hereof as my said Executors and Trustees shall or may be obliged to sell for payment of my Debts and Legacies as aforesaid for the best Yearly Rent that can be got for the same, but not contrary to or in any manner to frustrate or make void any Lease of the said premisses by me at any Time Executed and which shall be then still subsisting yet nevertheless to inspect into, and see that the payments and Covenants in such Lease be duly paid and performed. And on Default in such payments or non performance of the Covenants in such Lease to take and prosecute all such legal Methods for Ejecting the Lessees therein and to gain possession of the said Demised premisses as I myself might have done if living. And that they my said Executors and Trustees or the Survivors or Survivor of them or the Executors or Administrators of such Survivor shall and do from and after my decease apply and dispose of all and Singular the Rents and produce of the said Real and Leasehold Estates for and towards the Maintanance and Education of the said Edwin Alcock in England in the best manner that they or he can And when my said Nephew and Godson Edwin Alcock shall have attained his said Age of twenty one Years then I do hereby Will Order and direct that they my said Executors, & Trustees or the Survivors or Survivor of the or the Executors or Administrators of such Survivor shall and do put the said Edwin Alcock into possession of the said Real and Leasehold Estates and the remaining	Francis Wrangham's will set out how his executors should manage his property until his nephew Edwin Alcock reached 21. He also appointed the executors as trustees and overseers of the will. From his death onwards, they were to let all his land and leasehold property for the best yearly rent they could obtain, apart from any part they had to sell to meet his debts and legacies. They were not, however, to break or cancel any lease he had already granted that was still running. Instead they were to watch over each such lease and make sure the tenants paid their rent and kept its terms. If a tenant failed to pay or broke the terms, the trustees were to take whatever legal steps were needed to remove the tenant and recover the property, just as Wrangham could have done himself. The trustees were to spend all the rents and produce of the land and leasehold property on bringing up and educating Edwin Alcock in England as well as they could. The same duty passed to whichever trustee survived the others and, after him, to that survivor's own executors or administrators. Once Edwin reached 21, the trustees were to hand over to him the land, the leasehold property and whatever remained of the personal property. He was to hold all of it, with every right attached to it, entirely for his own benefit and that of his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns. **Interpretations** Wrangham distinguished between his real estate and his leasehold estate. Much of the land on St Helena belonged to the Company and was granted to settlers on lease rather than sold outright. A leasehold was a right to hold and use land for a term of years on payment of rent. Unlike freehold land, it could lapse or be forfeited, which is why the will took such care to keep the leases in force and their terms observed. The trust turned island property into an English education. Rather than selling the land and sending the money home, Wrangham had it let out, with the rents paying for his nephew's upbringing and schooling in England. This was a common strategy among families in the Company's service overseas. It kept the property intact as a lasting source of income while the heir acquired the education and connections that could only be had in Britain, and it returned the whole estate to him at 21. The trustees received full power to enforce leases, including removing defaulting tenants. That power was essential for a trust meant to run for years with the heir far away in England. Without it, tenants could have stopped paying knowing that no owner was on the island to act against them. The provision for a surviving trustee and then that survivor's own executors ensured that someone always held the

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		part of the said Personal Estate (if any) To hold the same with the Appurtenances unto and to the only use of him the said Edwin Alcock, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns respectively for	authority, however many of the original trustees died in a climate and service where deaths were frequent.
444	437	1765 forever. Provided always nevertheless and my Will intent and meaning is that the said Edwin Alcock during his Minority shall and do well and dutifully behave himself towards his Parents and Masters as a Dutifull Child ought to do But in Case he said Edwin Alcock shall not so behave himself but become profligate and undutifull, or if he shall die before he attains the said Age of twenty one Years, then and in either of the said Cases I do hereby Will order and direct that the said Devise to him my said Nephew Edwin Alcock as aforesaid shall cease, determine and be void to all Intents and purposes as if no such Devise had been by me made And that all my said real and Leasehold Estates and such remaining part of my said personal Estate (if any) shall from thenceforth revert be and remain to & for the only use and behoof of the right heirs of me the said Francis Wrangham for ever, and to or for no other use intent or purpose whatsoever Item Whereas I am intitled to the sum of two hundred and Sixty pounds out of the Estate of the late Richard Goodwin deceased in the right of Margaret my late Wife, his Daughter which sum will become payable to me immediately upon the decease of Mrs Sarah Clark the Wife of Lieutenant John Clark Now of the great Esteem and value I have for Simon the son of the late Joseph Whaley deceased my godson (who is now Apprentice to John Robinson Carpenter) I hereby give and bequeath unto him the said Simon Whaley the Sum of fifty pounds part of the said two hundred and Sixty pounds when the same shall become due in order to assist him the said Simon Whaley to carry on his trade of a Carpenter. And I also hereby give and bequeath unto Margaret the Daughter of the late Onesiphorus Gurling deceased to whom I am also Godfather the Sum of forty Pounds other part of the said two hundred and Sixty pounds also when the same shall become due And whereas there	Edwin Alcock was to hold the property for ever, but only on one condition. Wrangham wanted his nephew to behave well and obediently towards his parents and teachers throughout his childhood, as a dutiful child should. If Edwin instead turned dissolute and disobedient, or died before reaching 21, the gift to him was to end and be void in every respect, as if it had never been made. In that case, all the land, the leasehold property and whatever remained of the personal property were to pass for ever to Wrangham's own lawful heirs and to no one else. Wrangham was entitled to £260 0s 0d from the estate of the late Richard Goodwin, through his late wife Margaret, who was Goodwin's daughter. The money would fall due as soon as Mrs Sarah Clark, the wife of Lieutenant John Clark, died. Wrangham held Simon Whaley, son of the late Joseph Whaley, in great regard. Simon was his godson and was then serving an apprenticeship with the carpenter John Robinson. From the £260 0s 0d, once it was paid, Wrangham left Simon £50 0s 0d to help him set up in his trade as a carpenter. From the same sum, and again once it fell due, he left £50 0s 0d to Margaret, the daughter of the late Onesiphorus Gurling, who was also his goddaughter. **Interpretations** Wrangham used his nephew's inheritance to govern the boy's conduct long after his own death. The gift depended on Edwin behaving dutifully until 21, and it would be forfeited entirely if he became dissolute. That gave the trustees and his guardians in England a powerful hold over him. The property would then pass to Wrangham's heirs at law, the relatives English law named as entitled when no valid gift took effect, rather than to anyone Wrangham had personally chosen. The £260 0s 0d was an expectancy, not money in hand. Wrangham had acquired the right to it through his wife, because on marriage a wife's inheritance passed to her husband's control. It could not be paid until Sarah Clark died. She probably held a life interest in Goodwin's estate, meaning she drew the income from it for as long as she lived, after which the capital passed to the next person entitled. Wrangham could therefore promise legacies out of this sum only on the understanding that the legatees would have to wait, perhaps for many years. Simon Whaley's apprentice master was John Robinson, the Company's carpenter whose salary the Council raised to £100 0s 0d on 29 July 1765. Wrangham's legacy of £50 0s 0d was meant to give the young man the capital to buy tools and timber and set up on his own once his apprenticeship ended. That was the usual obstacle facing a newly trained craftsman.
445	438	5th August there will then remain out of the said Money due to me from the Estate of the said late Richard Goodwin deceased the Sum of two	Once those two legacies were paid, £200 0s 0d would remain of the money due to Wrangham from the late Richard Goodwin's estate. He left this sum to his two nephews, David Alcock and Edwin Alcock, at £100 0s 0d each, to be paid to each of them at 21.

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		hundred pounds Now, I hereby give and bequeath the same as follows that is to say To my two Nephews David Alcock and Edwin Alcock the sum of One hundred pounds each the same to be paid them respectively at the Age of twenty one Years And in case the said Sum of two hundred and Sixty pounds shall become due and payable before either of them of my said Nephews shall attain the said age then I do hereby Will Order & direct that my said Executors and Trustees or the Survivors or Survivor of them or the Executors or Administrators of such Survivor shall and do as soon as the said Money becomes due and payable call in and Receive the same And after they have so paid or Secured to be paid thereout the said two Legacies of Fifty pounds and ten pounds then I do hereby further Will Order and direct that they my said Executors and Trustees or the Survivors or Survivor of them or the Executors or Administrators of such Survivor shall and do place the said remaining Sum of two hundred pounds out at Interest for the best advantage that can be made thereof And that the Interest arising therefrom together with the said respective Legacies of one hundred pounds each shall be by them paid to the said David and Edwin Alcock respectively as they shall attain the Age of Twenty one Years the said Interest to be divided between them equally share and share alike till the Elder of them attain his said Age Item My Will and mind is and I do hereby order and direct that I case any of the said Legatees in this my Will named shall in the life time of the said Edwin Alcock happen to die before their his or her Legacys or Legacy become payable that then the respective Legacys or Legacy of them him or her so dying shall revert	If the £260 0s 0d fell due before either nephew reached 21, the trustees were to collect it as soon as it became payable. The same duty passed to whichever trustee survived the others, and then to that survivor's executors or administrators. After paying, or setting aside funds to pay, the legacies of £50 0s 0d and £10 0s 0d, they were to lend out the remaining £200 0s 0d at interest on the best terms they could get. Each nephew would receive his £100 0s 0d on reaching 21, together with his share of the interest. Until the elder came of age, the interest was to be divided equally between the two boys. Wrangham also directed what should happen if any legatee named in the will died during Edwin Alcock's lifetime, before that person's legacy fell due. In that case, the dead legatee's share was to revert. **Interpretations** The trustees were told to lend the £200 0s 0d at interest rather than hold it idle until the boys came of age. On an island with no bank, lending meant advancing money to settlers or officials on bond or mortgage, with interest paid yearly. This made the legacy grow while the heirs were young, and dividing the interest equally between the brothers gave each an income towards his keep and education in the meantime. It also placed a real burden on the trustees, who had to judge which borrowers could be trusted to repay. The final clause dealt with what lawyers called lapse. Normally a legacy to someone who died before it became payable could pass to that person's own heirs and so leave the testator's family altogether. By making such legacies revert, Wrangham ensured that money meant for a particular godchild or nephew would come back into the estate if that person died, rather than enriching people he had never chosen. Since several of the legacies depended on Sarah Clark's death, which might be many years off, the risk of a legatee dying first was real.
446	439	1765 revert to and be received by the said Edwin Alcock for his own use But if the said Edwin Alcock shall happen to have become profligate and undutifull or be dead, then the said several Legacys hereby by me bequeathed to him the said Edwin Alcock and such others as shall so die shall revert back and come to the right heirs of me the said Francis Wrangham Item Whereas my two Slave Women, Meg and Suckey are by reason of their Age not of much Service So out of Compassion to them I hereby Will and desire that if they be living at my Decease	Any legacy that lapsed in this way was to pass to Edwin Alcock for his own use. If Edwin had by then become dissolute and disobedient, or had died, the legacies left to him and those left to any other legatee who had died were all to pass to Wrangham's lawful heirs. Wrangham owned two slave women, Meg and Suckey, who were too old to be of much use for work. Out of compassion for them, he wished both women to have their freedom if they were still alive when he died, and he forbade their sale to anyone. This depended on the consent of the Council in office at the time. A bye-law of the island might lead the Council to refuse to let the two women remain there as free people. In that case, his nephews David and Edwin Alcock were each to pay £10 0s 0d to the commander of a ship to carry the women off the island to whatever place each of them chose, since they could no longer work on St Helena.

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		they may both have their Freedom and not to be sold to any Person if the Governor and Council for the time being please to dispense therewith But if by reason of any Bye Law made in the said Island the said Governor and Council do not think proper that my said two Slave Women shall continue free in the said Island then I do hereby Order and direct that my said two Nephews David and Edwin Alcock shall pay the Sum of ten pounds each to the Commander or Commanders of some Ship or Ships to carry my said two Slaves off the Island to shall place or places as they shall respectively direct they not being Capable of service here. Lastly I do hereby nominate Constitute and appoint my said friend Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale and my said Kinsman Jonathan Doveton Joint Executors and also Trustees and Overseers of this my last Will and Testament desiring they will see the same duly performed. And I do hereby revoke and make Void all former and other Wills and Wills by me at any time heretofore made and Executed and declare this only to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I the said Francis Wrangham the Younger to this my said last Will and Testament containing five sides of paper to the first four of which I have set my Hand and to the fifth my hand and Seal this twenty first day	Finally, Wrangham appointed his friend Lieutenant Onesiphorus Beale and his kinsman Jonathan Doveton as joint executors, trustees and overseers of the will, and asked them to make sure its terms were carried out. He cancelled every earlier will he had made and declared this to be his only valid will. The will ran to five pages. Wrangham signed each of the first four and signed and sealed the fifth, dating it on the 21st. **Interpretations** Wrangham chose to free Meg and Suckey rather than let them pass with the rest of his property to his heirs or be sold to settle his estate. That was the ordinary fate of slaves in a dead owner's estate, and the auction he ordered for his other goods would normally have included them. His reason was stated plainly: compassion for two women too old to be worth much work. He also barred any sale, closing off the possibility that his executors might raise a little money by selling them to another owner. Their freedom still depended on the island's government. Freeing a slave on St Helena needed the Council's consent, and a bye-law could prevent freed people from staying. Such rules perhaps existed to stop owners from freeing old or sick slaves simply to rid themselves of the cost of keeping them, leaving the freed people to depend on the island's scarce resources. Wrangham anticipated a refusal and provided money for their passage elsewhere. His concern for the women therefore had its limit, since if the island would not accept them as free people, their freedom would mean leaving the only home they perhaps knew. The instruction that the women were to be carried to whatever place each of them chose could also be read as giving that choice to the nephews. The more natural reading gave it to the women themselves, which fitted the compassion behind the gift. Wrangham signed every page and sealed the last. This prevented anyone from later removing a page or slipping in a new one. The Council had to be satisfied of exactly this when it proved the will on the oaths of the witnesses.
447	440	5th August day of November in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Fifty eight Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Testator Francis Wrangham the Younger (Signed) as his last Will and Testament in the presence F Wrangham Junr of us who at his request and in his presence have Subscribed Our Names as Witness's (Signed) John Robinson Saml Austin C F Dunn&c Be it known to all Men by these Presents that Whereas I Francis Wrangham of the Island of St Helena have made and declared my last Will and Testament in Writing bearing date the twenty first day of November in the Year of Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty eight, I the said Francis Wrangham do by this my present Codicil and Ratify my said last Will and Testament in every part thereof Saving only in a Bequest of fifty pounds by me left in my said Will and Testament to Elizabeth the daughter of the late Onesiphorus Beale deceased, Which said Bequest of fifty pounds, I from certain Reasons me thereunto moving, do by this my	Wrangham dated the will 21 November 1758. He signed, sealed and declared it as his last will before three witnesses, who then signed their names at his request and in his presence. His own signature read F Wrangham junior, and he set his seal beside it. Witnesses John Robinson Samuel Austin C T Dun[...] Wrangham later added a codicil. In it he confirmed every part of his will of 21 November 1758, with a few exceptions. The will had left £50 0s 0d to Elizabeth, daughter of Onesiphorus Beale, who had since died. For reasons of his own, Wrangham cut this legacy to £25 0s 0d, payable at the time the will had set. He also cut the £50 0s 0d left to his godson Simon Whaley, son of Joseph Whaley and then apprenticed to John Robinson, to £10 0s 0d. He left £2 0s 0d to his brother-in-law Matthew Burling to buy a mourning ring. He left £2 0s 0d each to his sisters Frances and Margaret. **Interpretations** Matthew Burling was Wrangham's brother-in-law and a legatee under the codicil, yet he also sat on the Council that proved the will on 5 August 1765. A legatee judging the validity of the will that benefited him would be unacceptable in a larger place. On St Helena, with only four councillors, the Council could hardly have acted at all if every family tie had disqualified a member. Burling's gift was a token for a mourning ring, but the arrangement shows how

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		Present Codicil retrench and reduce to the Sum of twenty five pounds to be paid to her at the Time as mentioned in my sd Will and Testament Item I do hereby retrench and reduce a Bequest of fifty Pounds by me left to Simon the Son of Joseph Whaley my Godson then apprentice to John Robinson to the Sum of ten pounds. I give and Bequeath to my well beloved Brother in Law Matthew Wrling the Sum of two pounds to buy him a mourning Ring, I give to my well beloved Sister Frances the Sum of two pounds, I give to my Sister Margaret the Sum of two pounds	closely the island's governing circle was bound together by marriage and inheritance. Wrangham had made the will almost seven years before he died, and the codicil trimmed it to fit changed circumstances. Onesiphorus Beale, once named as a joint executor and trustee as well as the holder of his daughter's legacy, had died since the will was made. His death left Jonathan Doveton as the only surviving executor. The halving of Elizabeth's legacy and the cutting of Simon's from £50 0s 0d to £10 0s 0d suggest that Wrangham expected his estate, or the Goodwin money from which Simon's gift came, to be smaller than he had once hoped. John Robinson, the carpenter, witnessed the will as well as training Simon Whaley. Witnesses could not usually benefit under a will without casting doubt on their evidence. Robinson took nothing under it himself, and his was the kind of testimony on which the Council relied when it proved the will.
448	441	1765 Item I give to my Nephew Gabriel Steward the Sum of two pounds, and give to my Nephew Charles Steward the Sum of two pounds, Item I give to my Sister in Law Elizabeth Wife of my Brother William Wrangham the Sum of two pounds, and the like Sum of two pounds I give to my Neice Emelia Daughter of my sd Brother William Wrangham, Item I give and bequeath unto my Neices Margaret and Caroline Daughters of my sd Brother in Law Matthew Wrling the Sum of four to be divided among them for the purchase of Mourning Rings, I likewise give the Sum of two pounds a piece to each of my Nephews Charles, John and George sons of my said Brother in Law Matthew Wrling for the like Occasion Item I further give and Bequeath unto my Nephew David Alcock the Sum of twenty five pounds, and also give unto my Friend Lieutenant Thomas Lambert the sum of two pounds to buy him a mourning Ring. Item I give to my well beloved Brother William Wrangham the Sum of twelve Pounds. As my trusty and well beloved Friend Onesiphorus Beale, whom I have appointed and ordained Joint Executor to my last Will and Testament is since dead, I hereby declare, Nominate, Constitute and appoint, in the Room of the said Onesiphorus Beale deceased My well beloved Brother William Wrangham Joint Executor, to my Kinsman Jonathan Doveton as Trustee and Overseer of my said last Will and Testament to act Jointly with the said Jonathan in the full and perfect Execution thereof. And my will and meaning is, that this Codicil be and be adjudged to be Part and Parcel of my said last Will and Testament, And that all things herein Contained be faithfully performed, and as fully and amply in every Respect as if the same where so set down in my said last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof I the said Francis Wrangham to this my Codicil have set my hand and Seal this eleventh day of December in the	Wrangham's codicil went on to leave £2 0s 0d each to his nephews Gabriel Steward and Charles Steward. His sister-in-law Elizabeth, wife of his brother William Wrangham, received £2 0s 0d, and so did William's daughter Emelia. He left £4 0s 0d to be shared between Margaret and Caroline, the daughters of his brother-in-law Matthew Burling, to buy mourning rings. For the same purpose, he left £2 0s 0d each to Burling's sons, Charles, John and George. He left his nephew David Alcock £25 0s 0d. His friend Lieutenant Thomas Lambert received £2 0s 0d for a mourning ring. His brother William Wrangham received £12 0s 0d. Onesiphorus Beale, named in the will as a joint executor, had since died. In his place Wrangham appointed his brother William Wrangham, who was to act as joint executor, trustee and overseer alongside Jonathan Doveton. Wrangham declared that the codicil formed part of his will. Every provision in it was to be carried out as fully as if it had been written into the will itself. He signed and sealed the codicil on 11 December 1764, signing as F Wrangham. Witnesses John Pritchard C[...] Mahoney **Interpretations** The codicil spread small sums for mourning rings across a wide circle of relatives and friends. A mourning ring, usually engraved with the dead person's name and dates, was worn as a public sign of grief and of a bond with the dead. By leaving rings to Burling's whole family and to officers such as Lieutenant Thomas Lambert of the Fourth Company, Wrangham marked out the network of kin and friendship he belonged to on the island. The rings would keep that connection visible after his death. Replacing Beale was necessary for the trust to work at all. The will relied on its executors to manage leases, lend money at interest and oversee Edwin Alcock's upbringing for years to come. With Beale dead, a single surviving trustee would have carried the whole burden, and his own death would have left the estate in the hands of whoever administered his affairs. Naming his brother restored the pair of trustees the scheme needed, and it placed a close relative at the heart of managing the family's property.

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		Year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty four In presence of (Signed) (Signed) John Pritchard F Wrangham Chill Mahoney	
449	442	5th August Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice this day presented the following Petition vizt To the Worshipful John Skottowe Esqr Governor &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 Back Wall of your Petitioners House in this Valley, which he is desirous of hiring. Your Petitioner therefore requests that your Worship and Council will be pleased to Grant him a Lease for the same And your Petitioner will ever pray (Signed) 5th August 1765 Solm St Maurice Ordered the said piece of ground to be Viewed The Storekeeper this day delivered the following Account of Stores Short received from the Ship Caernarvon vizt Acct of Stores short received from Ship Caernarvon vizt 5.2.13. Rice Short Weight Cwt qr lb 22.3.11, Paddy, in 25 Bags short delivered 1 Leag. Arr. Gages 151 Galls wants to fill 48 Galls 1 Do Do 154 Do Do 9 305 57 57 St Helena Recd 248 Gall (Signed) 5th August 1765 J. Powell Storekeepr	Lieutenant Solomon St Maurice presented a petition to Governor Skottowe and the Council on 5 August 1765. A small plot of unused Company land lay against the back wall of his house in the valley, and he wished to rent it. He asked the Council to grant him a lease of the plot. The Council ordered the ground to be inspected. James Powell, the storekeeper, reported the same day on the goods from the *Caernarvon* that had arrived short. He signed the account at St Helena on 5 August 1765. Rice, short in weight, 5 hundredweight 2 quarters 13 pounds Paddy in 25 bags, not delivered, 22 hundredweight 2 quarters 11 pounds Arrack, 1 leaguer gauging 151 gallons, short of full by 48 gallons Arrack, 1 leaguer gauging 154 gallons, short of full by 9 gallons Arrack, total gauged, 305 gallons Arrack, total shortfall, 57 gallons Arrack, actually received, 248 gallons **Interpretations** Powell's account checked what the *Caernarvon* actually handed over against the Madras invoice entered on 22 July 1765. The invoice had charged the island for 305 gallons of arrack, but 57 gallons were missing when the casks were gauged, meaning their contents were measured with a gauging rod. Most of the paddy had not come ashore at all. A formal record signed by the storekeeper gave the Company grounds to recover the value from the ship's commander or owners, who were answerable for goods lost or pilfered on board. Without it, the island would simply have paid for goods it never received. Leakage from casks on a long voyage was common, but a shortfall of nearly a third in one leaguer against almost none in the other suggests the crew had been drawing on it. The Council did not grant St Maurice's lease straight away but first had the ground inspected. Land in the narrow valley at Jamestown was scarce, and the Company owned most of it. An inspection showed whether letting a plot would block a path, a watercourse or ground needed for public works before the Company bound itself to a lease. St Maurice was the officer who had sold the Company a horse for the Lieutenant Governor earlier in the year. His request for more space behind his house was the kind of routine grant the Council handled in its role as the island's landlord.
450	443	1765 We this day Granted the two following sets of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Honorable the Court of Directors vizt One Set to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick for one hundred and forty seven pounds payable to Nicholas Pearce Esqr or Order And one set to Mr Jeffry Jackson for two hundred and Nineteen pounds payable to himself (or Order) both drawn at Ninety Days Sight Captain John Webb delivered up to Us Ebenezar Bonner who deserted upon his Ship from Bombay, We Inlisted him to Serve the Honorable Company his Contracted time here John Skottowe	The Council issued two sets of bills of exchange that day, each drawn on the Company's Court of Directors in London. The first set went to Captain Thomas Kirkpatrick for £147 0s 0d, payable to Nicholas Pearce or to whoever he named. The second went to Jeffery Jackson for £219 0s 0d, payable to Jackson himself or to whoever he named. Both were payable 90 days after being presented in London. Captain John Webb handed over to the Council Ebenezer Bonner, who had deserted and come aboard Webb's ship from Bombay. The Council enlisted Bonner to serve the Company on St Helena for the rest of the term he had contracted to serve. John Skottowe Daniel Corneille Matthew Burling Thomas Kirkpatrick

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		Dan Corneille R Wrling Thos Kirkpatrick	**Interpretations** Bills of exchange let people on the island send money to England without shipping coin. A Company servant or ship's officer paid cash into the island's treasury and received in return a written order on the Directors in London to pay the same sum at a set time after presentation. The island gained ready money for its own spending, and the payee gained a safe way to move savings or trading profits home. Bills were issued in sets of two or three copies, sent by different ships, so that the loss of one vessel would not mean the loss of the money. Jeffery Jackson, chief mate of the *Pitt*, was probably sending home earnings from his voyage, while Kirkpatrick's bill paid a sum to Nicholas Pearce in England. The Council kept Ebenezer Bonner on the island instead of sending him back to Bombay or simply punishing him as a deserter. Anyone who enlisted with the Company owed it service for the full term of his contract, whichever of its settlements he happened to be in. The Council therefore put him into its own garrison to work off the time he owed. With the island paying £10 bounties to keep its soldiers, as Thomas Kirkpatrick's accounts for the quarter ending 30 June 1765 showed, a trained man delivered to its door was more useful kept than returned.
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458	451	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1764 - 1765 Dimensions height x width x depth cm 47 cm x 32 cm x 5.5 cm No. written pages 444 No. blank pages 6 Spine and cover Good condition Inside pages No numbering on pages Foxing throughout volume Last few pages tattered and have come away from spine. Archives notified Additional comments Time taken to photograph hours 3 hours	